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The History and Topography of the
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PREFACE

v. 2

TO THE ENGLISH EDITION.

ALTHOUGH many volumes have been written on the United States of America, an accurate knowledge of that country, as a whole, is by no means generally possessed. No work, indeed, so far as is recollected, has treated of it *as a whole*. Not only has its very interesting history been uniformly narrated *by itself*, apart from the general and equally interesting topics with which it is closely allied; but the writers who have applied themselves to an exhibition of the physical and moral, the political and social, aspects of the Union, have, with scarcely an exception, taken up these subjects partially, as might be dictated either by their route as travellers, or their place of more permanent residence. Hence it has arisen, that, even if we have read many books concerning the North American republic, our knowledge has no unity, no completeness. It consists only of fragments, each indeed valuable and tolerably perfect, but all disjointed, and many perhaps absolutely and widely separated. It cannot be an uninteresting or unimportant object to attempt a remedy of this defect; to bring into appropriate juxtaposition the accounts which have been given of various districts, so as to exhibit the entire aspect of this extensive and diversified region; to present a general view of the state of society, in its principal aspects, and in its widely-varying features; to combine the social state with the political institutions of the people, these again with their trading activity and commercial resources, and all the preceding with the physical structure and natural history of the territory; and finally, to connect these topics with an historical narrative, tracing the origin and progress of the inhabitants, exhibiting the principal events which have occurred to them, and developing the causes which have either facilitated or retarded their advancement.

Such, in one sentence, is the design of this work. If it has been executed with a competent measure of industry and care, it can scarcely fail of being valuable in no ordinary degree; since it relates to a country of greater extent, resources, and beauty, than is possessed by any other single nation under heaven; and to a people, of recent origin indeed, but developing immense powers and making gigantic progress; a people above all others interesting to the nations of Europe, (and, among these, more especially to Great Britain,) as having sprung from their own bosom, as presenting a refuge for their children in distress, as exhibiting a noble example for their imitation, and as exercising no feeble influence on their destiny.

The work has no claim to originality, nor indeed did the design present any opportunity for it. No new materials were required. On the contrary, they were already abundant, and demanded little more than an effort of selection and combination. It was incumbent on the projector of these volumes to suffer nothing of considerable pretension to remain unexamined, to glean from every quarter what might be material to the illustration of the general subject, and to regulate their statements by the best authorities. In a word, there have been required of them only the moderate qualifications of industry, candour, and carefulness. These they have endeavoured to exercise, and they hope not altogether without success.

In the plan of the work, it was natural that History should occupy the most prominent place. To this, accordingly, the first volume is entirely devoted. No portion of the world's history can be more interesting to the present generation; and, although of comparatively recent occurrence, it has acquired by neglect much of the freshness and fascination of novelty.

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Immediately after the close of the contest which terminated in the establishment and recognition of the independence of the United States of North America, several histories of the war of the revolution, some of them comprising partial accounts of the provinces in their colonial state, issued from the press. Of these, the work of Steadman, who served under Howe, Clinton, and Cornwallis, and that of Gordon, who resided for a considerable time in the United States, and had access to a variety of public records, and to the private papers of Washington, Gates, Greene, Lincoln, and others, are justly esteemed as, in most points, of standard authority. It cannot for a moment be supposed, nevertheless, that works written at that period have superseded the necessity of subsequent publications, since the progress of time has afforded far more ample and satisfactory materials for the pen of the historian. The French revolution, however, which followed closely on the American, having absorbed the public attention, and the atrocities committed during the reign of terror having rendered the very name of a republic odious in the estimation of the people of Great Britain, it is not a matter of surprise that American history should have been, in a great measure, overlooked in this country during the last forty years.

It has been far otherwise in the United States. There the press has teemed with publications relating to the country in its colonial state—its various wars with the Indians and the French—the war of the revolution—the confederation—the present constitution—the late war—and, indeed, on every point connected with the past or present condition of the several states which now compose the Union. The peculiarity of the republic, in its consisting of many different sovereign states, has tended very considerably to multiply the number of publications, each author being naturally desirous to detail most minutely the circumstances which occurred in his own state. To the several Historical Societies established in the United States the public are indebted for much interesting information, especially on the early history of the colonies, and to the Congress for several volumes of diplomatic correspondence. The last edition of Holmes's *American Annals* justly deserves to be noticed with commendation, as collecting together a mass of facts in the best possible form for reference, though not for continuous perusal: a history of our own country upon a similar plan would be a decided acquisition to that department of our literature. The work of Pitkin, on the *Civil and Political History of the United States*, manifests extensive research, and is of great value on that branch of the subject. The *North American* and *American Quarterly Reviews*, which are conducted with great ability, especially the former, have also collected much interesting matter for the historian. The Editor cannot refrain from expressing his surprise that several English writers, who have recently preceded him in some portions of his undertaking, have deemed it consistent with their object as historians to avail themselves in so slight a degree of the abundant materials which the press of the United States has afforded. It will scarcely be denied, that this omission has arisen from the unjust estimate which the inhabitants of the "mother country" are apt to form of the capabilities and exertions of their transatlantic contemporaries; an error leading to results as injurious in the field of literature, as on several occasions it obviously produced in the sphere of naval and military operations.

The history of the United States is in many respects a humiliating and painful one to the feelings of Englishmen; and it is difficult to write it without, on the one hand, yielding to the influence of a bias in favour of our own country, or, on the other, subjecting one's-self to the suspicion of a bias in favour of America. On this point it is not for the Editor to pronounce judgment on himself. He can only say, that he has endeavoured to be impartial, and to be careful that no fact should be distorted, or receive a false colouring. Where, as is frequently the case, a considerable difference exists between various authorities, he has endeavoured to exercise an unbiassed judgment, and to adopt that statement which appeared on the whole most consistent with truth. He would not, however, attempt to conceal that the great principles of freedom, the contest for which in America aroused the slumbering nations of Europe, engage his ardent admiration; and that he has no hesitation in adopting, respecting the united colonies, the words of the immortal Chatham, "I rejoice that they have resisted." At this moment the whole nation, which then, with a few honourable exceptions, was willing to aid her rulers in trampling on the neck of her transatlantic sons, is now sealing her approval of the principles which actuated American patriots, by her own efforts to establish the truth, that "taxation without representation is tyranny."

The second volume of this work is devoted to what we have ventured to call the *Topography* of the United States; very well aware that we have comprehended under this term more than its strict import will warrant, and having no other apology to offer for the latitude we have given it, than that we could find none to which, in the same application, equal or greater violence would not have been done. The sub-

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jects introduced into this volume are of great diversity, and are thrown into the following order. Book I. treats of the Physical Geography, or natural features of the territory of the Union, which, it is well known, are of great magnificence and beauty. Book II. relates to its Natural History, in the well-defined departments of Geology, Mineralogy, Zoology, and Botany, in all of which the western continent presents objects of high curiosity. The third book is entitled Statistics; and enters into various authentic details respecting Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce and Navigation, Finances and Population. In the fourth book, under the State of Society, are noticed Political Institutions and Jurisprudence; Religion; Literature, Arts, and Manners; with the state of the Indians and the Negroes. The concluding book is devoted to Topography properly so called; and contains a brief, though it is hoped not a meagre account of what is most prominent and interesting in the several divisions of the Union, and in the principal cities and towns which have risen so rapidly on its bosom.

For the illustration of these various topics, the Editor can truly say that the writers whose labours have passed under his review have spared no labour, as the projectors of this publication have spared no expense. Without affirming that *every* extant work has been consulted, from which valuable matter might have been drawn, it may be stated that volumes of great number and variety have been, not merely referred to, but thoroughly examined; and that (as the references contained in the notes will in great part demonstrate) no work of standard authority has been overlooked. In the book which treats of Statistics, and which certainly contains a mass of information as novel in this country as it is important, the writers have derived essential facilities from the kindness of the gentlemen connected with the American embassy in London, through whose politeness they have been permitted to consult the library of the embassy, and to extract from the latest official documents of the United States' government whatever matter was pertinent to their design. For this privilege, as well as for the aid received from the various authors, quoted or unquoted, whose talented labours, thus concentrated and arranged, constitute almost all that is valuable in this work, the Editor thus presents his public and grateful acknowledgments.

If it were *not* an axiom that a "faultless" production of human skill would be a "monster," the Editor is certain that those who have performed the laborious part in the present publication would not imagine that they had approached such an elevation. It is felt even deeply, that, after all, the view now given of the United States is far from being complete. On the one hand, the necessity of compression has not infrequently been painfully yielded to; while, on the other, all the works hitherto published are far from doing justice to the vastness of the field, and the multiplicity of the objects it contains. The Editor may reasonably hope, however, that the volumes now presented to the public have more completeness than any other work on the subject; and he may add that, as in this design he and his companions have led the way, so they will be truly happy to see themselves outdone.

It is with pleasure that reference can be made to the plates by which this history is illustrated. They exhibit to the eye, in no inferior style of art, a more extended series of American views than has hitherto been given to the public in any form, and tend more to familiarize the mind of a foreigner with American objects and scenery than the most accurate verbal description. The series of maps, likewise, which have been prepared for this work, have not heretofore been accessible in so commodious a form. They constitute a complete Atlas of the United States.

As with almost all important subjects, so with the History and Topography of the American Union,—it is impossible, in writing on it, to give universal satisfaction, or even to avoid grave, if not desperate offence. On this subject, particularly in England, there exist two very strong antagonist opinions. By some the United States are highly eulogized; by others they are eagerly depreciated. It is probable we shall give satisfaction to neither of these parties. If we are far from the humour of sweeping contempt, neither can we concur in indiscriminate praise. We confess, however, that we think by far the greater error to be committed by those whose estimate of the republic is low; an error which is the more to be regretted, because it tends to sanction and augment a feeling of acrimonious unkindness, already too deeply cherished on this side of the Atlantic, and too promptly returned from the other. We are aware that the circumstances in which this last of the nations came to the birth, and the republican character of its institutions, are adapted to produce soreness in the minds of a large portion of influential persons among us, and large allowance might be made on this ground for the generation more immediately affected; but ought it not to be enough that our fathers have fought this battle, without the strife being bequeathed, as an heir-loom, to their children? It is true wisdom to suffer antipathies to die with the generation which has fostered them.

Surely the time is now come, when *any* Englishman may do justice to what in transatlantic England is worthy of esteem, and take no notice of her faults, but, as a brother or as a parent, to stimulate and aid the noble effort of correcting them. We believe that the bulk of Englishmen would speedily do so, were it not for the noxious influence of one part of the periodical press, which has made repeated efforts to excite or to perpetuate feelings of antipathy between two nations, whose only rivalry ought to be in the knowledge and practice of those principles of moral and political science, which are adapted to promote both the happiness of individual states, and the welfare of mankind at large. Whatever weight these volumes may have, it is thrown decidedly, though not without discrimination, into the favourable scale; and if the course we have adopted should bring upon us, from any quarter, a bitter hostility, we shall have the consolation of knowing that it is not for our own sakes, but for that of our principles,—and for these we shall be content to bear it.

To give a just and impartial view of the rise, progress, and establishment of the republic of the United States, has been the aim of the following volumes; an aim which the Editor hopes has been, in a good measure at least, successfully pursued. If they shall be instrumental in dispelling from amongst us the ignorance of that fine country which has to a considerable extent prevailed;—if they shall be successful in removing the prejudice which has existed in the minds of not a few;—if they shall in any degree convert contempt into respect, and antipathy into esteem, he and his companions will rejoice in having conferred a benefit alike on those whom they have undeceived, and on the states, whose origin, progress, and prospects, have been the subject of so much misconception or misrepresentation.

Should the work which is now ushered into the world be favourably received in the United States, the Editor trusts that it will not disappoint any reasonable expectation. If Americans find that we have not written with the enamoured fondness which characterizes many productions of their native press, nor in any other respect ministered to their vanity, they will find also, it is hoped, that a full measure of justice is rendered to their excellencies, and a candid construction put on what cannot be approved. This view of their country and institutions, more complete and more comprehensive than any yet constructed, we present to them with a cheerful confidence, because we are conscious that we have written in a spirit of cordial kindness and esteem. Not to have aimed at their *benefit*, would have been equally an injustice to them, and a dishonour to ourselves; and grievous would be the day for America—we are confident it will never arrive—when complacency in advantages possessed should slacken the pursuit of national and individual improvement.

It is not, however, either for England, or for America, that these volumes have been prepared. They have been written for all nations, and for every age. To mankind at large the subject of them is interesting; and the Editor and his fellow-labourers will be most especially thankful, if they have been enabled so far to surmount contracting and local influences, as to form views, and to imbibe a spirit, adapted to advance the improvement of the world.





NORTH AMERICA.

American Miles
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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

BOOK I.

DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION OF NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE DISCOVERIES OF THE CABOTS TO THE SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA.

THE early history of most nations is of fabulous, or, at best, of doubtful character, and affords abundant opportunity for the exhibition of romantic conjecture. It might, however, have been naturally expected that no doubtful claims to the first visitation of a country so recently brought within the pale of history as the American continent, should be found to exist; but this expectation is far from according with fact. Cambrian ambition, unsatisfied with claiming for her heroes the honour of being aboriginal Britons, would invest her sons also with the wreath of fame, as the discoverers of the western hemisphere. Dr. Powell (in his history of Wales) would have us believe that Madoc, son of Owen Gwyneth, prince of North Wales, reached the American shores in the year 1170; most probably, however, this worthy young prince did not extend his voyage of discovery beyond the coast of Spain, by no means an inconsiderable exploit for that age.*

* "Madoc, another of Owen Gwyneth his sonnes, left the land in contention betwixt his brethren, and prepared certaine ships, with men and munition, and sought adventures by seas, sailing west, and leaving the coast of Ireland so farre north, that he came unto a land unknowen, where he saw many strange things. This land must needs be some part of that countrey of which the Spanyards affirme themselves to be the first finders since Hanno's time. Whereupon it is manifest that that countrey was by Brittaines discovered, long before Columbus led any Spanyards thither. Of the voyage and returne of this Madoc there be many fables fained, as the common people doe use in distance of place and length of time, rather to augment than to diminish: but sure it is, there he was. And after he had returned home, and declared the pleasant and fruitfull countreys that he had seene without inhabitants, and upon the contrary part, for what barren and wild ground his brethren

Of a far more probable character, though by no means uncontested, are the assertions of the Norwegian historians, who claim for their countrymen, confessedly the most adventurous navigators of the northern waters of the Atlantic in the earlier ages, the discovery of this vast continent, in the year 1001, designated Vinland by Biorn, their chief, from the profusion of wild grape-vines he found luxuriating in the plains. The discussion of this point, as also the narrative of the Zeni, we shall leave to those whose labours are less required in the more important practical researches which the nature of our undertaking especially embraces.†

In entering the region of indisputable authenticity, England ranks scarcely second to Spain, in the merit and the success of naval enterprize. It is a circumstance, however, too remarkable to be passed unnoticed, that England, Spain, and France, all derived their transatlantic possessions from the science and energy of Italian navigators, although not a single colony was ever planted in the newly-discovered continent by the inhabitants of Italy. Columbus, a Genoese, acquired for Spain a colonial dominion great

and nephews did murder one another, he prepared a number of ships, and got with him such men and women as were desirous to live in quietnesse: and taking leave of his friends, tooke his journey thitherward againe. Therefore it is to be supposed that he and his people inhabited part of those countreys: for it appeareth by Francis Lopez de Gomara, that in Acuzamil and other places the people honored the crosse. Whereby it may be gathered that Christians had bene there before the comming of the Spanyards. But because this people were not many, they followed the maners of the land which they came unto, and used the language they found there."—Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 1.

† Those of our readers who are desirous of indulging their curiosity on this subject, can refer to Murray's Historical Account of the Discoveries and Travels in North America, volume i. p. 14 to 36.

enough to satiate the most craving ambition ; but, reaping no personal advantage from his labours, excepting an unprofitable fame, after having been ignominiously driven from the world he had made known to Europeans, he died in poverty and disgrace.* Cabot, a Venetian, sailing in the service of England, conferred on that nation a claim, the magnitude and importance of which he never lived to comprehend.† Verazzani, a Florentine, explored America for the benefit of France ; but, sailing hither a second time, for the purpose of establishing a colony, he perished at sea.‡ Amerigo Vespucci gave his name to the new world, and thus rendered his reputation as durable, probably, as the world itself, but without acquiring any advantage for his native country.§

From this slight digression we return to the discoveries of Cabot. The exploits of Columbus having excited a great sensation among the English merchants, and at the court of Henry VII., the adventurous spirit of John Cabot, heightened by the ardour of his son Sebastian, led him to propose to the king to undertake a voyage of discovery, with the two-fold object of becoming acquainted with new territories, and of realizing the long-desired object of a western passage to China and the Indies. A commission was accordingly granted, on the 5th of March, to him and his three sons, giving them liberty to sail to all parts of the east, west, and north, under the royal banners and ensigns, to discover countries of the heathen, unknown to Christians ; to set up the king's banners there ; to occupy and possess, as his subjects, such places as they could subdue ; giving them the rule and jurisdiction of the same, to be holden on condition of paying to the king one fifth part of all their gains. By virtue of this commission a small fleet was equipped, partly at the king's expense, and partly at that of private individuals, in which the Cabots embarked, with a company of three hundred mariners. Our knowledge of this voyage is collected from many detached and imperfect notices of it in different authors, who, while they establish the general facts in the most unquestionable manner, differ in

many particular circumstances.¶ The most probable account is, that Cabot sailed north-west a few weeks, until his progress was arrested by floating ice-bergs, when he shaped his course to the south-west, and soon came in sight of a shore, named by him *Prima Vista*, and generally believed to be some part of Labrador, or Newfoundland. Thence he steered northward again, to the sixty-seventh degree of latitude, where he was obliged to turn back by the discontent of his crew. He sailed along the coast, in search of an outlet, as far as the neighbourhood of the gulf of Mexico, when a mutiny broke out in the ship's company, in consequence of which the farther prosecution of the voyage was abandoned. Cabot reached England with several savages and a valuable cargo, although some writers deny that he ever landed ; and it is certain, that he did not attempt any conquest or settlement in the countries which he discovered.

This voyage was not immediately followed by any important consequences ; but it is memorable as being the first that is certainly ascertained to have been effected to this continent, and as constituting the title by which the English claimed the territories that they subsequently acquired here. Through a singular succession of causes, during more than sixty years from the time of this discovery of the northern division of the continent by the English, their monarchs gave but little attention to this country, which was destined to be annexed to their crown, and to be one principal source of British opulence and power, till, in the march of events, it should rise into an independent empire. This remarkable neglect is in some measure accounted for by the frugal maxims of Henry VII., and the unpropitious circumstances of the reign of Henry VIII., of Edward VI., and of the bigoted Mary ; reigns peculiarly adverse to the extension of industry, trade, and navigation.

While English enterprise lay dormant, both France and Spain were on the alert. The French flag had not yet, indeed, waved on the western shores of the Atlantic. A monarch of such spirit as Francis I., however, could not be content to see Charles, his

* Irving's Life of Columbus.

† Belknap's Biog. vol. i. p. 33. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 295—300.

‡ Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 6, et seq.

§ Bandini, Vita e Lettere d'Amerigo Vespucci.

¶ "An extract taken out of the map of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams, concerning his discovery of the West Indies, which is to be seene in her Majesties prive gallerie at Westminster:—In the yere of our Lord, 1497, Iohn Cabot, a Venetian, and his sonne Sebastian, (with an English fleet, set out from Bristoll,) discovered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24th of June, about five of the clocke, early in the morning. This land he called *Prima Vista*, that is to say, first seene, because, as I suppose, it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That island which lieth out before the land, he called the

Island of St. Iohn, upon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discovered upon the day of Iohn the Baptist. The inhabitants of this island use to weare beasts skinnes, and have them in as great estimation as we have our finest garments. In their warres they use bowes, arrowes, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings. The soile is barren in some places, and yeeldeth litle fruit, but it is full of white beares and staggas, farre greater than ours. It yeeldeth plenty of fish, and those very great, as scales, and those which commonly we call salmons: there are soles also above a yard in length: but especially there is great abundance of that kinde of fish which the savages call *baccalaos*. In the same island also there breed hawks, but they are so blacke that they are very like to ravens, as also their partridges and eagles, which are in like sorte blacke."—Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 6.

rival, carrying off all the brilliant prizes offered by the new world. He listened readily to the suggestion, that he too should send an expedition to the west, for the discovery of kingdoms and countries unknown; and Juan Verazzano, a Florentine, who had distinguished himself by successful cruises against the Spaniards, was sent with a vessel, called the *Dolphin*, to the American coast. In this voyage he discovered, with a considerable degree of accuracy, the coast of Florida. The whole extent of his discovery was upwards of 700 leagues of the North American coast, which he named *New France*.^{*} He made another voyage the next year; but its records are equally brief and fatal:—Ramusio gives neither date, nor place, nor country; but states, that having landed with some of his crew, Verazzano was seized by the savages, and killed and devoured in the presence of his companions on board, who sought in vain to give any assistance. Such was the fate of one of the most eminent navigators of that age, whom Forster ranks as the type of Cook, both as to his exploits during life, and the dreadful mode of his death. The gloomy impression produced by the tragic fate of Verazzano, seems to have deterred others for some time from such enterprises; and, for several succeeding years, neither the king nor the nation seem to have thought any more of America.

After a lapse of ten years, on a representation made by Philip Chabot, admiral of France, of the advantages that would result from establishing a colony in a country from which Spain derived her greatest wealth, these enterprises were renewed, and Jacques Cartier, a bold seaman of St. Malo, who proposed another voyage, was readily supplied with two ships, under the direction of the *Sieur de Melleraye*, then vice-admiral of France. He set sail on the 20th of April, 1534, and on the 10th of May came in view of Cape Bonavista. As large masses of ice, however, were still floating about the coast, he deemed it wise to enter a harbour, which he called *St. Catherine*, and to remain there ten days. The sea then becoming favourable, he came out, and stood to the north, sailed almost round Newfoundland, and discovered the *Baye des Chaleurs*, and the *Gulf of St. Lawrence*. Having sailed to the fifty-first degree of latitude, in the fruitless hope of passing to China, he returned, in April, to France, without making a settlement.

A larger expedition was equipped the next spring, and they proceeded direct to Newfoundland. Discovering now the river of Canada, which gradually

obtained the name of *St. Lawrence*, he sailed up this noble stream three hundred leagues, to a great and swift fall; formed alliances with the natives; took possession of the territory; built a fort; and wintered in the country, which he called *New France*. In sailing up the *St. Lawrence*, he discovered *Hazel* or *Filbert Island*, *Bacchus Island*, since called the *Isle of Orleans*, and a river, which he called *St. Croix*, since called *Jacques Cartier's River*, where he laid up his ships. From this river, before his final departure, partly by stratagem and partly by force, he carried off *Donnacona*, the Indian king of the country. He at this time visited *Hochelaga*, a large Indian settlement, which he called *Montreal*, where the French were well received; but they were soon infected with the scurvy, of which a considerable number died. The next spring, Cartier, taking with him *Donnacona*, and several of the natives, returned with the remains of his crew to France, and expatiated to the king on the advantages that would probably result from a settlement in this country, principally by means of the fur trade; but the fallacious opinion, then prevalent among all the nations of Europe, that such countries only as produced gold and silver were worth the possession, had such influence on the French, that they slighted the salutary advice of Cartier, and deferred making any establishment in Canada. But, although this object was generally neglected, individuals entertained just sentiments of its importance, and among the most zealous for prosecuting discoveries and attempting a settlement there, was *John François de la Roche*, lord of *Roberval*, a nobleman of *Picardy*. King Francis I., convinced at length of the expediency of the measure, resolved to send Cartier, his pilot, again, with *Roberval*, to that country. He accordingly furnished Cartier with five vessels for the service, appointing him captain-general, and *Roberval* his lieutenant and governor in the countries of Canada and *Hochelaga*. When the fleet was ready for sea, *Roberval* was not prepared with his artillery, powder, and munitions; but Cartier, having received letters from the king, requiring him to proceed immediately, sailed with five ships on the 23d of May, and after a very long and boisterous passage arrived at Newfoundland. Having waited here a while in vain for *Roberval*, he proceeded to Canada; and on the 23d of August arrived at the haven of *St. Croix*.

After an interview with the natives, Cartier sailed up the river, and pitched on a place about four

^{*} Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 295—300, where is Verazzano's own account of his voyage, sent to Francis I. written in Dieppe the 8th of July, 1524. See also *Universal History*, vol. xxxix. p. 406.

Forster, *Voy.* p. 432—436. Belknap, *Biog.* vol. i. p. 33. Harris's *Voy.* vol. i. p. 810. Purchas, vol. i. p. 769. Chambers, vol. i. p. 512.

leagues above St. Croix, to lay up three of his ships for the winter; the other two he sent to France, to inform the king of what they had done, and the disappointment of his expectations in the non-arrival of Roberval. At the new harbour there was a small river, and on the east side of its entrance, a high and steep cliff. On the top of this cliff he built a fort, and called it Charlesbourg. Below, the ships were drawn up and fortified. After the fort was begun, Cartier went up the river with two boats furnished with men and provisions, with the intention of proceeding to Hochelaga; leaving Viscount Beauprè to govern during his absence. Having again explored the St. Lawrence, viewed the falls on that river, and had interviews with the natives, Cartier returned to the fort. Finding, on his return, that the Indians had discontinued their visits and traffic, and shown signs of hostility; that his provisions were spent, and that Roberval had not arrived, he prepared to return to France. Meanwhile, Roberval had been engaged in the prosecution of his design of reinforcing Cartier, and carrying forward the projected settlement of Canada. Whatever had retarded his embarkation, he at length sailed from Rochelle with three ships and two hundred persons, and arrived at St. John's harbour in Newfoundland; and while there, Cartier and his company arrived at the same harbour from the St. Lawrence. He informed Roberval of his intended return to France; yet commended the country of Canada as very rich and fruitful. Though the vice-roy had brought a sufficient supply of men, military stores, and provisions, to dispel the fearful apprehensions of the adventurers, and had commanded Cartier to remain with him; yet Cartier, persisting in his purpose, eluded him in the night, and sailed for Bretagne. Roberval proceeded up the St. Lawrence, four leagues above the island of Orleans, where, finding a convenient harbour, he built a fort, and remained through the winter. In the following spring, he went higher up the river, and explored the country; but he appears soon after to have abandoned the enterprise. The colony was broken up; and for half a century the French made no farther attempt to establish themselves in Canada.

For the sake of continuity of narrative, in recording the attempts of France to colonize a portion of North America, we have been necessitated to deviate slightly from the direct order of chronological succession. It was in the year 1528, that Pamphilo de Narvaez, having obtained from Charles V. of Spain, the indefinite grant of all the lands lying from the River of Palms to the Cape of Florida, with a commission to conquer and govern the provinces within

these limits, sailed in March from Cuba, with five ships, on board of which were four hundred foot and twenty horse, for the conquest of that country. Landing at Florida, he marched to Apalache, a village consisting of forty cottages, where he arrived on the 5th of June. Having lost many of his men by the natives, who harassed the troops on their march, and with whom they had one sharp engagement, he was obliged to direct his course toward the sea. Sailing to the westward, he was lost with many others, in a violent storm, about the middle of November; and the enterprise was frustrated.

Calamitous as was the issue of the expedition of Narvaez, it did not prevent, in that age of enterprise, captains of eminence from pursuing ardently the same course. Fernando de Soto, a native of Badajos, originally possessing only courage and his sword, had been one of the most distinguished companions of Pizarro, and a main instrument in annexing to Spain the golden regions of Peru: but in the conquest of Peru his part had been secondary—the first prize had been carried off by another; and he now sought a country, the glory of conquering and the pride of ruling which should be wholly his; and his wishes were fulfilled. He was created Adelantado of Florida, combining the offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief. On the 18th of May, 1539, Soto sailed from Havannah, on the Florida expedition, with nine vessels, nine hundred men besides sailors, two hundred and thirteen horses, and a herd of swine. Arriving on the 30th of May at the bay of Espiritu Santo, on the western coast of Florida, he landed three hundred men, and pitched his camp; but, about the break of day the next morning, they were attacked by a numerous body of natives, and obliged to retire.* Having marched several hundred miles, he passed through the Indian towns of Alibama, Talisee, and Tescalusa, to Mavila, a village enclosed with wooden walls, standing near the mouth of the Mobile. The inhabitants, disgusted with the strangers, and provoked by an outrage committed on one of their chiefs, brought on a severe conflict, in which two thousand of the natives and forty-eight Spaniards were slain. A considerable number of Spaniards died afterwards of their wounds, making their entire loss eighty-three; they also lost forty-five horses. The village was burnt in the action. After this engagement, Soto retreated to the territory of Chicaça, where he remained until April of this year. His army, now resuming its march through the Indian territory, was reduced to about three hundred men

* Herrera, d. 6. lib. 7. c. 9. Belknap, *Biog. Art. Soto*. *Biblioth. Americ.* p. 37. Purchas, vol. v. p. 1528—1565.

and forty horses. Soto, having appointed Lewis de Moscoso his successor in command, died at the confluence of the Guacoya and Mississippi. To prevent the Indians from obtaining a knowledge of his death, his body was put into an oak, hollowed for that purpose, and sunk in the river. Soto was only forty-two years of age, and had expended 100,000 ducats in this expedition. The small remains of his army, consisting of three hundred and eleven men, arrived at Panuco on the 10th of September, 1543; and the great expedition to Florida terminated only in the poverty and ruin of all who were concerned in it.

We must now advert to some of the most interesting but lamentable events that the history of colonization affords, in which the deadly poison of religious bigotry was deeply intermingled with the hostility excited by commercial jealousy.—The decided indications of a violent spirit of persecution, on the part of the Catholic priesthood of France, induced the brave Coligny to make an experiment, which might have issued in the provision of a safe retreat for a considerable portion of the oppressed Protestants. He formed a party of Huguenots, among whom were several of high respectability, who sailed under the command of Ribault, an officer of considerable spirit, with the intention of colonizing Florida. After a favourable voyage he arrived at the entrance of a river which he called May, from the month in which he reached the coast. He here erected a fort, and then, imprudently sailed for France, to bring out a re-enforcement. Albert, to whom he delegated his authority during his absence, appears to have been both unworthy and incompetent for so important a situation. From his extreme severity and ill management, the colonists formed an inveterate hatred against him, which terminated in his death. In the excitement of internal dissensions, the settlers had paid little or no attention to the production of food; and were compelled, after exhausting nearly all their stores, to make the desperate attempt of re-crossing the Atlantic with the small remainder of their provisions. Being detained by a calm, they had commenced preying upon one another, when they were providentially delivered from their unhappy condition by an English vessel, which conveyed them to their own country.

During the abode of these unfortunate men in Florida, Coligny had been so deeply engaged in the dissension at home, which had ripened into an open rupture and a civil war, that he was prevented from sending his intended re-enforcement; but no sooner had peace been concluded, than he despatched a fresh expedition, under M. René Laudonniere, who

arrived in the river May, on the 25th of June, 1564. After sailing northward about ten leagues, he returned to the May, and erected a fort, which, in honour of his sovereign, he styled Fort Caroline. He proved, however, inadequate to the difficult task of presiding over a number of spirited young men, in a state of great excitement from the disappointment of their expectations, which had dwelt upon the prospect of golden harvests and unbounded wealth. Plots were formed against his life, and he was on the point of leaving, with the remains of his colony, for Europe, when a new expedition, under the command of Ribault, entered the river. That officer superseded Laudonniere, only, however, to experience still more melancholy disasters. Scarcely a week had passed after his arrival, when eight Spanish ships were seen in the same river, where several of the largest French vessels were lying at anchor. As the Spanish fleet made towards them, the French cut their cables, and put out to sea. Although they were fired upon and pursued, they escaped; but, finding that their enemies had landed on the shores of the river Dolphin, about eight leagues distant, they returned to the May. Ribault now called a council at Fort Caroline, which decided, that they ought to strengthen the fort with all possible diligence, and be prepared for the enemy. He was himself, however, of a different opinion. Apprehensive of the defection of the friendly and auxiliary natives, if they should discover that, at the first approach of the Spaniards, they should confine themselves to their camp and fortifications, he judged it best to proceed against the enemy at once, before they could collect their forces and construct a fortification in their vicinity. To strengthen this view, he produced a letter from Admiral Coligny, containing these words: "While I was sealing this letter, I received certain advice that Don Pedro Menendez is departing from Spain, to go to the coast of New France. See that you suffer him not to encroach upon you, and that you do not encroach upon him." It was, indeed, the fleet of Menendez, which had just arrived on the coast, and given the alarm. Philip II. had given him the command of a fleet and an army, with full power to drive the Huguenots out of Florida, and settle it with Catholics. Fixed in his purpose, Ribault instantly took all the best of his men at Fort Caroline, and set sail in pursuit of the Spanish fleet, leaving Laudonniere in charge of the fort, without any adequate means of defence. Most unfortunately he was overtaken by a tremendous storm, which destroyed all the vessels, the men only escaping.

Menendez now began to consider what advantage

he could take of this state of affairs. It appeared to him, that, by pushing across the country, he would have every chance of reaching the fort before circumstances would admit of Ribault's return. He set forth immediately with five hundred of his best troops, and, after overcoming the formidable obstacles of swamps swelled by torrents of rain, on the evening of the fourth day arrived within view of the fort. At day-break, Menendez mounted the hill, and saw no appearance of any watch, and, before Laudonnière could muster his little garrison, the Spaniards had rushed in and begun an indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children. Laudonnière, though worn down with sickness, escaped from the fort with about twenty others, who concealed themselves in the woods. In this extremity, six of them ventured to throw themselves on the mercy of the Spaniards; but they were cruelly massacred in sight of their companions. Laudonnière, seeing no way of escape but by getting over the marshes to the ships at the mouth of the river, led the way, and several of his men followed him through the swamp into the water. Unable to proceed, he sent two of them, who could swim well, to the ships for help. At length he was carried on board a French shallop, which was in search of them, and, having picked up the remaining fugitives, who were concealed among the reeds, carried them to a little ship at the mouth of the river. In this they undertook to reach their native country; on their voyage they encountered want, cold, hunger, and thirst, but they ultimately entered, in a miserable state, the port of Bristol, where they met a hospitable reception. A more tragic end awaited Ribault; all his vessels were dashed to pieces (as we have before observed) in the tempest, which lasted some days. With great difficulty the crews succeeded in reaching the shore, and directed their steps towards the fort. After a toilsome journey of nine days through a rugged country, what was their amazement and grief to find the fort in the hands of the inveterate enemies, alike of their enterprise and their faith! Many of them were for enduring the worst extremity, rather than fall into the hands of the Spaniards; but Ribault, judging their situation otherwise wholly desperate, determined to open a treaty with Menendez, who received them in the most courteous manner, and pledged himself, on the faith of a soldier and a gentleman, that they should be well treated, and sent back to their country. Upon this pledge, the French delivered up their arms; but when they were all assembled on a plain in front of the castle, Menendez, with his sword, drew a line

round them on the sand, and then ordered his troops to fall on, and make an indiscriminate massacre. The bodies were not only covered with repeated wounds, but cut in pieces, and treated with the most shocking indignities. A number of the mangled limbs of the victims were then suspended to a tree, to which was attached the following inscription:—"Not because they are Frenchmen, but because they are heretics and enemies of God."

When intelligence of this barbarous massacre reached France, it excited an almost universal feeling of grief and rage, and inspired a desire for vengeance of corresponding intensity. Though Charles IX. was invoked in vain, by the prayers of fifteen hundred widows and orphans, to require of the Spanish monarch that justice should be awarded against his murderous subjects, there was, in the nation itself, an energy which provided an avenger. Dominique de Gourgues determined to devote himself, his fortune, and his whole being, to the achievement of some signal and terrible retribution. He found means to equip three small vessels, and to put on board of them eighty sailors, and one hundred and fifty troops. Having crossed the Atlantic, he sailed along the coast of Florida, and landed at a river about fifteen leagues distance from the May. The Spaniards, to the number of four hundred, were well fortified, principally at the great fort, begun by the French, and afterwards repaired by themselves. Two leagues lower, towards the river's mouth, they had made two smaller forts, which were defended by a hundred and twenty soldiers, well supplied with artillery and ammunition. Gourgues, though informed of their strength, proceeded resolutely forward, and, with the assistance of the natives, made a vigorous and desperate assault. Of sixty Spaniards in the first fort, there escaped but fifteen; and all in the second fort were slain. After a company of Spaniards, sallying out from the third fort, had been intercepted, and killed on the spot, this last fortress was easily taken. All the surviving Spaniards were led away prisoners, with the fifteen who escaped the massacre at the first fort; and, after having been shown the injury that they had done to the French nation, were hung on the bows of the same trees on which the Frenchmen had been previously suspended. Gourgues, in retaliation for the label Menendez had attached to the bodies of the French, placed over the corpses of the Spaniards the following declaration:—"I do not this as to Spaniards nor as to mariners, but as to traitors, robbers, and murderers."* Having razed the three

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 356—360; and Charlevoix, *Nouv. France*, vol. i. p. 95—106.

forts, he hastened his preparation to return; and on the 3d of May embarked all that was valuable in the forts and set sail for La Rochelle. In that Protestant capital he was received with the loudest acclamations. At Bordeaux these were reiterated, and he was advised to proceed to Paris, where, however, he met with a very different reception. Philip had already an embassy demanding his head, which Charles and Catherine were not disinclined to give, and had taken steps for bringing him to trial, but they found the measure so excessively unpopular, that they were obliged to allow him to retire into Normandy. Subsequently he regained royal favour, and found ample employment in the service of his country.

Thus terminated the attempts of the French Protestants to colonize Florida. Had the efforts of Ribault or Laudonniere been supported by the government, France might have had vast colonial dependencies before Britain had established a single settlement in the New World, instead of inscribing on the pages of history a striking instance of the ruinous and enduring effects of religious hatred, alike on individual and national fortune.

It has been observed, by one of the most eminent statesmen this or any other country ever produced—one who took a peculiar interest in the progress of the New World—that the present age bears in many points a striking resemblance to that of Queen Elizabeth, and certainly in no respect are the periods more assimilated, than in the singular, and to many, the inexplicable combination of commercial activity and general distress. That poverty among the lower and middling ranks of society was one of the strongest motives to colonization in the days of Elizabeth, as well as our own, the records of history

do not permit us to doubt;* and if benefits accrue to the world, in the proportion in which the extent of emigration now exceeds that of the period of our present researches, posterity will see reason to admire the dispensations of Providence; which, however unwelcome to the present, are so richly beneficial to the future ages.

Before entering on the transactions which are so highly honourable to the reign of Elizabeth, it is our duty to record an event which almost may be said to counterbalance, in its baneful results, all the advantages, either to the Old World or the New, that render celebrated the era of the British Queen—the commencement of the slave trade. The first Englishman who brought this guilt upon himself and his country was Sir John Hawkins, who afterwards attained so much nautical celebrity, and was created an admiral, and treasurer of the British navy. A subscription was opened and speedily completed by Sir Lionel Duckett, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, and others, who plainly perceived the vast emolument that might be derived from such a traffic. By their assistance Hawkins was enabled to set sail for Africa in the year 1562, and, having reached Sierra Leone, he began his commerce with the negroes.† While he trafficked with them in the usual articles of barter, he took occasion to give them an inviting description of the country to which he was bound, contrasting the fertility of its soil and the enjoyments of its inhabitants with the barrenness of Africa and the poverty of the African tribes. The negroes were ensnared by his flattering promises, and three hundred of them, accepting his offer, consented to embark along with him for Hispaniola. On the night before their embarkation, they were attacked by a hostile tribe; and Hawkins hastening

* Edward Haies, in his report of the voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, has the following observations on the motives to colonize which then prevailed:—"If his motives be derived from a virtuous and heroicall minde, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poore infidels captived by the devill, tyrannizing in most wonderfull and dreadfull maner over their bodies and soules, advancement of his honest and well disposed countreyemen, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions, *reliefe of sundry people within this realme distressed*: all these be honorable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherwith he is well pleased, who will assist such an actour beyond expectation of man. And the same, who feeleth this inclination in himselfe, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confidently repose in the pre-ordination of God, that in this last age of the world, or likely never, the time is compleat of receiving also these Gentiles into his mercy, and that God will raise him an instrument to effect the same: it seeming probable, by event of precedent attempts made by the Spaniards and French sundry times, that the countreys lying north of Florida, God hath reserved the same to be reduced unto Christian civility by the English nation."—Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 144. Sir George Peckam also bears testimony to the correctness of this opinion. "God," he says, "had provided the means of colonization; for that, through his great mercy in preserving the people

for so many years from slaughter, plague, and pestilence, *they were in such penury and want*, that many would hazard their lives for a year's food and clothing, without wages; and this armament might be most cheaply equipped."—Murray, vol. i. p. 191.

† "With this companie he put off and departed from the coast of England in the moneth of October, 1562, and in his course touched first at Teneriffe, where he received friendly entertainment; from thence he passed to Sierra Leona, upon the coast of Guinea, which place, by the people of the countrey, is called Tagarin, where he stayed some good time, and got into his possession, partly by the sword, and partly by other meanes, to the number of three hundred negroes, at the least, besides other merchandises which that countrey yeeldeth. With this praye hee sayled over the ocean sea unto the island of Hispaniola, and arrived first at the port of Isabella, and there hee had reasonable utterance of his English commodities, as also of some part of his negroes, trusting the Spaniards no further, then that by his owne strength he was able still to master them. From the port of Isabella he went to Puerto de Plata, where he made like sales, standing alwaies upon his guard; from thence, also, hee sayled to Monte Christi, another port on the north side of Hispaniola, and the last place of his touching, where he had peaceable traffique, and made vent of the whole number of his negroes."—Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 800.

with his crew to their assistance, repulsed the assailants, and carried a number of them as prisoners on board his vessels. The next day he set sail with his mixed cargo of human creatures, and, during the passage, treated the negroes who had voluntarily accompanied him in a different manner from his prisoners of war. On his arrival at Hispaniola, he disposed of the whole cargo to great advantage, and endeavoured to inculcate on the Spaniards who purchased the negroes, the same distinction in the treatment of them which he himself had observed. But the Spaniards, having given the same ratio for the one as for the other, considered them as slaves of the same condition, and treated them all alike.*

The Spaniards have many cruelties to answer for, not only in their islands, but on the continent of South America. They never knew the true philosophy of self-interest in their treatment of their slaves. They never learned the maxim, that kindness is more effectual than severity in subduing ignorant and savage man. The Spaniards were, notwithstanding their love of enterprise and war, naturally an indolent race of people, and rejoiced in finding those who could take the labours of agriculture off their hands. Men, deceived, as most of those were who came with Hawkins, were not very docile; and their masters found in their tempers excuse for rigid discipline.

While the nefarious traffic of Sir John Hawkins was attended with the advantages of a profitable though iniquitous speculation, the meritorious exertions of others were fraught with destruction to themselves, and disappointment to the nation at large; affording a powerful lesson that the characters of men are not to be estimated by their financial success, but by the honourable motives by which their conduct is actuated. The efforts which followed those of the founder of the slave trade were directed to the discovery of a passage to India by the north of America;† but, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the most eminent naval characters, Frobisher, Davis, and Hudson, they proved

entirely abortive, at least, as to the accomplishment of their immediate object.

In the same year, however, in which Frobisher's third voyage terminated so unsuccessfully, Sir Walter Raleigh, in conjunction with his half-brother and kindred spirit, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, projected the establishment of a colony in that quarter of America which the Cabots had visited in the reign of Henry VII.; and a patent for this purpose was procured without difficulty in favour of Gilbert, from Elizabeth. As this is the first charter to a colony granted by the crown of England, the articles in it merit particular attention, as they unfold the ideas of that age with respect to the nature of such settlements. Elizabeth authorizes him to discover and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands, unoccupied by any Christian prince or people; invests in him the full right of property in the soil of those countries whereof he shall take possession; empowers him, his heirs and assigns, to dispose of whatever portion of those lands he shall judge meet, to persons settled there, in fee simple, according to the laws of England; and ordains, that all the lands granted to Gilbert shall hold of the crown of England by homage, on payment of the fifth part of the gold or silver ore found there. The charter also gave Gilbert, his heirs and assigns, full power to convict, punish, pardon, govern, and rule, by their good discretion and policy, as well in causes capital or criminal as civil, both marine and other, all persons who shall, from time to time, settle within the said countries; and declared, that all who settled there should have and enjoy all the privileges of free denizens and natives of England, any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding. And finally, it prohibited all persons from attempting to settle within two hundred leagues of any place which Sir Humphrey Gilbert, or his associates, shall have occupied during the space of six years.‡

Invested with these extraordinary powers, Gilbert

* On another occasion Hawkins took advantage of a conflict between the hostile tribes. "In that present instant," says the narrator, "there came to us a negro, sent from a king, oppressed by other kings, his neighbours, desiring our aide, with promise that as many negroes as by these warres might be obtained, as well of his part as of ours, should be at our pleasure; whereupon, we concluded to give aide, and sent a hundred and twenty of our men, which, the 15th of Januarie, assaulted a towne of the negroes of our allies' adversaries, which had in it eight thousand inhabitants, being very strongly impaled and fenced after their manner; but it was so well defended, that our men prevailed not, but lost sixe men and fortie hurt, so that our men sent forthwith to me for more helpe, whereupon, considering that the good successe of this enterprise might highly further the commoditie of our voyage, I went myselfe, and with the helpe of the king on our side, assaulted the towne, both by land and sea, and very hardly with fire, (their houses being covered with dry palme leaves) obtained the towne,

and put the inhabitants to flight, where we tooke two hundred and fifty persons, men, women, and children, and by our friend the king of our side, there were taken sixe hundred prisoners, whereof we hoped to have had our choice; but the negro, in which nation is seldom or never found truth, meant nothing lesse, for that night he remooved his campe and prisoners, so that we were faine to content us with those few which we had gotten ourselves. Now had we obtained between four and five hundred negroes, wherwith we thought it somewhat reasonable to seeke the coast of the West Indies, and there, for our negroes and our other merchandize, we hoped to obtaine, whereof to countervaille our charges with some gaines."—Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 522.

† In the reign of Edward VI. it was also the general opinion that a passage to India might be found by coasting along the northern shores of Europe; and, when in pursuit of this object, Sir Hugh Willoughby and his gallant crew were frozen to death.

‡ Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 135.

began to collect associates, and to prepare for embarkation. The first equipment, however, of Sir Humphrey, may be said to have failed, even before it set out. Being composed in a great measure of "voluntary men of diverse dispositions," there was a great falling off when it came to the point, and Sir Humphrey was at last obliged to set out with only a few of his own tried friends. He encountered the most adverse weather, and was necessitated to return, "with the loss of a tall ship, and, more to his grief, of a valiant gentleman, Miles Morgan." This was a severe blow, as Sir Humphrey had embarked a large portion of his property in this undertaking. However, his determination continued unshaken; and by the aid of Sir George Peckham, Sir Walter Raleigh, and other persons of distinction, he was enabled to equip another expedition, with which, in the year 1583, he again put to sea.

On the 30th of July, Gilbert discovered land in about 51° of north latitude; but, finding nothing but bare rocks, he shaped his course to the southward, and on the 3d of August arrived at St. John's harbour, at Newfoundland. There were at that time in the harbour thirty-six vessels, belonging to various nations, and they refused him entrance; but, on sending his boat with the assurance that he had no ill design, and that he had a commission from Queen Elizabeth, they submitted, and he sailed into the port. Having pitched his tent on shore in sight of all the shipping, and being attended by his own people, he summoned the merchants and masters of vessels to be present at the ceremony of his taking possession of the island. When assembled, his commission was read and interpreted to the foreigners. A turf and twig was then delivered to him; and proclamation was immediately made, that, by virtue of his commission from the queen, he took possession of the harbour of St. John, and two hundred leagues every way around it, for the crown of England. He then, as the authorized governor, proposed and delivered three laws, to be in force immediately; by the first, public worship was established according to the church of England; by the second, the attempting of any thing prejudicial to her majesty's title was declared treason;

by the third, if any person should utter words to the dishonour of her majesty, he should lose his ears, and have his ship and goods confiscated. When the proclamation was finished, obedience was promised by the general voice, both of Englishmen and strangers. Not far from the place of meeting, a pillar was afterwards erected, upon which were engraved the arms of England. For the better establishment of this possession, several parcels of land were granted by Sir Humphrey, by which the occupants were guaranteed grounds convenient to dress and dry their fish, of which privilege they had often been debarred, by those who had previously entered the harbour. For these grounds they covenanted to pay a certain rent and service to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his heirs or assigns, for ever, and to maintain possession of them, by themselves or assignees. This formal possession, in consequence of the discovery by the Cabots, is considered the foundation of the right and title of the crown of England to the territory of Newfoundland, and to the fishery on its banks. Gilbert, intending to bring the southern parts of the country within his patent, the term of which had now nearly expired, hastened to make farther discoveries before his return to England. He therefore embarked from St. John's harbour with his little fleet, and sailed for the Isle of Sable, by the way of Cape Breton. After spending eight days in the navigation from Cape Race towards Cape Breton, the ship Admiral was cast away on some shoals before any discovery of land, and nearly one hundred persons perished; among these was Stephen Parmenius Budeius, a learned Hungarian, who had accompanied the adventurers, to record their discoveries and exploits. Two days after this disaster, no land yet appearing, the waters being shallow, the coast unknown, the navigation dangerous, and the provisions scanty, it was resolved to return to England. Changing their course accordingly, they passed in sight of Cape Race on the 2d of September; but when they had sailed more than three hundred leagues on their way home, the frigate, commanded by Sir Humphrey Gilbert himself, foundered in a violent storm at midnight, and every soul on board perished.*

* Hakluyt has preserved a very masterly performance from the pen of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, entitled, "A Discourse to prove a Passage by the North-west, to the East Indies," &c. Although the recent expeditions, under Captains Ross and Parry, have fully demonstrated that no passage, of an available nature at least, exists between America and the North Pole, it may be interesting to our readers to form some idea of the reasons by which Sir Humphrey convinced himself, and endeavoured to persuade others, of the certainty of a north-west passage; we, therefore, extract the contents of this discourse:—

"CAPITULO I. To prove by authoritie a passage to be on the

north side of America, to goe to Cataia, China, and to the East India. CAP. II. To prove by reason a passage to be on the north side of America, to go to Cataia, Moluccæ, &c. CAP. III. To prove by experience of sundry men's travailles, the opening of this north-west passage, whereby good hope remaineth of the rest. CAP. IV. To prove by circumstance, that the north-west passage hath bene sailed throughout. CAP. V. To prove that such Indians as have bene driven upon the coastes of Germanie came not thither by the south-east and south-west, nor from any part of Afrike or America. CAP. VI. To prove that the Indians aforementioned came not by the north-east, and that there is no thorow passage navigable

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF VIRGINIA, FROM ITS SETTLEMENT TO THE FRENCH WAR OF 1756.

TERRIBLE as was the fate of Gilbert and his associates, the ardour of Raleigh was not daunted, nor his energies depressed. High in favour with Elizabeth, he found no difficulty in procuring a patent similar to that which had been granted to his unfortunate brother. Prompt in the execution, as intrepid in the projection of his plans, he speedily equipped two small vessels, under Amadas and Barlow, to obtain further information of the coasts, the soil, and the inhabitants of the regions he designed to colonize. Approaching America by the Gulf of Florida, they touched first at the island of Ocaoke, which runs parallel to the greater part of North Carolina, and then at Roanoke, near the mouth of Albemarle Sound. In both they had some intercourse with the natives, whom they found to be savages, with all the characteristic qualities of uncivilized life—bravery, aversion to labour, hospitality, a propensity to admire and a willingness to exchange their rude productions for English commodities, especially for iron, or any of the useful metals of which they were destitute. After spending a few weeks in this traffic, and in visiting some parts of the adjacent continent, Amadas and Barlow returned to England, and gave a most fervid description of the country they had been sent to explore. Their own words, as contained in their report to Sir Walter Raleigh,* will convey a better idea of the mode of narrative adopted, and the effect produced, than any language of ours. "The soile," say they, "is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull and wholsome of all the worlde; there are above fourteene severall sweete smelling timber trees, and the most part of their underwoods are bayes and such like; they have those okes that we have, but farre greater and better. After they had bene divers times aboard our shippes, myselfe, with seven more, went twentie mile into the river that runneth towards the citie of Skicoak, which river they call Occam; and the evening following, we came to an island, which they call Rao-

that way. CAP. VII. To prove that these Indians came by the north-west, which induceth a certaintie of this passage by experience. CAP. VIII. What several reasons were alleged before the queenes majestie, and certain lords of her highnesse privie council, by M. Anth. Ienkinson, a gentleman of great travaile and experience, to prove this passage by the north-east, with my severall answeres then alleaged to the same. CAP. IX. How that this passage by the north-west is more commodious for our traffike, then the other by the north-east, if there be any such. CAP. X. What commodities would ensue, this passage being once discovered."—Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 11.

noak, distant from the harbour by which we entered seven leagues; and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnepike, very artificially; when we came towards it, standing neere unto the waters' side, the wife of Granganimmo, the king's brother, came running out to meete us very cheerfully and friendly; her husband was not then in the village; some of her people shee commanded to drawe our boate on shore for the beating of the billoe, others she appointed to cary us on their backes to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the house for feare of stealing. When we were come into the utter roome, having five roomes in her house, she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dried them againe; some of the women plucked off our stockings, and washed them, some washed our feete in warm water, and she herself tooke great paines to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dresse some meate for us to eate. After we had thus dryed ourselves, she brought us into the inner roome, where shee set on the boord standing along the house, some wheate like furmentie; sodden venison and roasted; fish, sodden, boyled and roasted; melons, rawe and sodden; rootes of divers kindes; and divers fruites. Their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caskes to keepe it, all the yere after they drink water, but it is sodden with ginger in it, and black sinamon, and sometimes sassaphras, and divers other wholesome and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all love and kindnesse, and with as much bountie, after their maner, as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the maner of the golden age. The people onely care howe to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soile afforeth; their meat is very well sodden, and they make broth very sweet and savorie; their vessels are earthen

Although the lapse of time has evinced the futility of the speculation of Gilbert, the style of this treatise places this author on a level with the most distinguished writers of this age. In the Senate he was admired for his eloquence, not less than for his patriotism and integrity; but the most interesting feature in his character was the strength of his piety. In the extremity of danger at sea, he was observed sitting unmoved, with a bible in his hand, and heard to say, "Courage, my lads! we are as near heaven at sea as at land."

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 248, 249.

pots, very large, white, and sweete; their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber. Within the place where they feede was their lodging, and within that their idoll, which they worship, of whom they speake incredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bowes and arrowes from hunting, whom, when we espied, we beganne to looke one towards another, and offered to reach our weapons; but as soone as shee espied our mistrust, shee was very much mooved, and caused some of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes and arrowes and breake them, and withall, beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the evening, and would not tarry all night, she was very sory, and gave us into our boate our supper half dressed, pottes and all, and brought us to our boate side, in which we lay all night, removing the same a prettie distance from the shoare; shee perceiving our jelousie, was much grieved, and sent divers men and thirtie women to sit all night on the banke-side by us, and sent us into our boates five mattes, to cover us from the raine, using very many wordes to intreate us to rest in their houses; but because we were fewe men, and if we had miscarried the voyage had bene in very great danger, we durst not adventure any thing, although there was no cause of doubt, for a more kinde and loving people there cannot be found in the worlde, as far as we have hitherto had triall."

Delighted with the prospect of possessing a territory so far superior to any hitherto visited by her subjects, Elizabeth was pleased to honour both the newly discovered country and herself, by bestowing upon it the title of Virginia.

These favourable circumstances not only encouraged the enterprising spirit of Raleigh, but, by their effect on public opinion, assisted him in his arrangements to form a permanent settlement; and he was soon enabled to despatch seven ships, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, one of the most valorous spirits of the age, with Ralph Lane, as governor of the colony, accompanied by Heriot, a mathematician of celebrity, and some other men of science. Sailing from Plymouth on the 9th of April, they proceeded to Virginia by the way of the West Indies, and, having narrowly escaped shipwreck at Cape Fear, anchored at Wocokon, on the 26th of

June. From this island Grenville went to the continent, accompanied by several gentlemen, and discovered various Indian towns. He then proceeded to Cape Hatteras, where he was visited by Granganimo, the prince seen by Amadas and Barlow the preceding year; and having viewed the island of Roanoke, he embarked for England, leaving one hundred and seven persons under the government of Mr. Lane, to form a plantation, and to commence the first English colony ever planted in America. The chief employment of this party, during their year's residence in the New World, consisted in obtaining a more correct and extensive knowledge of the country; a pursuit in which the persevering abilities of Heriot were exercised with peculiar advantage. His unremitting endeavours to instruct the savages, and diligent inquiries into their habits and character, by adding to the stock of human knowledge, rendered the expedition not wholly unproductive of benefit to mankind. He endeavoured to avail himself of the admiration expressed by the savages for the guns, the clock, the telescopes, and other implements that attested the superiority of the colonists, in order to lead their minds to the great source of all sense and science.* But, unfortunately, the majority of the colonists were much less distinguished by piety or prudence, than by a vehement impatience to acquire sudden wealth: their first pursuit was gold; and eagerly listening to the agreeable fictions of the natives, the adventurers consumed their time, and endured amazing hardships, in pursuit of a phantom, to the utter neglect of the means of providing for their future subsistence. The stock of provisions brought from England was exhausted; and the colony, reduced to the utmost distress, was preparing to disperse into different districts of the country in quest of food, when Sir Francis Drake appeared with his fleet, returning from a successful expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies. A scheme which he formed, of furnishing Lane and his associates with such supplies as might enable them to remain with comfort in their station, was disappointed by a sudden storm, in which the vessel he had destined for their service was dashed to pieces; and as he could not supply them with another, at their joint request, as they were worn out with fatigue and famine, he carried them home to England.†

* "Most things they saw with us, as mathematicall instruments, sea-compasses, the vertue of the loadstone, perspective glasses, burning glasses, clocks to goe of themselves, bookes, writing, guns, and such like, so far exceeded their capacities, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then men, or at least the gods had taught us how to make them, which loved us so much better than them; and caused many of them to give credit to what we spake concerning our God. In all places where I came, I did my

best to make his immortall glory knowne; and I told them, although the bible I shewed them contained all, yet of itselfe, it was not of any such vertue as I thought they did conceive. Notwithstanding many would be glad to touch it, to kisse, and embrace it, to hold it to their breasts and heads, and stroke all their body over with it."—Smith's History of Virginia, p. 11.

† Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 255—280.

Had the Virginia adventurers, however, remained but a little time longer at their plantation, they would have received supplies from home ; for, a few days after their departure, a ship, sent by Sir Walter Raleigh to their relief, arrived at Hatteras, and made diligent search for them, but, not finding them, returned to England. Within a few days after this ship had left the coast, Sir Richard Grenville arrived at Virginia with three new vessels laden with provisions. Searching in vain for the colony that he planted, but yet unwilling to lose possession of the country, he left fifty* of his crew to keep possession of the island of Roanoke, and returned to England. This was, indeed, but an inauspicious commencement for English attempts at transatlantic colonization ; but, though its immediate results did not realize the high expectations which had been formed, its consequences were indirectly very beneficial. It gave Heriot opportunity to describe its soil, climate, productions, and the manners of its inhabitants, with a degree of accuracy which merits no inconsiderable praise, when compared with the childish and marvellous tales published by several of the early visitants of the New World. Another consequence of this abortive colony is important enough to entitle it to a place in history. Lane and his associates, by their constant intercourse with the Indians, had acquired a relish for their favourite enjoyment of smoking tobacco ; to the use of which, the credulity of that people not only ascribed a thousand imaginary virtues, but their superstition considered the plant itself as a gracious gift of the gods, for the solace of human kind, and the most acceptable offering which man can present to heaven. They brought with them a specimen of this new commodity to England, and taught their countrymen the method of using it ; which Raleigh and some young men of fashion fondly adopted. From its being deemed a fashionable acquirement, and from the favourable opinion of its salutary qualities entertained by several physicians, the practice of smoking spread rapidly among the English ; and by a singular caprice of the human species, no less inexplicable than unexampled, it has become almost as universal as the demands of those appetites originally implanted in our nature.

Amidst all the discouraging circumstances with which the settlement of Virginia was attended, Raleigh still remained devotedly attached to the object ; and early in the year 1587, equipped another company of adventurers, incorporated by the title of the Borough of Raleigh, in Virginia. John White was

constituted governor, in whom, with a council of twelve persons, the legislative power was vested. They were directed to plant at the bay of Chesapeake, and to erect a fort there. This expedition sailed from Plymouth on the 8th of May, and about the 16th of July fell in with the Virginian coast. Arriving at Hatteras on the 22d of July, the governor, with a select party, proceeded to Roanoke, and landed at that part of the island where the men were left the year preceding ; but discovered no signs of them, excepting the bones of one man, who had been slain by the savages. The next day the governor and several of his company went to the north end of the island, where Lane had erected his fort, and had built several decent dwelling houses, hoping to obtain some intelligence of his fellow-countrymen ; but, on coming to the place, and finding the fort razed, and all the houses, though standing unhurt, overgrown with weeds and vines, and deer feeding within them ; they returned, in despair of ever seeing the objects of their research alive. Orders were given the same day for the repair of the houses, and for the erection of new cottages ; and all the colony, consisting of one hundred and seventeen persons, soon after landed, and commenced a second plantation. In the month of August, Manteo, a friendly Indian, who had been to England, was baptized in Roanoke, according to a previous order of Sir Walter Raleigh ; and, in reward of his faithful service to the English, was called lord of Roanoke. About the same period, Mrs. Dare, daughter of the governor, and wife of one of the assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoke, and baptized the next Lord's day by the name of Virginia, being the first English child born in the country.

Before the close of the month of August, at the urgent solicitation of the whole colony, the governor sailed for England to procure supplies. Unfortunately, on his arrival, the nation was wholly engrossed by the expected invasion of the grand Spanish Armada ; and Sir Richard Grenville, who was preparing to sail for Virginia, received notice that his services were wanted at home. Raleigh, however, contrived to send out White with two more vessels ; but they were attacked by a Spanish ship of war, and so severely shattered, that they were obliged to return. It was not till 1590 that another expedition reached Virginia, when they beheld a similarly dreadful scene to that which had been presented on the former occasion. The houses were demolished, though still surrounded by a palisade ; and a great part of the stores was found buried in the earth ; but as no trace was ever found of this unfortunate colony, there is

* Hakluyt says fifteen, but Smith fifty, which is the more probable number.

every reason to apprehend that the whole must have miserably perished.* Thus terminated the noble and persevering efforts of Raleigh in the western hemisphere; in which he sent out in four years several expeditions, at a cost of £40,000, without any profitable return. It cannot be a matter of surprise, therefore, that he should be induced to assign his right of property in that country, with all the privileges of his patent, to other hands, especially as he was engaged in several other projects which now presented, to his imagination at least, a much more promising appearance. Sir Thomas Smith, and a company of mercantile men, were invested with the patent; but, finding it difficult, probably, to procure emigrants for a spot which had proved the grave of so many of their brave companions, they satisfied themselves with the traffic carried on by a few small barks, and made no attempt to take possession of the country. Thus, after a period of a hundred and six years from the time that Cabot discovered North America in the service of Henry VII., and of twenty years from the time that Raleigh planted the first colony, not a single Englishman remained in the New World; and the colonization of America awaited the energy of a new impulse.

In the last year of Elizabeth, the voyage of Bartholomew Gosnold tended to revive the spirit of emigration. He set sail in a small bark from Falmouth, with thirty-two persons, for the northern parts of Virginia, with the design of beginning a plantation. Instead of making the unnecessary circuit by the Canaries and West Indies, he steered, as steadily as the winds would permit, due west, and acquired the honour of being the first Englishman who came in a direct course to this part of America.† After a passage of seven weeks, he descried the American coast; and sailing along the shore, arrived at a head land, in the latitude of 42°, where they came to anchor. Having taken a great number of cod at this place, they designated it Cape Cod. On the day following

they coasted the land southerly; and, in attempting to double a point, came suddenly into shoal water, at a place they called Point Care. On the 24th they discovered an island, which they called Dover Cliff; and the next day came to anchor, a quarter of a mile from the shore, in a large bay they termed Gosnold's Hope. On the northern side of it was the main; and on the southern, four leagues distant, was a large island, which, in honour of the queen, they determined should bear the name of Elizabeth. Consulting together on a fit place for a plantation, they concluded to settle on the western part of this island. In it they found a small lake of fresh water, two miles in circumference, in the centre of which was a rocky islet; and here they began to erect a fort and storehouse. While the men were occupied in this work, Gosnold crossed the bay in his vessel, went on shore, trafficked amicably with the natives, and, having discovered the mouth of two rivers, returned to the island.‡ In nineteen days the fort and storehouse were finished; but discontents arising among those who were to have remained in the country, the design of a settlement was relinquished,§ and the whole company returned to England.||

However inconsiderable this voyage may appear, its results were by no means insignificant. It was now discovered that the aspect of America was very inviting far north of any portion the English had hitherto attempted to settle. The coast of a vast country, stretching through the most desirable climates, lay before them. The richness of its virgin soil promised a certain recompense to their industry. In its interior provinces unexpected sources of wealth might open, and unknown objects of commerce might be found. Its distance from England was diminished almost a third by the new course which Gosnold had pointed out; and plans for establishing colonies began to be formed in different parts of the kingdom. The accession of James to the English crown was also highly favourable to the colonization of America, and

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 281—294. Murray, vol. i. p. 204. "And thus we left seeking our colony, that was never any of them found, nor seene to this day, 1622. And this was the conclusion of this plantation, after so much time, labour, and charge consumed; whereby we see,

'Not all at once, nor all alike, nor ever hath it beene,
That God doth offer and confer his blessings upon men.'"
Smith, p. 16.

† Smith (Hist. Virg. p. 16) says, "this course was shorter than heretofore by five hundred leagues."—Belknap, Biog. vol. i. p. 231; ii. 100. Robertson, b. 9.

‡ "Point Care is supposed by Dr. Belknap to be *Malebarre*, or Sandy Point, forming the south-eastern extremity of the county of Barnstable, in Massachusetts. Martha's Vineyard was not the is. and which now bears that name, but a small island, now called *No-Man's Land*. Dover Cliff was *Gay Head*. Gosnold's Hope

was *Buzzard's Bay*. The narrator in Purchas says, 'it is one of the stateliest sounds that ever I was in.' Elizabeth Island was the westernmost of the islands which now bear the name of Elizabeth Islands. One of the two rivers discovered by Gosnold, was that near which lay Hap's Hill; and the other, that on the banks of which the town of New Bedford is now built."—Holmes's Annals of America, vol. i. p. 118.

§ "The 13th beganne some of our companie that before vowed to stay, to make revolt; wherenpon, the planters diminishing, all was given over."—Purchas. "In 1797, Dr. Belknap, with several other gentlemen, went to the spot which was selected by Gosnold's company on Elizabeth Island, and had the supreme satisfaction to find the cellar of Gosnold's storehouse; the stones of which were evidently taken from the neighbouring beach; the rocks of the islet being less moveable, and lying in ledges."—Belknap, Biog. vol. ii. p. 115.

|| Smith's Hist. Virg. p. 16—18.

fatal to the illustrious projector of this design. Peace was immediately concluded with Spain ; and England, in the enjoyment of uninterrupted tranquillity, was enabled to direct to more bloodless pursuits the energies matured in a war which had strongly excited the spirit of the nation without impairing its strength. These projects were powerfully aided by the judicious counsel and zealous encouragement of Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, a man of eminent attainments in naval and commercial knowledge, the patron and counsellor of many of the English expeditions of discovery, and the historian of their exploits. By his persuasion, two vessels were fitted out by the merchants of Bristol, to examine the discoveries of Gosnold, and ascertain the correctness of his statements. They returned with an ample confirmation of his veracity. A similar expedition, equipped and despatched by Lord Arundel, not only produced additional testimony to the same effect, but reported so many additional particulars in favour of the country, that all doubts were removed ; and an association sufficiently numerous, wealthy, and powerful, to attempt a settlement, being soon formed, a petition was presented to the king for the sanction of his authority to its being carried into effect.

Fond of directing the active genius of his English subjects towards occupations not repugnant to his own pacific maxims, James listened with a favourable ear to the application. But as the extent as well as value of the American continent began now to be better known, a grant of the whole of such a vast region to any one body of men, however respectable, appeared to him an act of impolitic and profuse liberality. For this reason he divided that portion of North America, which stretches from the thirty-fourth to the fifty-fifth degree of latitude, into two districts nearly equal ; the one called the first or south colony of Virginia, the other, the second or north colony. He authorized Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Richard Hakluyt, and their associates, mostly resident in London, to settle any part of the former which they should choose, and vested in them a right of property to the land extending along the coast fifty miles on each side of the place of their first habitation, and reaching into the interior country a hundred miles. The latter district he allotted, as the place of settlement to sundry knights, gentlemen, and merchants of Bristol, Plymouth, and other parts of the west of England, with a similar grant of territory. The supreme government of the colonies that were to be settled, was

vested in a council, resident in England, named by the king, with laws and ordinances given under his sign manual ; and the subordinate jurisdiction was committed to a council, resident in America, which was also nominated by the king, and to act conformably to his instructions. The charter, while it thus restricted the emigrants in the important article of internal regulation, secured to them and their descendants all the rights of denizens, in the same manner as if they had remained or had been born in England ; and granted them the privilege of holding their lands in America by the freest and least burdensome tenure. The king permitted whatever was necessary for the sustenance or commerce of the new colonies to be exported from England, during the space of seven years, without paying any duty ; and, as a farther incitement to industry, he granted them liberty of trade with other nations ; and appropriated the duty to be levied on foreign commodities, as a fund for the benefit of the colonies, for the period of twenty-one years. He also granted them liberty of coining for their own use, of repelling enemies, and of detaining ships that should trade there without their permission.* “In this singular charter,” says Robertson, “the contents of which have been little attended to by the historians of America, some articles are as unfavourable to the rights of the colonists as others are to the interest of the parent state. By placing the legislative and executive powers in a council nominated by the crown, and guided by its instructions, every person settling in America seems to be bereaved of the noblest privilege of a free man ; by the unlimited permission of trade with foreigners, the parent state is deprived of that exclusive commerce which has been deemed the chief advantage resulting from the establishment of colonies. But in the infancy of colonization, and without the guidance of observation or experience, the ideas of men, with respect to the mode of forming new settlements, were not fully unfolded or properly arranged. At a period when they could not foresee the future grandeur and importance of the communities which they were about to call into existence, they were ill qualified to concert the best plan for governing them. Besides, the English of that age, accustomed to the high prerogative and arbitrary rule of their monarchs, were not animated with such liberal sentiments, either concerning their own personal or political rights, as have become familiar in the more mature and improved state of their constitution.”†

We may regard the colonies of North and South

* Stith, Virg. Appendix, No. 1, and Hazard, Coll. vol. i. p. 50—58, contain entire copies of this patent.

† History of America, b. ix. p. 290.

Virginia, or Virginia and New England, as they were subsequently denominated, as forming, from this period, the subject of two distinct and continuous histories; that of the former, being earliest in point of time, will continue to occupy our attention during the remainder of this chapter.

The proprietors of the royal patent lost no time in carrying their plans into effect. It cannot, however, be said, that they commenced their operations on a scale at all worthy of the magnitude of the undertaking, as their fleet consisted only of three ships, conveying one hundred emigrants; and, although some persons of rank were among the number of proprietors, their pecuniary resources were but scanty. The charge of this embarkation was committed to Christopher Newport, already famous for his skill in western navigation. He sailed from the Thames on the 20th of December, 1606, having, in a sealed box, the royal instructions, and the names of the intended colonial council, with orders not to break the seal till twenty-four hours after the expedition had effected a landing; to which singular policy, may be attributed the dissensions which soon commenced among the leaders, and which continued to distract them during a voyage long and disastrous.* Captain Newport had designed to land at Roanoke; but fortunately, being driven by a storm to the northward, he stood into the spacious bay of Chesapeake, that grand reservoir into which are poured almost countless tributaries, which not only fertilize the country through which they flow, but open to it a commercial intercourse which can scarcely be said to be surpassed in any portion of the globe. The promontory on the south of the bay was named Cape Henry, in honour of the prince of Wales; and that on the north, Cape Charles, after the then duke of York. At night the box, containing the sealed instructions, was opened, in which Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall, were constituted the council of government, with power to elect a president from among their number. The adventurers were employed in seeking a place for settlement until

the thirteenth of May, when they took possession of a peninsula, on the north side of the river Powhatan, called by the emigrants James River, about forty miles from its mouth. To make room for their projected town, they commenced clearing away the forest, which had for centuries afforded shelter and food to the natives. The members of the council, while they adhered to their orders in the choice of their president, on the most frivolous pretences excluded from a seat among them, the individual, who was probably of all others the best fitted for the office, Captain Smith,† though nominated by the same instrument from which they derived their authority. His superior talents, and the fame he had previously acquired in war, excited their envy, while possibly they induced him to assume, that a greater deference was due to his opinion than his coadjutors were willing to admit. At length, however, by the prudent exhortations of Mr. Hunt, their chaplain, the animosities which had arisen were composed, Smith was admitted into the council, and they all turned their undivided attention to the government of the colony. In honour of their monarch, they called the town, the erection of which they now commenced, James Town. Thus was formed the first permanent colony of the English in America.

The vicinity of the settlement was a vast wilderness, though a luxuriant one, inhabited by a race of Indian savages, possessing both the virtues and the vices peculiar to their state. At first, they treated the colonists with kindness; but misunderstandings, from various causes, ere long interrupted the peace, and annoyed the proceedings of the English. Nor was the hostility of the natives the only occasion of discomfort; the extreme heat of the summer, and the intense cold of the succeeding winter, were alike fatal to the colonists. From May to September, fifty persons died, among whom was Bartholomew Gosnold, a member of the council. The storehouse at James Town accidentally taking fire, the town, thatched with reeds, burned with such violence, that the fortifications, arms, apparel, bedding, and a great quantity of private goods and provision, were consumed.

These distresses naturally led them to reflect upon

* Chalmers, Political Annals, b. i. c. 2. "Their animosities were powerfully inflamed by an arrangement which, if it did not originate with the king, at least evinces a strong affinity to that ostentatious mystery and driftless artifice which he affected as the perfection of political dexterity."—Grahame, vol. i. p. 47.

† "It would perhaps be difficult to find any individual who experienced more gallant adventures and daring enterprises, of a highly romantic character, in various countries, than Captain Smith. His life, without any fictitious additions, might easily be taken for a mere romance. He appears to have possessed many great qualities, and to have been deficient in nothing but that mean

cunning and sordid spirit, by the aid of which inferior men were able to thwart his views, and deprive him of those stations and rewards which his services amply merited. He was one of the earliest and most ardent of those who undertook the settlement of Virginia; his bravery and capacity more than once saved that infant colony from destruction, and kept the enterprise from being abandoned for several years, though the absurdity of the schemes, and the profligacy, folly, and dishonesty of those who were to execute them, exposed the colony for many years to every calamity, and often brought it to the brink of ruin."—North American Review, vol. iv. p. 146.

their situation ; and having become sensible of their injustice to Smith, his personal talents and activity were, in their adversity, appealed to with that regard and deference which, in prosperous times, are yielded only to vested authority and official station. From some unaccountable jealousy on the part of the governor, the fort had been left in an unprotected state, but, by the advice of Smith, it was now put into a state to defend them against the attacks of the Indians. To procure provisions and explore the country, he made frequent and distant excursions into the wilderness. In one of these, he seized an Indian idol, made with skins stuffed with moss, for the redemption of which as much corn was brought him as he required. Some tribes he gained by caresses and presents, and procured from them a supply of provisions ; others he attacked with open force, and defeating them on every occasion, whatever their superiority in numbers might be, compelled them to impart to him some portion of their winter stores. As the recompense of all his toils and dangers, he saw abundance and contentment re-established in the colony, and hoped that he should be able to maintain them in that happy state, until the arrival of ships from England in the spring. But in the midst of his energetic measures, while exploring the source of the river Chickahominy, he was surprised and attacked by a party of Indians. He defended himself bravely until his companions were killed, when he took to flight ; but running incautiously, he sunk up to his shoulders in a swamp, and was taken prisoner. The exulting savages conducted him in triumph through several towns to Werowocomoco, where Powhatan, their king, resided in state, with a strong guard of Indians around him. When the prisoner entered the apartment of the sovereign, all the people gave a shout. The queen of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands ; and another person brought a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel, to dry them. Having feasted him in their best manner, they held a long consultation, at the conclusion of which, two great stones were brought before Powhatan. Smith had now reason to consider his career as drawing to a close ; by the united efforts of the attendants, he was forcibly dragged, his head laid upon one of the stones, and the mighty club up-raised, a few blows from

which were to terminate his existence. But a very unexpected interposition now took place. Pocahontas, the favourite daughter of Powhatan, was seized with emotions of tender pity, and ran up to her father, pathetically pleading for the life of the stranger. When all entreaties were lost on that stern and savage potentate, she hastened to Smith, snatched his head in her arms, and laid her own on his, declaring that the first blow must fall upon her. The heart even of a savage father was at last melted, and Powhatan granted to his favourite daughter the life of Smith.*

It appears at first to have been the intention of the savage monarch to have detained the captive, and employed him in manufacturing utensils and ornaments for his majesty's use ; but from some cause he speedily changed his mind, and in two days after his deliverance, sent him, to his high gratification, with a guard of twelve of his trusty followers, to James Town, upon condition that he should remit two culverins and a millstone as his ransom.†

After an absence of seven weeks, Smith arrived barely in time to save the colony from being abandoned. His associates, reduced to the number of thirty-eight, impatient of farther stay in a country where they had met with so many discouragements, were preparing to return to England ; and it was not without the utmost difficulty, and alternately employing persuasion, remonstrance, and even violent interference, that Smith prevailed with them to relinquish their design. Pocahontas, persevering in her generous designs, continued to supply the colony with provisions till a vessel arrived from England with supplies. Having preserved the settlement during the winter by his active exertions and his careful management, Smith embraced the earliest opportunity, in the following manner, to explore the extensive and multifarious ramifications of the Chesapeake. In an open barge, with fourteen persons, and but a scanty stock of provisions, he traversed the whole of that vast extent of water from Cape Henry, where it meets the ocean, to the river Susquehannah ; trading with some tribes of Indians, and fighting with others. He discovered and named many small islands, creeks, and inlets ; sailed up many of the great rivers ; and explored the inland parts of the country. During

* Smith's Hist. Virg. p. 49.

† "So to James Towne with twelve guides Powhatan sent him. That night they quartered in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment) every houre to be put to one death or other, for all their feasting. But Almighty God (by his divine providence) had mollified the hearts of those sterne barbarians with compassion. The next morning betimes they came to the fort, where Smith having used the salvages with what kindnesse he could, he showed Rawhunt Powhatan's trusty ser-

vant, two demi-culverings and a mill-stone to carry Powhatan ; they found them somewhat too heaieve, but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with isickles, the yce and branches came so tumbling downe, that the poore salvages ran away halfe dead with feare. But at last we regained some conference with them, and gave them such toyes, and sent to Powhatan, his women, and children, such presents as gave them in generall full content."—Smith's Hist. Virg. p. 49.

this enterprise, the Susquehannah Indians visited him, and made him presents. At this early period they had hatchets, and utensils of iron and brass, which, by their own account, originally came from the French of Canada. After sailing about three thousand miles, Smith returned to James Town. Having made careful observations during this excursion of discovery, he drew a map of Chesapeake Bay, with its tributary rivers, annexing to it a description of the countries, and of the nations inhabiting them, and sent it to the council in England.*

The superior abilities of Smith had now been so manifestly subservient to the general welfare, that they had silenced, at least, the malignity of envy and faction, and although it was comparatively a short period since he had been so unjustly calumniated, and deprived of his seat at the council-board, immediately after his return from his voyage, he was, by the election of the council and the request of the settlers, invested with the government, and received letters-patent to be président of the colony. The wisdom of his administration inspired confidence, its vigour commanded obedience, and the military exercises, which he obliged all to perform, struck the Indians with astonishment, and inspired them with awe.†

The colony continued to proceed, under the administration of President Smith, as favourably as the nature of its materials would permit. They were, indeed, by no means of the most desirable description, being chiefly "poor gentlemen, tradesmen, serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoil a commonwealth than either to begin or maintain one." As they went out usually with extravagant hopes of sudden and brilliant wealth, they paid little regard to any solid or substantial pursuit, and scorned even the slight labour which was necessary to draw subsistence from this fertile soil. The caprice and suspicion of the Indians also assailed him with numberless trials. Even Powhatan, notwithstanding the friendly ties that united him to his ancient guest, was induced, by the treacherous artifices of certain Dutchmen, who deserted to him from

James Town, first to form a secret conspiracy, and then to excite and prepare open hostility against the colonists. Some of the fraudulent designs of the royal savage were revealed by the unabated kindness of Pocahontas, others were detected by Captain Smith, and from them all he contrived to extricate the colony with honour and success, and yet with little, and only defensive bloodshed. But Smith was not permitted to complete the work he had so honourably begun. His administration was unacceptable to the company in England, for the same reasons that rendered it beneficial to the settlers in America. The patentees, very little concerned about the establishment of a happy and respectable society, had eagerly counted on the accumulation of sudden wealth by the discovery of a shorter passage to the South Sea, or the acquisition of territory replete with mines of the precious metals. In these hopes they had been hitherto disappointed; and the state of affairs in the colony was far from betokening even the retribution of their heavy expenditure.

The company of South Virginia, therefore, treated for, and obtained from king James a new charter, with more ample privileges.‡ This measure added materially to the list of proprietors, among whom we find some of the most respectable and wealthy, not only of the commoners, but of the peers of the realm. The council of the new company appointed Lord Delaware governor of Virginia for life; Sir Thomas Gates, his lieutenant; Sir George Somers, admiral; and Christopher Newport, vice-admiral; and fitted out seven ships, attended by two small vessels, having on board five hundred emigrants. Lord Delaware did not, however, accompany this expedition, not from any want of attachment to the cause, but from a desire to preside for a period over the council at home, and to make more efficient arrangements for further reinforcements. The ship in which the three other officers§ sailed, becoming separated from the rest of the fleet in a violent storm, was wrecked on the Bermudas Islands, where all the company, consisting of one hundred and fifty persons, were providentially saved. One small vessel was lost in the

* This map was made with such admirable exactness, that it is the original from which all subsequent maps and descriptions of Virginia have been chiefly copied. In Purchas, and in some copies of Smith's History of Virginia, his own original map is still to be found, but it is very rare.

† "About this time there was a marriage betwixt Iohn Laydon and Anne Burras, which was the first marriage we had in Virginia."—Smith's Hist. Virg. p. 73.

‡ Copies of this second charter, containing the names of the proprietors, are preserved in Stith, Virg. Appendix, No. ii. and in Hazard, Coll. i. 58—72. By this charter the company was made "one Body or Commonalty perpetual," and incorporated by the name of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and

Planters of the City of London, for the First Colony in Virginia." Charter. To them were now granted in absolute property, what seem formerly to have been conveyed only in trust, the lands extending from Cape Comfort along the sea coast southward, two hundred miles; from the same promontory two hundred miles northward; and from the Atlantic westward to the South Sea; and also all the islands lying within one hundred miles along the coast of both seas of the aforesaid precinct.—Chalmers.

§ Each of these had a commission; and the first who should arrive, was authorized to recall the commission that had been granted for the government of the colony; but "because they could not agree for place, it was concluded they should go all in one ship."—Smith's Hist. Virg. p. 89.

storm; the other ships, much damaged and distressed, arrived about the middle of August at James river; but so little were they expected, that when they were first descried at sea, they were mistaken for enemies; and these apprehensions, which were dissipated by the nearer approach of the fleet, only gave place to more substantial and more formidable evils, arising from the composition of the reinforcement which it brought to the colonial body.* A great proportion of these new emigrants consisted of profligate and licentious youths; indigent gentlemen, too proud to beg, and too lazy to work; idle retainers; dependants too infamous to be decently protected at home, less fitted to found a commonwealth than to destroy one. In fact, the whole colony was speedily involved in distress and disorder by the anarchical state introduced by their pride and folly, while the Indian tribes were alienated and exasperated by their turbulence and injustice.

A systematic design was now meditated against the whole colony by the sovereign of the country; but it was providentially discovered and frustrated. Pocahontas, the tutelary friend of Virginia, though but a child of thirteen years of age, went in a very dark and dreary night to James Town, and, at the hazard of her life, disclosed to the president a plot of her father to kill him and all the English. This timely notice put the colony on its guard; and some favourable occurrences soon after contributed still farther toward its preservation. An Indian, apparently dead through the effect of a charcoal fire in a close room, was, on the application of vinegar and aqua vitæ by the president, reanimated. This supposed miracle, with an explosion of powder, which killed two or three Indians, and scorched and wounded others, excited such astonishment, mingled with such admiration of English power and art, that Powhatan and his people came to them with presents of peace; and the whole country, during the remainder of Smith's administration, was entirely free from molestation, and the colonists pursued

* Speaking of this company, Smith says, "To a thousand mischiefs those lewd Capitaines led this lewd company, wherein were many unruly gallants, packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies, and those would dispose and determine of the government, sometimes to one, the next day to another; to-day the old commission must rule, to-morrow the new, the next day neither; in fine, they would rule all, or ruine all: yet in charitie we must endure them thus to destroy us, or by correcting their follies, have brought the worlds censure upon us to be guiltie of their blouds. Happie had we beene had they never arrived, and we for ever abandoned, as we were left to our fortunes; for on earth, for the number, was never more confusion, or misery, then their factions occasioned."

"The president seeing the desire those braves had to rule; seeing how his authoritie so unexpectedly changed, would willingly have left all, and have returned for England. But seeing there

their plans of improvement, both in agriculture and in some of the manufactures, with tolerable success. Unhappily, however, the president, while exerting himself with his usual energy in the concerns of the settlement, received a dangerous wound from the accidental explosion of a quantity of gunpowder. Completely disabled by this misfortune, and destitute of surgical aid, he was compelled to resign his command, and take his departure (and it was a final one) for England. "It was natural," observes Grahame, "that he should abandon with regret the society he had so often preserved, the settlement he had conducted through difficulties as formidable as the infancy of Carthage or Rome had to encounter, and the scenes he had dignified by so much wisdom and virtue. But our sympathy with his regret is abated by the reflection, that a longer residence in the colony would speedily have consigned him to very subordinate office, and might have deprived the world of that stock of valuable knowledge, and his own character of that accession of fame, which the publication of his travels has been the means of perpetuating."†

The departure of Smith was, as might have been anticipated, a most inauspicious circumstance for the colony. The Indians, finding that the person whose vigour they had so often felt no longer ruled the English settlers, generally revolted, and destroyed them wherever they were found. Captain Ratcliff, in a small ship, with thirty men, going to trade, and trusting himself indiscreetly to Powhatan, he and all his people, excepting two, were slain; one boy was saved by the benevolent Pocahontas. The provisions of the colony being imprudently wasted, a dreadful famine ensued, and prevailed to such extremity, that this period was many years distinguished by the name of "the starving time." Of nearly five hundred persons left in the colony by the late president, sixty only remained at the expiration of six months. In this extremity, they received unexpected relief from Sir Thomas Gates, and the compa-

was small hope this new commission would arrive, longer he would not suffer those factious spirits to proceede. It would be too tedious, too strange, and almost incredible, should I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots, and practices, he daily escaped amongst this factious crew, the chiefe whereof he quickly layd by the heeles, till his leasure better served to doe them justice."—Smith's Hist. Virg. p. 90.

* "The History of the Rise and Progress of the United States of North America, till the Revolution in 1688. By James Grahame, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo." This work appears to have been the result of lengthened and extensive research, and we know not which most to commend, its general correctness, its vigorous and just conceptions, or its decided advocacy of Christian principles;—and we take the liberty of expressing our hope that the volumes containing the subsequent portions of the history will not be longer delayed.

ny wrecked the previous year at the Bermudas, who, having built two small vessels, were at length able to leave the Island, and reached Virginia on the 23d of May. Finding the small remains of the colony in a famishing condition, Sir Thomas Gates consulted with Sir George Somers, Captain Newport, and the gentlemen and council of the former government; and the conclusion was, that they would abandon the country. It was their intention to sail for Newfoundland, where they expected to meet with many English ships, into which, it was hoped, they might disperse most of the company, and thus get back to England. On the 7th of June they all embarked in four small vessels, and about noon, fell down the river with the tide. The next morning they discovered a boat making toward them; and it proved to be the long-boat of Lord Delaware, who had just arrived at the mouth of the river, with three ships and a hundred and fifty men. Hearing at the fort of the company's intention to return to England, he had despatched an officer with letters to Sir Thomas Gates, informing him of his arrival. Gates instantly changed his purpose, and that night relanded all his men at James Town. On the 10th, Lord Delaware came up with his ships, bringing plentiful supplies to the colony, which he proceeded to resettle.*

Having published his commission, which invested him with the sole command, he appointed a council of six persons to assist him in the administration. An essential change now took place in the form of the ancient Virginia constitution; for the original aristocracy was converted into a monarchical government, over whose deliberations the people had no control. Under the auspices of this intelligent and distinguished nobleman, the affairs of the colony were soon re-established. He allotted to every man his particular business;—the French who had been imported for the purpose, he commanded to plant the vine; the English, to labour in the woodlands; and he appointed officers to see his orders obeyed. All patiently submitted to an authority, which experience had taught them to be wise and necessary; and peace, industry, and order, now succeeded tumult, idleness, and anarchy. Lord Delaware speedily erected two more forts for the more effectual protection of the colony; the one he designated Fort Henry, the other Fort Charles. On the report of his deputy governors of the plenty they had

found in Bermudas, he despatched Sir George Somers to that island for provisions, accompanied by Captain Samuel Argall in another vessel. They sailed together until, by contrary winds, they were driven towards Cape Cod; whence Argall, after attempting, pursuant to instructions, to reach Sagadahock, found his way back to Virginia. He was next sent for provisions to the Potomac, where he found Henry Spelman, an English youth, who had been preserved from the fury of Powhatan by Pocahontas; and by his assistance procured a supply of corn. Somers, after struggling long with contrary winds, at length arrived safely at Bermudas, and began to execute the purpose of his voyage; but, exhausted with fatigues, to which his advanced age was inadequate, he soon after expired. Previously to his death, he had charged his nephew, Matthew Somers, who commanded under him, to return with the provisions to Virginia; but, instead of obeying the charge, he returned to England, carrying the body of his deceased uncle for interment in his native country.

The health of Lord Delaware not permitting him to remain in his office of captain general of the Virginia colony, he departed for England, leaving above two hundred people in health and tranquillity. Not long after his departure, Sir Thomas Dale arrived at Virginia with three ships, three hundred emigrants, and a supply of cattle, provisions, and other articles needful for the colony. In August, Sir Thomas Gates also arrived with six ships, two hundred and eighty men, and twenty women, a considerable quantity of cattle and hogs, military stores, and other necessities; and assumed the government. Finding the people occupied with but little amusements, and verging towards their former state of penury, he directed their employment in necessary works. The colony now began to extend itself up James river, where several new settlements were effected, and a town built, enclosed with a palisade, which, in honour of prince Henry, was called Henrico.

To avenge some injuries of the Appamatuck Indians, Sir Thomas Dale assaulted and took their town, at the mouth of the river of that name, about five miles from Henrico. He kept possession of it, calling it New Bermudas, and annexed to its corporation many miles of champaign and woodland ground, in several hundreds.

* Smith, Virg. p. 106. Stith, p. 115. Beverly, p. 34, 35. Belknap, Biog. Art. DELAWARE. The narrator, in Purchas, gives this vivid description of the scene:—"The three and twentieth day of May we cast anchor before James Towne, where we landed, and our much grieved governour first visiting the charch, caused the bell to be rung, at which all such as were able to come forth of

their houses, repayed to church, where our minister, Master Bucke, made a zealous and sorrowfull prayer, finding all things so contrary to our expectations, so full of misery and misgovernment. After service our governour caused mee to reade his commission, and Captaine Percie (then president) delivered up unto him his commission, the old patent, and the councill seale."

In the following year, application was made to the king, by the patentees, for a new charter. The principal objects which they were desirous of obtaining, and in which they succeeded, were, their investiture with the islands situated within three hundred leagues of the coast; the prolongation of the period of their exemption from the payment of duties on their exports; power to raise additional funds by lottery; and some fresh regulations in the internal management.

The Bermudas, lying within the limits assigned by their new charter, were sold by the company to one hundred and twenty of its own members, who, in honour of Sir George Somers, named them the Somers Islands. To these islands they sent a colony of sixty persons, with Richard Moor as their governor. These colonists having landed in June on the

principal island, in August subscribed to articles of government; and in the course of the year received an accession of thirty persons. The Virginia company, at the same time, took possession of other small islands discovered by Gates and Somers, and prepared to send out a considerable reinforcement to James Town. The expense of these extraordinary efforts was defrayed by the profits of a lottery, which amounted nearly to £30,000.

It was in the year following the grant of the new charter, that the marriage of Pocahontas, the famed daughter of Powhatan, was celebrated; an alliance which secured peace to Virginia many years. Having been carefully instructed in the Christian religion, it was not long before she renounced the idolatry of her country, made profession of Christianity, and was baptized in the name of Rebecca.*

* To give a detail of the history of this Indian princess seems scarcely compatible with a due regard to other departments of our work; and yet it is of too remarkable and interesting a character to be omitted. We therefore insert, as a note, Captain Smith's own account, in a narration made to the Queen of James I.—“Some ten yeeres agoe being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan, their chiefe king, I received from this great salvage exceeding great courtesie, especially from his sonne Nantaquaus, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit, I ever saw in a salvage, and his sister Pocahontas, the king's most deare and wel-beloved daughter, being but a childe of twelve or thirteene yeeres of age, whose compassionate pitifull heart, of my desperate estate, gave me much cause to respect her: I being the first Christian this proud king and his grim attendants ever saw: and thus intrahled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortall foes to prevent, notwithstanding all their threats. After some six weeks fasting amongst those salvage courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to save mine, and not onely that, but so prevailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to James Towne, where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures to keepe possession of all those large territories of Virginia. Such was the weakness of this poore commonwealth, as had the salvages not fed us, we directly had starved.

“And this reliefe, most Gracious Queene, was commonly brought us by this Lady Pocahontas; notwithstanding all these passages when inconstant fortune turned our peace to warre, this tender virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us, and by her our jarres have beene oft appeased, our wants still supplied; were it the policie of her father thus to imploy her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinarie affection to our nation, I know not; but of this I am sure, when her father with the utmost of his policie and power, sought to surprize mee, having but eighteene with me, the darke night could not affright her from comming through the irksome woods, and with watered eyes gave me intelligence, with her best advice, to escape his furie, which had hee knowne, hee had surely slaine her. James Towne, with her wild traine, she has freely frequented as her fathers habitation; and, during the time of two or three yeeres, she next, under God, was still the instrument to preserve this colonie from death, famine, and utter confusion, which, if in those times, had once beene dissolved, Virginia might have lynced as it was on our first arrivall to this day. Since then, this businesse having beene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at, it is most certaine, after a long and troublesome warre after my departure, betwixt her father and our colonie, all which time she was not heard of; about two yeeres after shee herselfe was taken prisoner, being so detained neere two yeeres longer, the

colonie by that meanes was relieved, peace concluded, and at last, rejecting her barbarous condition, was married to an English gentleman, with whom at this present she is in England; the first Christian ever of that nation, the first Virginian ever spake English, or had a childe in marriage by an Englishman, a matter surely, if my meaning be truly considered and well understood, worthy a princes understanding.

“Being about this time preparing to set saile for New England, I could not stay to doe her that service I desired, and she well deserved; but hearing shee was at Brenford with divers of my friends, I went to see her. After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with divers others, we all left her two or three houres, repenting myselfe to have writ she could speake English; but not long after, she began to talke, and remembered mee well what courtesies she had done, saying, ‘you did promise Powhatan what was yours should be his, and he the like to you; you called him father, being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I doe you;’ which, though I would have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a kings daughter; with a well set countenance, she said, ‘Were you not afraid to come into my fathers countrie, and caused feare in him and all his people, (but mee,) and feare you here I should call you father? I tell you then I will, and you shall call mee child, and so I will be for ever and ever your countrieman. They did tell us alwaies you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plimoth, yet Powhatan did command Vitamatomakkin to seeke you and know the truth, because your countriemen will lie much.’

“The treasurer, counsell, and companie, having well furnished Captaine Samuel Argall, the Lady Pocahontas, alias Rebecca, with her husband and others, in the good ship called the George, it pleased God, at Gravesend, to take this young lady to his mercie, where she made not more sorrow for her unexpected death, than joy to the beholders, to heare and see her make so religious and godly an end.”—Smith's Hist. Virg. p. 121—123.

As this eulogy of Pocahontas does not give us such a detail as the reader might wish to have, the American editor adds the following from “Knapp's Female Biography.”

POCAHONTAS. In every age and nation, rare instances of genius and benevolence have been found; but in the whole range of uneducated nations, no female can be produced that has superior claims to Pocahontas, the Indian princess, daughter to the sachem of Virginia, Powhatan. This princess was born somewhere about 1594, according to Captain Smith's conjecture, for the savages have no methods of keeping an exact register of births, or deaths, and their computations by seasons or moons were seldom accurate. The first that was known of Pocahontas was in the year 1607, when that prince of chivalry, Captain John Smith, whose fame had filled the old world, came to this continent for adventures,

In some measure connected with this event, by the influence so powerful an alliance was calculated to have upon the minds of the natives in the vicinity, was the treaty which Sir Thomas Dale effected with the Chickahominy tribe of Indians, a bold and free people, who now voluntarily relinquished their name, for that of Tassantessus, or Englishmen; and solemnly engaged to be faithful subjects to King James.

During the interval of tranquillity procured by the alliance with Powhatan, an important change was made in the state of the colony. Hitherto no right

and in exploring the country about James's river, was taken prisoner by some of the warriors of the tribes under Powhatan, and brought this powerful chief to be disposed of according to his will and decree. The fame and exploits of Smith had reached Powhatan. The prowess he had shown when taken was sufficient for their justification in taking him off; for he had been a wonder and terror to all his foes. Powhatan was as far an absolute despot as can exist in a state of nature. But the chief did not decide alone upon Captain Smith's fate; he called a council of his chiefs upon his case. In this convention the most wonderful stories of the white man's prowess, since he had been in this country, were told. Smith understood enough of the Indian language to comprehend the course of the debate, and made up his mind to die. Pocahontas was a listener in the council. Heroism and beauty have always an effect on the female heart; and even age and philosophy are not proof against these magicians. It was decided that he must die, as being too formidable a foe to suffer to escape. His death was to be by beating him on the head with clubs while he was in a recumbent posture, with a stone for a pillow. He was first bound, and then thrown down, and the clubs were uplifted, when Pocahontas, then a mere child, rushed forward and threw herself on the body of Smith, and protected his life at the risk of her own. The fierce savage hearts of the warriors were affected, and Smith was at once released and became an inmate, for a while, of the wigwam of Powhatan, and soon afterwards released, carrying with him a grateful sense of the services rendered him by this noble daughter of the forest. Sometime after this the Indians became alarmed, by witnessing the extraordinary feats of Smith, and laid a plan to get him into their power, under the pretence of wishing an interview with him in their territory. But Pocahontas, knowing the designs of the warriors, left the wigwam after her father had gone to sleep, and ran more than nine miles through the woods to inform her friend Captain Smith of the dangers that awaited him, either by stratagem or attack. For this service, Captain Smith offered her some trinkets; but young as she was, and no doubt had a natural fondness for finery, which belongs to her age, sex, and nation, yet she refused to accept any thing, or stop to refresh herself, for fear of being discovered by her father, or his wives. She returned before any one awaked, and laid herself gently in her blanket near where her father slept.

For several years she continued to assist the whites against her father's plots for their destruction. Although she was a great favourite with her father, he was so incensed against her for favouring the English, that he sent her to a chief of a neighbouring tribe; or, perhaps, he feared that the other chiefs of his own might, in Indian style, sacrifice her for want of patriotism. Such a sacrifice would not be a rare occurrence in Indian history. Here she remained for some time, when Captain Argall coming up the Potomac, and finding out that she was with Jopazaws, tempted the deceitful wretch to deliver her to him as a prisoner, for the bribe of a brass kettle, of which the chief had become enamoured, as the biggest trinket he had ever seen. Argall thought, by having her as a hostage, he should be able to bring Powhatan to terms of peace, but he refused to ransom her on the hard terms proposed by the colonists. He offered five hundred bushels of corn for her ransom, which was not accepted. She was well treated while a prisoner, and Mr. Thomas Rolfe, a pious young

man, and a brave officer, undertook to teach her the English language, as it was an object to have an influential interpreter among them. From a knowledge of what she had done for his friend Smith, and from finding her intelligent, brave, and noble, he became attached to her, and offered her his hand. This was communicated to Powhatan, who gave his consent to the union, and she was married after the form of the church of England, in presence of her uncle and two brothers. She was then but little past seventeen years of age. Powhatan did not attend the marriage, perhaps from a fear that some treachery might be in the business, but finding none, he extended the hand of friendship to his new allies as long as he lived.

The colony was now relieved from war, and for a while seemed to flourish. Pocahontas was a great favourite among the colonists, and her husband having business in England, it was thought best for her to make the voyage with him. She took several Indians of both sexes with her, such a number as her brothers and uncle thought belonged to her lineal honour. In England she was baptized and called Rebecca. She was there a subject of great curiosity, and was treated by all classes as a princess. She had made great progress in the English studies, and spoke the language with wonderful fluency. In London she was visited by Captain Smith, whom she supposed to have been dead. When she first beheld him, she was overcome with emotion, and shrunk from him as from one from the grave, hiding her face with her hand. An explanation soon took place, and she again used the endearing appellation of father, in conversation with her old friend. The only solution of this deception is, that the colonists wished to bring about a match between her and some one of their number, and feared, perhaps, that she cherished too fond a recollection of the gallant Smith, to think of uniting herself to another, while he was living.

Captain Smith wrote a memorial to the queen in her behalf, setting forth in a free and noble manner the services of the Indian princess, rendered to himself and to the colony; and the queen became her personal friend. She only lived long enough in England to prove to them that genius and virtue are the productions of every age and clime. She died as she was about to embark for her native land, at Gravesend, leaving an infant son. She was deeply lamented in England, and sincerely mourned in Virginia. The son she left, was educated by his uncle in England, and afterwards became a worthy and highly respectable character in Virginia, from whom has descended several distinguished families, now of that state. Several works of fiction have been founded on the incidents in the life of Pocahontas, but they have not been successful. The whole of her story surpasses all that fiction could create, and the embellishments were not wanted along side of the simple character of this child of nature. A thousand artificial flowers, in gilded vases, have not, to the true botanist, the beauty and perfume of the rose in the garden where it grew; nor can the Geraldines and Cherubines, those monsters of loveliness in fiction, reach the unsophisticated elegance of character displayed in Pocahontas. There is now a strong sympathy felt and acknowledged for the Indians. Books are written to defend them from many slanders which have been thrown upon them by former historians, and when this race has become nearly extinct, all will feel how greatly they have been injured.

granted one of these to each individual in full property. From the moment that industry had the certain prospect of a recompense, it advanced rapidly. The articles of primary necessity were cultivated with so much attention as secured the means of subsistence; and such schemes of improvement were formed as prepared the way for the introduction of opulence into the colony.

The increased industry of the colonists was not long before it found a new and somewhat singular channel—the cultivation of tobacco; indeed, so inconsiderately and exclusively were their energies directed to that object at this time, that the most fatal consequences were rendered almost inevitable. The land which ought to have been reserved for raising provisions, and even the streets of James Town, were planted with tobacco. Various regulations were framed to restrain this ill-directed activity; but, from eagerness for present gain, the planters disregarded every admonition. Tobacco, however, had many trials to pass through before it reached its present established station. King James declared himself its open enemy, and drew against it his royal pen. In the work which he entitled “Counterblast to Tobacco,” he poured the most bitter reproaches on this “vile and nauseous weed.” He followed it up by a proclamation to restrain the disorderly trading in tobacco, as tending to a general and new corruption of both men’s bodies and minds. Yet tobacco, like other proscribed objects, thrived under persecution, and achieved a final triumph over all its enemies.

The prosperity of the colony, in a financial point of view, may now be considered as rapidly advancing; but its government was by no means in a satisfactory state. After the brief and somewhat lax administration of Mr. Yeardley, the office of presiding over the affairs of the colony devolved on Captain Argal. The severity of his measures occasioned a multiplicity of complaints, though some of them appear to have been for the general benefit. The representations made by the colonists to the company in London, induced Lord Delaware, who ever took a lively interest in their welfare, to venture a second time to embark for America. He took with him two hundred passengers and abundant supplies. He was not, however, permitted to realize his benevolent purposes, but died on the voyage, in or near the bay which bears his name. His ship safely arrived at Virginia, and was soon after followed by another, with forty passengers. On the death of Lord Delaware, the administration of Argal, deputy governor of Virginia, became increasingly severe. Martial law, which had been proclaimed and executed during

the former turbulent times, was now made the common law of the land. He published several edicts of most absurd severity: as a specimen of his tyranny we quote his decree, “That every person should go to church on Sundays and holidays, or be kept confined the night succeeding the offence, and be a slave to the colony the following week; for the second offence, a slave for a month; and for the third, a year and a day.”

The tidings of the death of Lord Delaware were followed to England by increasing complaints of the odious and tyrannical proceedings of Argal; and the company having conferred the office of captain-general on Mr. Yeardley, the new governor received the honour of knighthood, and proceeded to the scene of his administration. He arrived in April, and immediately proceeded, in a truly liberal spirit, to take measures for convoking a colonial assembly, which accordingly met at James Town, on the 19th of June. The people were now so increased in their numbers, and so dispersed in their settlements, that eleven corporations appeared by their representatives in this convention, where they exercised the noblest rights of freemen, the power of legislation. They sat in the same house with the governor and council, and acted as one body.* This was the first legislature which ever assembled in the transatlantic states, and may be considered the progenitor of the most pure and effective system of representative government which the world has ever witnessed. The laws which they enacted were transmitted to England for the approbation of the treasurer and company, who passed an ordinance by which they approved and established this constitution of the Virginian legislature, reserving to themselves the creation of a council of state, which should assist the governor, and form a part of the colonial assembly.

This period of the history of the colony is distinguished by several other occurrences, the narration of which may be regarded as the history of the “home department” of the colony. We shall first notice the efforts which were made to introduce education, both among the natives and the settlers. King James having formerly issued his letters to the several bishops of the kingdom for collecting money to erect a college in Virginia for the education of Indian children, nearly £1500 had been already paid towards this benevolent design. Henrico had been selected as a suitable place for the seminary, and the Virginia company granted 10,000 acres of land, to be laid off for the university of Henrico; a donation

* Stith, p. 160, 161. Smith’s Hist. Virg. p. 126.

which, while it embraced the original object, was intended also for the foundation of a seminary of learning for the English. Two other circumstances, of a different character to that which we have now recorded, occurred about this time. The company were directed by James to transport to Virginia one hundred idle and dissolute persons, then in custody for various misdemeanors. They were distributed through the colony as servants to the planters. Much has been said on this subject by writers; but the influence of these outcasts was not of long continuance, for nearly the whole number of them died single. The stain upon the colony is unjustly continued by modern historians, who copy their predecessors without examining the sources of the information they retail. In this manner, error and prejudice are often perpetuated, and, when once fixed, however inconsistent with the whole current of events, if they have a slight foundation, gain strength by the lapse of years. In 1620, a Dutch man-of-war brought into James River twenty Africans, and landed them for sale. The scarcity of labourers made them acceptable to the planters. These were the first seen in North America. The other colonies soon followed the example. The race, prolific every where, soon multiplied in the colonies, and became new sources of wealth to their owners, greatly increasing the exports of the country.

At this early period of colonial enterprise, it may readily be supposed that few females had ventured to cross the ocean. This was necessarily a great impediment to the prosperity of the colony, as it not only prevented the increase of the population, but prohibited the settlement being regarded as a permanent residence. Most of the adventurers sought only to amass wealth with all possible expedition, that they might return to their native country, where only the enjoyments of domestic life were attainable. It was therefore proposed by some intelligent members of the company in London to send out a number of agreeable and virtuous young women, and no less than ninety were prevailed on, by the high probability of forming respectable matrimonial engagements, to embark for Virginia. The speculation proved so acceptable to the planters, and so profitable to the company, that, in the following year, sixty more were sent over, and, like the former, were very speedily disposed of to the young planters as wives.

* Stith, p. 166, 197. Robertson, book ix. Holmes's American Annals, vol. i. p. 165. Grahame's History, vol. i. p. 86.

† "The two and twentieth of March, as also in the evening before, as at other times they came unarmed into our houses, with deere, turkies, fish, fruits, and other provisions to sell us, yea, in some places set downe at breakfast with our people, whom immediately, with their own tooles, they slew most barbarously, not sparing either age or sex, man, woman, or child, so sudden in their execu-

The price was at first one hundred, and afterwards one hundred and fifty, pounds of tobacco, then valued at three shillings per pound; and it was ordered, that debts contracted for wives should be paid in preference to all others."

The full tide of prosperity was now enjoyed by the colony. Its numbers greatly increased, and its settlements became widely extended. At peace with the Indians, it reposed in perfect security, and realized the happiness its fortunate situation and favourable prospects afforded, without suspecting the sudden and terrible reverse of fortune it was doomed to experience. Opechankanough, the successor of Powhatan, had adopted with ardour all the early enmity of his native tribe against the settlers; and he formed one of those dreadful schemes, so frequent in Indian annals, of exterminating the whole race at one blow. Such was the fidelity of his people, and so deep the power of savage dissimulation, that this dire scheme was matured without the slightest intimation reaching the English, who neither attended to the movements of the Indians, nor suspected their machinations; and though surrounded by a people whom they might have known from experience to be both artful and vindictive, they neglected those precautions for their own safety that were requisite in such circumstances. All the tribes in the vicinity of the English settlements were successively gained, except those on the eastern shore, from whom, on account of their peculiar attachment to their new neighbours, every circumstance that might discover what they intended was carefully concealed. To each tribe its station was allotted, and the part it was to act prescribed. On the morning of the day consecrated to vengeance, each was at the place of rendezvous appointed; and at midday, the moment they had previously fixed for this execrable deed, the Indians, raising a universal yell, rushed at once on the English in all their scattered settlements, butchering men, women, and children, with undistinguishing fury, and every aggravation of brutal outrage and savage cruelty. In one hour, three hundred and forty-seven persons were cut off, almost without knowing by whose hands they fell.† Indeed, the universal destruction of the colonists was prevented only by the consequences of an event, which perhaps appeared but of little im-

tion that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction; in which manner also they slew many of our people at severall works in the fields, well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their familiaritie with us, for the effecting that great masterpiece of work, their conversion; and by this means fell, that fatall morning, under the bloody and barbarous hands of that perfidious and inhumane people, three hundred and forty-seven men, women, and children, most by

portance in the colony at the time when it took place—the conversion of an Indian to the Christian faith. On the night before the massacre, this man was made privy to it by his own brother, but as soon as his brother left him he revealed the dreadful secret to an English gentleman in whose house he was residing, who immediately carried the tidings to James Town, and communicated them to some of the nearest settlers, scarcely in time to prevent the last hour of the perfidious truce from being the last hour of their lives.*

The horrid spectacle before them roused the English from repose to vengeance; and peace was succeeded by a vindictive and exterminating war. The colonists were victorious, destroying many of their enemies, and obliging the remainder to retire far into the wilderness. But their own number melted away before the miseries of war; their settlements were reduced from eighty to eight, and famine again visited them with its afflicting scourge. These calamities, and the dissensions which had agitated the company, having been represented to King James and his privy council as subjects of complaint, a commission was issued under the great seal, to inquire into all matters respecting Virginia, from the beginning of its settlement. A writ of *quo warranto* was also issued by the court of king's bench against the company. The colony, however, had received information of the whole proceedings in England, and had already in its possession copies of several papers which had been exhibited against it. A general assembly was called, which met on the 14th of February, and drew up answers to the charges in a spirited and masterly style, appointing an agent to go to England to advocate its cause. The *quo warranto* was brought to trial in the court of king's bench, and, as was usually the case with the courts in this reign, judgment was given in favour of the king, and against the company; James, therefore, availed himself of the opportunity, vacated the charter, and dissolved a company which had consisted of gentlemen of noble and disinterested views, who expended more than 100,000*l.* of their own fortunes, and sent out more than nine thousand per-

their own weapons; and not being content with their lives, they fell again upon the dead bodies, making as well as they could a fresh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling their dead carcases into many peeces, and carrying some parts away in derision, with base and brutish triumph."—Smith's Hist. Virg. p. 145.

* "The slaughter had bene universal, if God had not put it into the heart of an Indian, who, lying in the house of one Pace, was urged by another Indian, his brother, that lay with him the night before, to kill Pace, as he should doe Perry, which was his friend, being so commanded from their king, telling him also how the next day the execution should be finished; Perry's Indian presently

sons from the mother country, to plant the first English colony in America. It is true that success, though considerable, had not equalled the expenditure, either of money or of human life. The annual exportation of commodities from Virginia to England did not exceed 20,000*l.* in value; and, at the dissolution of the company, scarcely two thousand persons survived.

King James now issued a new commission for the government of Virginia, continuing Sir Francis Wyatt governor, with eleven assistants or counsellors. The governor and council were appointed during the king's pleasure; and, in correspondence with the arbitrary tendencies of the father of Charles I., no assembly was mentioned or allowed. Though the commons of England were submissive to the dictates of the crown, yet they showed some regard to the interest of Virginia, in petitioning the king that no tobacco should be imported but of the growth of the colonies; and his majesty condescended to issue a new proclamation concerning tobacco, by which he restrained the culture of it to Virginia and the Somer Islands.†

James I. died on the 8th of April, 1625; and the demise of the crown having annulled all former appointments for Virginia, Charles I. reduced that colony under the immediate direction of the crown, appointing a governor and council, and ordering all patents and processes to issue in his own name. His proclamation "for settling the plantation of Virginia," is dated the 13th of May. It partakes of all the self-sufficiency and tyrannical ideas of royal prerogative which so fatally distinguished that unfortunate monarch. "Our full resolution is," says Charles, "that there may be one uniforme course of government in and through the whole monarchie, that the government of the colony of Virginia shall ymmediately depend upon ourselfe, and not be commytted to anie company or corporation, to whom itt maie be proper to trust matters of trade and commerce, but cannot be fitt or safe to communicate the ordering of state affairs, be they of never soe mean consequence." That his Majesty possessed no eminent capacity for "ordering state affairs," the issue of his reign afford

arose and reveales it to Pace, that used him as his sonne; and thus them that escaped was saved by this one converted infidell; and though three hundred and fortie-seven were slaine yet thousands of ours were by the meanes of this alone thus preserved, for which Gods name be praised for ever and ever. Pace, upon this, securing his house, before day, rowed to James Towne, and told the governor of it, whereby they were prevented, and at such other plantations as possibly intelligence could be given."—*Ibid.* p. 147.

† Belknap, Biog. vol. ii. p. 85—98. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvii. p. 618.

ample proof; and it was speedily evident to the Virginians, whose commerce was injured by the restraints, as their persons were enslaved by the prerogatives of "ourselves."*

The first governor appointed by Charles to preside over the "state affairs" of Virginia was Sir George Yeardley; but his early death prevented the evils of the despotic principles, of which he was the representative, from being felt to their full extent. He was succeeded by one who was the very type of his royal master, Sir John Harvey. He exercised his authority with insolence, and even with cruelty; and took pains to evince that the system of tyranny he was selected to conduct, was perfectly congenial with his disposition. Indeed, such was his excessive solicitude to play the part of a tyrant in a bold style, that even Charles himself deemed it expedient at first to appear to check his career. Roused at length by reiterated provocation, the Virginians seized the person of Harvey, and sent him a prisoner to England, along with two deputies, charged to represent the grievances of the colony, and the misconduct of the governor. So far from redressing their wrongs, however, Charles regarded their conduct as little short of rebellion; he refused even to hear a single charge against Harvey, and sent him back to Virginia, with an ample renewal of the powers which he had so grossly abused, where he resumed and aggravated a tyrannical sway that has entailed infamy on himself and disgrace on his sovereign. Had his government been continued much longer, it must have ended in the revolt or the ruin of the colony. But a great change was now at hand, which was to reward the patience of the Virginians with a bloodless redress of their grievances. After a long intermission, Charles was forced to contemplate the re-assembling of a parliament; and, well aware of the ill humour which his government at home had excited, he had the strongest reason to dread that the displeasure of the commons would be inflamed by complaints of the despotic sway he had exercised over Virginia. There was yet time to soothe the irritation, and even to secure the adherence of a people, who, in spite of every wrong, retained a generous attachment to the prince whose sovereignty was felt still to unite them with the parent state. Harvey

was therefore recalled, and the government of Virginia committed to Sir William Berkeley, a person distinguished by every popular virtue in which Harvey was deficient.

The new governor was instructed to restore the colonial assembly, and to invite it to enact a body of laws for the province. Thus, all at once, and when they least expected it, was restored to the colonists the system of freedom which they had originally derived from the Virginia Company; universal joy and gratitude were excited throughout the colony; and the king, amidst the hostility that was gathering around him in every other quarter, was addressed in the language of affection and attachment by this people. Indeed, such was their gratitude to the king for this favour, that, during the civil wars, they were faithful to the royal cause, and continued so even after he was dethroned, and his son driven into exile. The parliament was irritated by this conduct of the Virginians, and it was not the mode of that age to wage a war of words alone. The efforts of a high spirited government in asserting its own dignity were prompt and vigorous. A powerful squadron, with a considerable body of land forces, was despatched to reduce the Virginians to obedience. Berkeley, obtaining the assistance of some Dutch vessels, with more spirit than prudence, opposed this formidable armament; but, after making a gallant resistance, was obliged to yield. His bravery, though unsuccessful in its primary object, obtained the most favourable terms for the colony,† while he disdained to make any stipulations in his own favour, with those whose authority he disowned. Withdrawing to a retired situation, he lived beloved and respected by the people whom he had governed.

The political state of the colony, from the time of this capitulation to the restoration of Charles II. has not, until lately, been perfectly understood. The early historians of Virginia have stated, that, during this period, the people of that colony were in entire subjection to the government of Cromwell; and that the acts of parliament in relation to trade were there rigidly enforced, while they were relaxed in favour of the New England colonies. Recent researches, however, prove these statements to be incorrect.‡ Under the articles of capitulation, parliament and the

* Chalmers' Political Annals, p. 110—113.

† "By these it was agreed, among other things, that the inhabitants of the colony should remain in due obedience and subjection to the commonwealth of England; should enjoy such freedom and privileges as belonged to the free-born people of England; and that the former government, by commission and instruction, be null and void; that the grand assembly should convene and transact the affairs of the colony; but nothing was to be done contrary to the laws of the commonwealth; that they should have as free

trade as the people of England do enjoy, to all places and with all nations, according to the laws of that commonwealth, and enjoy all privileges, equal with any plantations in America; and likewise be free from all taxes, customs, and impositions whatsoever, and none to be imposed upon them, without the consent of the grand assembly."—Pitkin's Civil and Political History, vol. i. p. 74.

‡ See Henning's Statutes at large. The publication of these statutes, comprising the whole from the commencement of the colony of Virginia, in thirteen or fourteen volumes, throws much

lord protector, left the inhabitants of the colony to govern themselves. The burgesses, or grand assembly, elected their governor and councillors, and all other officers, and the people enjoyed a free trade with all the world. The inhabitants, indeed, expected instructions and orders from England concerning the government, but none were sent during this whole period. The commissioners of parliament assumed the government for a short time, but in April, 1652, the grand assembly met, and, with the consent of the commissioners, proceeded to elect a governor and councillors. Richard Bennet, one of the commissioners, was appointed governor, until the further pleasure of the commonwealth should be known. In 1655, Edward Digges was chosen governor by the house of burgesses, and after him, in 1657, Samuel Matthews. After the resignation of Richard Cromwell, the house expressly declared, that the supreme power of government should reside in the assembly, and that all writs should issue in the name of the "grand assembly of Virginia," until such a command and commission come out of England, as should be by the assembly judged lawful. At the same session, Sir William Berkeley was appointed governor,* and, by a special act, was directed to call an assembly once in two years at least, and oftener if necessary. He was empowered to choose a secretary and council of state, with the approbation of the assembly, and restrained from dissolving the legislature, without the consent of a major part of the house.

The colonists of Virginia, or a majority of them, were episcopalians, and attached to the church of England; the religion of that church, indeed, was established by law in the colony; and it is evident that they were strongly in favour of the royal cause. Their warm-hearted loyalty could not fail to be exhilarating to the spirits of Charles II., during his banishment. He transmitted from Breda a new commission to Sir William Berkeley, as governor of Virginia, declaring his intention of ruling and ordering the colony according to the laws and statutes of England, which were to be established there. Thus, while that prince was not permitted to rule over a foot of ground in England, he exercised the royal jurisdiction over Virginia. On receiving the first account of the restoration, the joy and exultation of

light on the history of that colony, and does great credit to the industry and researches of the publisher, and to the state, under whose patronage, it is understood, the publication was made.

* Robertson, following Beverley and Chalmers, gives a different account of these transactions; but he is incorrect, at least as to the government being appointed by Cromwell. "On the death of Matthews, the last governor named by Cromwell," observes Robertson, "the sentiments and inclination of the people, no longer under the control of authority, burst out with violence. They

the colony were universal and unbounded, though not of long continuance.

It had been observed with concern, during the commonwealth, that the English merchants for several years past had usually freighted the Hollander's shipping for bringing home their own merchandise, because their freight was lower than that of the English ships. For the same reason the Dutch ships were made use of for importing American products from the English colonies into England. The English ships meanwhile lay rotting in the harbours; and the English mariners, for want of employment, went into the service of the Hollanders. The government, therefore, not unnaturally, turned its attention towards the most effectual mode of retaining the colonies in dependence on the parent state, and of securing to it the benefits of their increasing commerce. With these views the parliament enacted, "That no merchandise, either of Asia, Africa, or America, including also the English plantations there, should be imported into England in any but English built ships, and belonging either to English or English plantation subjects, navigated also by an English commander, and three fourths of the sailors to be Englishmen; excepting such merchandise as should be imported directly from the original place of their growth or manufacture in Europe solely; and that no fish should thenceforward be imported into England or Ireland, nor exported thence to foreign parts, nor even from one of their own home ports, but what should be caught by their own fishers only." The first house of commons after the restoration, instead of granting the colonies that relief which they expected from the restraints on their commerce imposed by Cromwell, not only adopted all their ideas concerning this branch of legislation, but extended them further. Thus arose the navigation act, the most important and memorable of any in the statute-book with respect to the history of English commerce. By these several and successive regulations, the plan of securing to England a monopoly of the commerce with its colonies, and of shutting up every other channel into which it might be diverted, was perfected, and reduced into complete system. On one side of the Atlantic these laws have been extolled as an extraordinary effort of political sagacity, and have

forced Sir William Berkeley to quit his retirement; they unanimously elected him governor of the colony: and as he refused to act under a usurped authority, they boldly erected the royal standard, and acknowledging Charles II. to be their lawful sovereign, proclaimed him with all his titles; and the Virginians long boasted, that as they were the last of the king's subjects who renounced their allegiance, they were the first who returned to their duty."—Robertson's *History of America*, b. ix. Chalmers, p. 125. Beverley, p. 55.

been considered as the great charter of national commerce, to which the parent state is indebted for its opulence and power; on the other, they have been regarded as instruments of oppression, more characterized by ignorance of the true principles of political economy, than by legislative wisdom. At this moment that branch of the colonial code which regulates, or rather restrains, the intercourse of the West India islands with the United States, forms the subject of continued negotiation between the American and British governments.*

This oppressive system excited great indignation in Virginia, where the extensive commerce and pre-eminent loyalty of the people rendered the pressure of the burden more severe, and the infliction of it more exasperating. No sooner was the navigation act known in Virginia, and its effects experienced, than the colony warmly remonstrated against it as a grievance, and petitioned earnestly for relief, but without success; so that the discontents, far from being abated by the lapse of time, were aggravated by the constant pressure of the commercial restrictions. Various additional causes concurred to inflame the angry feelings of the colonists; a considerable native population had now grown up in Virginia, whose dissatisfaction was not mitigated by the fond remembrance which emigrants retain for the parent state, which is also the land of their individual nativity; and a complication of exasperating circumstances brought the discontents of the colony to a crisis. The indignation of the people became general, and was worked up to such a pitch, that nothing was wanting to precipitate them into the most desperate acts, but some leader qualified to unite and to direct their operations. Such a leader they found in Nathaniel Bacon. He was a lawyer, educated in London, and was appointed a member of the council a short time after his emigration to Virginia. Young, bold, ambitious, with an engaging address, and commanding eloquence, he harangued the colonists upon their grievances; inflamed their resentment against their rulers; declaimed particularly against the lan-

guor with which the war, then existing with the Indians, had been conducted; and such was the effect of his representations, that he was elected general by the people. To give some colour of legitimacy to the authority he had acquired, and perhaps expecting to precipitate matters to the extremity which his interest required that they should speedily reach, he applied to the governor for an official confirmation of the popular election, and offered instantly to march against the common enemy. This Sir William Berkeley firmly refused, and issued a proclamation commanding the dispersion of the insurgents. Bacon had advanced too far to recede; and he hastened, at the head of six hundred armed followers, to James Town, surrounded the house where the governor and council were assembled, and repeated his demand. Intimidated by the threats of the enraged multitude, the council hastily prepared a commission, and, by their entreaties, prevailed on the governor to sign it. Bacon and his troops then began their march against the Indians; but no sooner were the council relieved from their fears, than they declared the commission void, and proclaimed Bacon a rebel. Enraged at this conduct, he instantly returned, with all his forces, to James Town. The aged governor, unsupported, and almost abandoned, fled precipitately to Accomack, on the eastern shore of the colony; collecting those who were well affected towards his administration, he began to oppose the insurgents, and several skirmishes were fought, with various success. A party of the insurgents burned James Town, laid waste those districts of the colony which adhered to the old administration, and confiscated the property of the loyalists. The governor, in retaliation, seized the estates of many of the insurgents, and executed several of their leaders. In the midst of these calamities, Bacon sickened and died. Destitute of a leader to conduct and animate them, their sanguine hopes of success subsided; all began to desire an accommodation; and after a brief negotiation with the governor, they laid down their arms, on obtaining a promise of general pardon.

* "Great Britain has, in her colonial regulations, deemed it expedient, on the ground of political necessity, to overlook our just claims in measuring out general privileges to all nations. She might have had some excuse, barely plausible, however, for declining to negotiate on this question in 1826; but she can now have no sound apology for persevering in the same course towards those who advocated the acceptance of her colonial commerce, on the terms proposed by the acts of Parliament in 1825. Should she continue to suffer her commercial interests to be controlled and sacrificed through a jealousy of us; should her councils be too much influenced by the apprehension expressed by one of her late ministers, that 'in commerce, in navigation, in naval power, and maritime pretensions, the United States are her most formidable rival;' she must pardon us for responding that sentiment, and

for adopting the most efficient measures to countervail a spirit and policy so unfriendly to our navigation. If her peculiar conduct towards us should drive us to measures of specific retaliation—to a more extensive and effective interdiction of our intercourse with her colonies—she will have no just reason to complain, that we have not afforded her every opportunity to re-establish our intercourse on terms of the most general and friendly reciprocity. It will remain for Great Britain to determine, whether she will open the whole of her vast empire to our commerce on mutually advantageous terms; or whether, by persisting in excluding us from a part of her dominions, she will allow other nations to supersede her in the trade with North America."—Report of the Committee on the Commerce and Navigation of the United States, 1830, p. 47, 48.

Thus terminated an insurrection, which, in the annals of Virginia, is distinguished by the name of Bacon's rebellion. During seven months this daring leader was master of the colony, while the royal governor was shut up in a remote and ill-peopled corner of it. In addition to the cause already referred to, the prejudicial influence of the navigation laws, this popular commotion was probably much influenced by the extremely low price of tobacco; the splitting of the territory into proprietaries, contrary to the original charters; the extravagant taxes to which the colonists were subjected; and the ineffective manner in which the governor and council had protected the inhabitants against the Indians. It is said to have injured the colony to an amount not less than 100,000*l*. As soon as Berkeley found himself reinstated in his office, he called together the representatives of the people, that by their advice and authority public order might be re-established. Although this assembly met while the memory of reciprocal injuries was still recent, and when the passions excited by such a fierce contest could scarcely have subsided, its proceedings were conducted with a moderation seldom exercised by the successful party in a civil war. No man suffered capitally, and a small number only were subjected to fines. The council made, however, a somewhat singular exception to their charitable forbearance. While they spared the living, they wreaked their vengeance on the dead, and passed an act of attainder against Bacon long after he was beyond the reach of their enmity.

On hearing of the disturbances in Virginia, Charles despatched, though with no great haste, a fleet with some troops for its pacification. These did not arrive, however, till they might well have been dispensed with. With them came Colonel Jeffreys, appointed to recall and replace Sir William Berkeley in the government of the colony. This brave and benevolent man did not long survive his dismissal, and may justly be said to have lived and died in the service of Virginia.

The only event of importance during the administration of Colonel Jeffreys, was the conclusion of the Indian war, which, by the aid of the troops he brought with him, he speedily effected, and arranged a treaty which afforded universal satisfaction. On the death of Jeffreys, the government devolved on Sir Henry Chicheley. During his presidency, the extensive and unjustifiable grants of the crown, which had long been a most ruinous grievance, were recalled, and the colony enjoyed an interval of repose previous to the arbitrary rule of Lord Culpepper, who had been sometime appointed by Charles, but, hap-

pily for the colony, delayed the assumption of his office.

In May, 1680, Lord Culpepper commenced his administration, in the true spirit of a representative of the then British monarch; and, as a masterpiece of tyrannical legislation, he endeavoured to silence all complaints, both against his despotism and his plunder, by creating a law which prohibited, under the severest penalties, all disrespectful allusions to his person, and all observations on his proceedings. A just discontent, thus denied its natural and legitimate mode of expression, broke forth as it should do, as much for the good of the oppressor as the oppressed, in a more substantial form; and an insurrection ensued, which would have been attended with very serious consequences, had not the prudence, kindness, and vigour of Sir Henry Chicheley been ready at hand. Having diffused terror through the colony by his trials and executions, Lord Culpepper proceeded to England to report the success of his experiments on colonial government. His services do not appear to have been appreciated even by the kindred spirit of his royal master; for, on his arrival, he was ordered into confinement for returning without leave; and being brought to trial, he was found guilty, and deprived of his commission.*

In the exercise of his royal pleasure, Charles selected, for the loyal colony of Virginia, a governor very little better than his predecessor. Lord Effingham, among other instructions equally illiberal, brought with him an order that no person should use a printing press in the colony on any pretence whatever!—an example, by the way, which both our African and Indian colonial governments have frequently evinced a considerable inclination to imitate. Having thus set the press perfectly free from all its labours, he felt himself at ease in the pursuit of plans of aggrandizement, which have frequently formed a most important branch of the science of colonial political economy; and, in order to attach to plunder the sanction of a mock legality, he established a court of chancery, with suitable powers, appointing himself the judge! He instituted fees worthy of so high an office, provided that nearly the whole should centre in himself, and even divided with the clerks of the court the emoluments which nominally appertained to them.

Although the press was silenced, the governor could not prevent the assembly from delegating an agent to advocate their cause in England, and to urge his removal. But before Lord Effingham or

* Chalmers, p. 340—345.

his accuser could cross the Atlantic, the revolution of 1668 had happily occurred. Some of the requests forwarded by Colonel Ludwell were complied with, but William was either unable or unwilling to displace the officers appointed by the preceding government; and Lord Effingham was continued till 1692, when he was replaced by Sir Edmund Andros, who, as might have been anticipated from his proceedings in New England, was no less obnoxious to the colonists.

It was during this year that William and Mary, at the solicitation of the general assembly of Virginia, granted a charter for "The College of William and Mary in Virginia." The preamble states, "that the church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated among the Western Indians, to the glory of Almighty God"—their trusty and well beloved subjects, constituting the general assembly of their colony of Virginia, have had it in their minds, and have proposed to themselves, to found and establish a certain place of universal study, or perpetual college of divinity, philosophy, languages, and other good arts and sciences, consisting of one president, six masters or professors, and a hundred scholars more or less, according to the ability of said college, and its statutes, to be made by certain trustees nominated and elected by the general assembly of the colony.* An attempt was also made at this time to establish a post throughout Virginia. A patent was laid before the Virginian assembly, for making Mr. Neal post-master-general of that and other parts of America; but, though the assembly passed an act in favour of this patent, it had no effect. The reason assigned is, that it was impossible to carry it into execution, on account of the dispersed situations of the inhabitants.

From this period to the French war in 1756, (which, as it affected the interests of all the settlements, will form a distinct chapter subsequent to the history of the several colonies,) there is scarcely any memorable occurrence in the history of Virginia. Notwithstanding some unfavourable circumstances,

the colony continued to increase. The use of tobacco becoming general in Europe, gave constant employment to the industry of the planters, and diffused wealth among them. Its position, remote from the settlements of the French in Canada, and of the Spaniards in Florida, was favourable to its quiet; and New England and New York, on the one hand, Georgia and the Carolinas on the other, protected it from savage incursions.

New England had no rest until the peace of 1763. The French and Indians were constantly harassing the frontier settlers, by massacres and conflagrations, while Virginia was building up her institutions. She had in her infancy drunk deeply of the cup of miseries which is filled by Indian warfare; but now it had passed from her, and peace and plenty were in all her borders—a most desirable situation for any country.

CHAPTER III.

MASSACHUSETTS.

THE world presents no parallel to the history on which we now enter. The love of glory or of gold has been the impelling cause of the commencement of other colonies, and the foundation of other empires; but in this instance religion, and that of no ordinary kind, either as to its purity or its intensity, was the grand principle of colonization. It was a church rather than a kingdom that these master-spirits of the age sought to establish on the transatlantic shores; and the selection of their location seems to have well accorded with their object. "Arrived at this outside of the world, as they termed it, they seemed to themselves to have found a place where the Governor of all things yet reigned alone. The solitude of their adopted land, so remote from the communities of kindred men that it appeared like another world,—a wide ocean before them, and an unexplored wilderness behind,—nourished the solemn deep-toned feeling. Man was of little account in a place where the rude grandeur of nature bore as yet no trophies of his power. God, in the midst of its stern magnificence, seemed all in all; and with a warmer and

* "Francis Nicholson, lieutenant-governor of Virginia and Maryland, and seventeen other persons nominated and appointed by the assembly, were confirmed as trustees, and were empowered to hold and enjoy lands, possessions, and incomes, to the yearly value of 2000*l.* and all donations, bestowed for their use. The Rev. James Blair, nominated and elected by the assembly, was made first president, and the bishop of London was appointed and confirmed by their majesties to be the first chancellor of the college. To defray the charges of building the college, and supporting the president and masters, the king and queen gave nearly 2000*l.*, and

endowed the college with 20,000 acres of the best land, together with the perpetual revenue arising from the duty of one penny per pound on all tobacco transported from Virginia and Maryland to the other English plantations. By the charter, liberty was given to the president and masters or professors to elect one member of the house of burgesses of the general assembly. In grateful acknowledgment of the royal patronage and benefaction, the college was called William and Mary."—Holmes's American Annals, vol. i. p. 143.

devouter fancy than that which of old peopled the groves, the mountains, and the streams, each with its tutelary tribe, they mused in the awful loneliness of their forests on the present Deity, saw him directing the bolt of the lightning, and pouring out refreshment in the flood; throned on the cloud-girt hill, and smiling in the pomp of harvest. If ever the character of men has been seen more than any where else in powerful action or development, and operated on by the force of peculiar and strongly-moving causes, it was here. Nor, wrought on as all were by similar influences of place, fortune, and opinion, was ever any thing produced like a lifeless unpoetical monotony of character. Nothing could be more opposed to this than was the spirit of puritanism. Wrong or right, every thing about these men was at least prominent and high-toned. Excitement was their daily bread, as it is other men's occasional luxury; and the diversities of character in this community, where, for the most part, people thought so much alike, were more strongly marked than they have often been in other places in the most violent conflicts of opinion. To a religious model, by force or accord, every thing, even relating to the most private and secular concerns, was made as far as might be to conform; for 'noe man,' saith Mr. Cotton, 'fashioneth his house to his hangings, but his hangings to his house.' Religion, politics, fashion, and war, never came elsewhere into so close companionship. The meeting-house and the armory were built side by side, as yet, by the force of old habit, they stand the country through. A desperate courage and dexterity in arms were enjoined as religious duties. The old considered questions of polity at the meeting. The demure youth went from testifying with his mouth in the assembly, to testify with his firelock in the field; and the muffled maiden lisped in biblical phrase her soft words of encouragement or welcome.* This is a powerful description; but the reality will be found much to exceed it.

We can barely allude to the attempt to form a settlement on the Sagadahock, or Kennebeck river, in the year 1607;† the voyage of Hudson in the service of the Dutch, in 1609; and the discoveries of the celebrated Captain Smith.‡ Although these voyages tended to keep alive the spirit of colonization, they did not produce any permanent results. It is not till the arrival of Mr. Robinson's church, in 1620,

that the settlement of New England can date its origin.

As the whole history of this important colony is so closely interwoven with the religious sentiments of its founders, it will be desirable briefly to notice the circumstances in which they originated. The reformation is an event, with the character of which, doubtless, all our readers are well acquainted; but of all the churches that underwent the purifying process of that age, the English was placed, perhaps, in circumstances the least favourable. While governed by a proverbially libidinous and tyrannical monarch, who sought his own aggrandizement from the revenues of the monasteries, and revenge on the papacy for opposition to his insatiable desires, rather than any beneficent influence on the corruptions of the clergy, little could be expected, and less was realized. The young and pious Edward would have effected a thorough reform, both in the constitution and the forms of the church, but his life was too brief to allow of the completion of his designs. The horrors of the reign of Mary had a powerful tendency to promote the spirit of puritanism which had arisen during the previous reigns; and Elizabeth found that her most strenuous endeavours, though plentifully sealed with innocent blood, could not quell it, but only left her to indulge in unavailing self-reproach for the cruelties which disgraced her otherwise brilliant reign.

The accession of James of Scotland to the English crown naturally excited the hopes of the puritans. He had been bred a presbyterian, and was known to have publicly declared that the Scotch church was the purest under heaven, and that the English liturgy sounded to him like "an ill-mumbled mass;" but availing himself liberally of that privilege of altering his opinion with circumstances, which kings have at all times found a most convenient and truly royal prerogative, when he found himself safely seated on the English throne, he discovered that "a Scottish presbytery agreed as well with monarchy, as God with the devil." He gratified the puritans so far as to appoint a conference between them and the high church party, at Hampton Court, but the result showed that they had no reason to expect favour or justice at his hands.

In these circumstances, many of them prepared to seek a refuge in Virginia, but were prevented from

* North American Review, vol. xii. p. 480—482.

† Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 2. Holmes's Annals, vol. i. p. 130. Robertson, b. x. Grahame, vol. i. p. 184. Smith's Hist. Virg. and New England, p. 203.

‡ Smith's Hist. Virg. and New England, p. 207. Hutchinson,

vol. i. p. 2. Hubbard, New England, c. 2. Mather's Magnal. b. i. c. 1. Chalmers, b. i. c. 4. Belknap. Biog. Art. SMITH, vol. i. p. 305. Robertson, b. x. Holmes's Annals, vol. i. p. 147. Grahame vol. i. p. 186. Murray, vol. i. p. 239.

carrying their intentions into effect by a proclamation, commanding that none should settle in that colony without express license under the authority of the great seal. Thus harassed and oppressed, the puritans emigrated in considerable numbers to the protestant states of Europe. Among these dissentients, it might very naturally be expected that considerable variety of opinion should exist; some were for a total separation from the established church, and would not even receive any as members of their association, who would hold any kind of communion with their episcopal and endowed brethren; others were desirous only of a more effectual reformation of the corruptions of the church, and objected little, either to its episcopal form, or its emoluments. The former class were termed Brownists, from one of their principal ministers; but Mr. Robinson* and his church were of the more liberal party: they retired to Amsterdam, in the year 1607, and subsequently removed to Leyden.

After residing several years in that city, various causes influenced them to entertain serious thoughts of a removal to America. The unhealthiness of the low country where they lived; the hard labours to which they were subjected; the dissipated manners of the Hollanders, especially their lax observance of the sabbath; the apprehension of war at the conclusion of the truce between Spain and Holland; the

fear, lest their young men would enter into the military and naval service; the tendency of their little community to become absorbed and lost in a foreign nation; the natural and pious desire of perpetuating a church, which they believed to be constituted after the simple and pure model of the primitive church of Christ; and a commendable zeal to propagate the gospel in the regions of the New World; all concurred to direct their attention to the selection of an abode free from the evils they dreaded, and affording a field for the perpetuation and extension of their religious sentiments. In 1617, having concluded to go to Virginia,† and settle in a distinct body under the general government of that colony, they sent two of their brethren to England to treat with the Virginia company, and to ascertain whether the king would grant them liberty of conscience in that distant country. Though these agents found the company very desirous of the projected settlement, and willing to grant them a patent with as ample privileges as they had power to convey, yet they could prevail with the king no farther, than to engage that he would connive at them, and not molest them, provided they should conduct themselves peaceably. Toleration in religious matters by his public authority, under his seal, was denied; the agents therefore returned to Leyden with tidings which tended to discourage the design of the congregation. Resolved to make ano-

* Most of the historians of New England have confounded Mr. Robinson and his congregation with the Brownists. Robertson has done so; and even Grahame, who is usually peculiarly accurate, has followed him. From the attention we have given this point, we agree with the opinion of the writer in the *North American Review*. "The term Brownist," says the reviewer, "is one by which the people, who emigrated to Leyden and afterwards founded the Plymouth colony, were stigmatized by their contemporaries; but it was an appellation which they disavowed, and which Dr. Prince, in his invaluable *New England Chronology*, has satisfactorily shown did not belong to them. The Brownists were the most rigid sect of the puritans, and vehemently insisted on a total separation from the church of England. Robinson, on the contrary, the father of the Leyden church, published a book, in which he allowed and defended the lawfulness of communicating with the church of England 'in the word and prayer,' and allowed the pious members of the church of England, and of all the reformed churches, to communicate with his church. This liberality was so offensive to the Brownists, that they would hardly hold communion with the church of Leyden. The members of this church were more properly called Independents or Congregationalists. They acknowledged all the doctrinal articles of the church of England, and differed from it only in matters of an ecclesiastical nature. In respect to these, they maintained the principles which are at the foundation of the congregational churches of this country to this day. Robinson, in his farewell address to that part of his flock which embarked for this continent, after a discourse which breathes a noble spirit of Christian charity, not only remarkable at that day, but which has been often quoted with admiration in the present age, adds, 'I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of Brownist. It is a mere nickname; and a brand for the making religion, and the professors of it, odious to the Christian world.' The followers of Brown, who emigrated to Amsterdam, never came to this country. There is no truth, therefore, in tra-

cing the origin of the New England settlements to 'the obscure sect of the Brownists.'"—*North American Review*, vol. ix. p. 368, 369. So far, indeed, from Mr. Robinson being a bigot, he was in advance of his age in the liberality of his sentiments; and many who now boast much of their attachment to truth alone, would do well to attend to this excellent man's charge to his congregation delivered two centuries ago. "If God reveal any thing to you, by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded, I am very confident, the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; whatever part of his will our God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it; and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things. This is a misery much to be lamented, for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God; but, were they now living, would be as willing to embrace farther light, as that which they first received. I beseech you remember it, 'tis an article of your church covenant, that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God. Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must herewithal exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth, before you receive it; for 'tis not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of anti-christian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once."—Mather, b. i. c. iii. § 8.

† The whole of British North America at this period still retained this appellation.

ther trial, they sent two other agents to England, in the following February, to make arrangements with the Virginia company; but dissensions then arising in that body, the business was necessarily procrastinated. After long attendance, the agents obtained a patent; but, though procured with much expense and labour, it was never used, because the gentleman, in whose name it was taken out, was prevented from executing his purpose of accompanying his intended associates. This patent, however, being carried to Leyden for the consideration of the people, with several proposals from English merchants and friends for their transportation, they were requested to prepare immediately for the voyage. It was agreed that some of their number should go to America to make preparation for the rest. Mr. Robinson, their minister, was prevailed on to stay with the greater part at Leyden;* Mr. Brewster, their elder, was to accompany the first adventurers; but these, and their brethren remaining in Holland, were to continue to be one church, and to receive each other to Christian communion, without a formal dismissal, or testimonial. Several of the congregation sold their estates, and made a common bank, which, together with money received from other adventurers, enabled them to purchase the *Speedwell*, a ship of sixty tons, and to hire in England the *May-flower*, a ship of one hundred and eighty tons, for the intended enterprise. Preparation being thus made, the emigrants having left Leyden for England in July, sailed on the 5th of August from Southampton for America; but, on account of the leakiness of one of the vessels they were twice obliged to return. Dismissing this ship, as unfit for the service, they sailed from Plymouth on the 6th of September in the *May-flower*. After a boister-

ous passage, they, at break of day, on the 9th of November, discovered the land of Cape Cod. Perceiving that they had been carried north of the place of their destination, they stood to the southward, intending to find some place near Hudson's river, for settlement; but they were ultimately induced, by the advanced season of the year, and the weakness of their condition, to relinquish that part of their original design. The master of the ship, availing himself of the fears of the passengers, and of their extreme solicitude to be set on shore, gladly shifted his course to the northward; and it is said he had been clandestinely promised a reward in Holland, if he would not carry the English to the Hudson river. Steering again, therefore, for the cape, the ship was clear of danger before night; and the next day, a storm coming on, they dropped anchor in Cape harbour, where they felt themselves secure.

Never were any civilized people placed more completely in a state of nature than this little band of pilgrims, as they have been justly called. They had, indeed, literally, a world before them; but that world was a wilderness, and Providence was their only guide. Being without the limits of the South Virginia patent, they were destitute of any right to the soil on which they landed; nor had they any powers of government derived from authority. Sensible of the necessity of some compact or form of civil government among themselves, they voluntarily entered into, and subscribed a written constitution.† This brief but comprehensive code of civil government, was signed by forty-one persons. It contained the elements of those forms of government peculiar to the New World. Under this system, John Carver‡ was, by general consent, chosen their first governor,

* "It was his intention to follow them with the majority that remained, but various disappointments prevented. He died March 1, 1625, in the fiftieth year of his age, and in the height of his usefulness. Another portion of his church, with his widow and children, afterwards came to New England."—Allen's Biography, p. 501.

† It was as follows:—"In the name of God, amen. We, whose names are under-written, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, &c., having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together, into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws and ordinances, acts, constitutions, and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."—Pitkin's Civil and Political History of the United States, vol. i. p. 33.

‡ John Carver, the first governor of the Plymouth colony, was a native of England, and one of those who fled to Holland with Mr. Robinson, to enjoy, in that Protestant country, without fear of

a hierarchy that dealt in fagots and stakes, the religion of their choice. New difficulties beset them here; although they were not persecuted for their belief, they were apprehensive that their children would be led away by the people about them, who were not sufficiently strict for those pilgrims.—The history of these adventurers ought never to be forgotten. It is wonderful to think what changes have been produced in the world by the simple circumstance that a handful of men should have left one continent to find a resting place on another. On the 22d day of December, 1620, a small vessel, of a hundred and eighty tons burthen, not much larger than some of our coasting vessels at this period, on board of which, according to the notions of modern comfort, not more than a dozen passengers could be accommodated for a short voyage, entered the harbour of Plymouth, and from her landed, with the intention of making it a permanent residence, one hundred and one persons. The bleak shores of New England received this little band of pilgrims, at this inclement season of the year, after they had been a hundred and sixty-nine days from Holland, and a hundred and seven from England. The deed was one of daring, and one which could alone have been supported by religion, enthusiasm, and fortitude: their minds were braced up to it; there was something of that glow which beamed from the countenance of the first martyr in every breast of the pilgrims. They had lived nearly eleven years in a strange land, and had learned to concentrate their mental

"confiding," as the electors say, "in his prudence, that he would not adventure upon any matter of moment without the consent of the rest, or, at least,

energies, and to bring them to bear on this one purpose—on finding an asylum, where they could, without being molested, enjoy their religion in their own way. The whole time of their exile was one continued training for the enterprise, both as to body and mind. Their great leader and patriarch, John Robinson, was a man of true evangelical piety, and of the most consummate political sagacity; his religious creed was simple and pure—the doctrines of his divine Master. He held in reverence the mighty names of the reformers, but he spurned the thoughts of holding on the skirts of the garments of mortal, sinful man, to raise him to eternal life, and he bade his followers beware of names. His parting blessing to the pilgrims should have a brighter glory than being written in letters of gold, in temples reared by hands; they should be written on the hearts of every Christian republican. His doctrines were the essence of human reasoning, aided by the lights of revelation. He implored them in the name of his Father in heaven; by all they suffered, and by all they enjoyed, to become wiser and better. They followed his principles from love and duty; and every wind that lacerated the branches of the trees they planted, drove the roots deeper into the soil.

The first days of the pilgrims were dark and sorrowful; before the return of spring, many of them had paid the debt of nature: mourning was in every family, and the cold and snowy bosom of the virgin earth had been consecrated by the ashes of their beloved dead, and hallowed by the hopes of the resurrection and the life to come, before the soil had been turned up for the planting of a single vegetable for their sustenance, or a flower had sprung from it by the hand of cultivation. Forty-four had died before the end of March, and the rest were weary and heavy laden with many cares; but the sickened soul has a communion with God that no language can reach; it rests on the promises of revelation, and has a foretaste of immortality.

The settlement of Massachusetts Bay, ten years after the landing of the pilgrims, was in pursuance of the same great plan of enjoying their own thoughts in their own way. This expedition was on a tenfold broader scale than the former, with a better digested system of operations, and, of course, was more successfully executed: but those settlers had days of sickness, of heart-ache, of hardships and trials; but in their march, they cheered the pilgrims, and made their safety a common cause. The usual view of this subject is, that the settlement of New England grew out of the religious persecutions in England, after the death of Elizabeth. I am not content with so confined a view, and will venture on a wider range of thought than this; for I consider the discovery and settlement of this country the greatest event in the history of man, saving and excepting the introduction of our holy religion; and I think I see through the vista of history the finger of God pointing to it for six centuries before its accomplishment. The crusades opened the drama; they did indeed exhaust Europe, ignorant and fanatical Europe, of her best blood and treasure; but they brought home many lessons of experience. They learnt much from the virtues of the infidels they went out to extirpate or proselyte. In the Saracenic character was a sturdiness of virtue, far transcending that which passed well in the Christian world at that time; and that they were far better informed, cannot now be questioned. Every battle, and all the bloodshed of the crusades sprung, from the excitement which at that period awakened the human mind to action; and out of the sum of human errors were brought many true results. In the year 1453, the Turkish emperor turned his sword on Europe; and Constantinople, so long the proud seat of the Greek emperors, fell before his conquering arm. The Christian world was amazed and terrified beyond description: they saw in the standard of the Turk, a meteor, that was to blaze over Europe. Churches were to sink before minarets and mosques; and the Alcoran was to supplant the Sacred Scriptures: but short sighted man was disappointed most happily in this: the arms of the conqueror went no farther, and the seeming evil produced abundance of good. The Mussulman drove out, from this ancient and lovely seat of learning, the Greek scholars and philosophers who had long con-

advice of such as were known to be the wisest among them."

Government being thus established, sixteen men,

gregated there, and made them schoolmasters for all Europe. They brought out with them many rich manuscripts, which had been concealed from the greatest portion of the world for ages. Kings, nobles, and sovereign pontiffs, contended with one another for the possession of these treasures; but while they were engaged in this noble strife, the art of printing was discovered; and almost faultless copies of the classics were multiplied, until the humblest scholar could enjoy the company of the poets and orators of ancient days, with the same freedom as the potentates of the earth. From this moment the intellectual world was changed. This invention was at once the sign and the proof, that the world should never again be deluged by a flood of ignorance: not only were the classics disseminated, but the Scriptures also were put into every one's hands. The human mind began to throw off its shackles, and a spirit of free inquiry went abroad. Every one was active in the pursuit of knowledge. This was not all: about this time gunpowder, which had been previously discovered, came into general use, in military and naval warfare, and the campaign was now more often decided by science and skill than by mere physical force.

This change in warfare was absolutely necessary to the settlement of this country, in order that the skill of the few should be equal to the strength of the many. This skill saved the New England colonies in the Pequot war. If printing had not been discovered, in all probability, Columbus would not have received sufficient of the elements of geometry to have assisted him in traversing the Atlantic; and if fire-arms and cannon had not been in use, the handful of Spaniards would not have got a footing on the continent.

The discovery of the new world gave a new spring to human enterprise, opened new trains of thought, new paths of gain and of information. Man, before this period, was more dependant on his own thoughts for improvement than afterwards, when by a rapid circulation of books his mind became enriched by the rays of light from ten thousand other minds. Guided by these new impulses, he arose and swept away the thousand little errors of thinking, and grappled with dogmas, which in former days he feared to touch. The sovereign pontiff, whose ecclesiastical reign was not bounded by seas and empires, grew more proud by this extent of authority, and more lavish of his wealth, believing that the western world was full of gold. Still the fulness of time had not come for planting a colony in New England. It was necessary not only that man should become enlightened and polished, but that his morals should become stricter, and his reasoning powers made more acute and discriminating, before he could set out upon the doctrine of self-government, and to fix his own articles of belief. The awful responsibility of reasoning for one's self had not been for ages assumed. Scintillations of freedom of thought were seen here and there, when Luther burst in a blaze upon the errors of the pontiff, the church, and all who had sustained them. Like other reformers, he was often more zealous than wise, and sometimes laboured harder to correct a folly, than to destroy a false principle; but his ends were noble, and his means honest and primitive. He dared, single-handed, to pluck the wizard beard of hoary error; to meet the idols of wealth and power, with reason and scripture, as his only weapons. He wrestled with ignorance and sophistry; fought bigotry; and unappalled, met tyranny and oppression. With the natural courage of a Cesar, he united the inflexible spirit of the Christian martyr. His labours were wonderful, and their effects still more so. In imitation of his divine master, he entered the temple with a scourge, and drove out the changers of money, the extortioners, and those who daily polluted the sacred fane. But one man, however great his powers, could not reform an age, or correct a church, grown callous and proud, and grasping at still greater sway over the minds of men. Another reformer followed with equal genius, and equal zeal. Luther attacked practices and habits; but Calvin, striving to root out false principles, plunged into the depths of metaphysics, and set the world to reasoning on all abstruse subjects. He came more to reform thoughts and opinions, than acts and deeds; still he was not

well armed, with a few others, were sent on shore the same day, to fetch wood and make discoveries; but they returned at night without having found any person or habitation. The company, having rested

unmindful of these things. In the ways of God, *the wrath of man shall praise him*; so do his weaknesses, his follies, and his passions; the quarrel between Henry VIII. and the Pope, was another cause of the advancement of true religion. Henry's case proved that all that was done on earth, by man assuming to be holy, was not ratified in heaven; for England flourished notwithstanding all the anathemas launched from the Vatican. After men had begun to reason for themselves in every part of Europe, sects grew up, and boldly assailed the established order of things. Some of them rose in frenzy, and died in shame; but others have continued, and will continue, because they were founded upon immutable principles. Among those who held their faith steadfast and immovable, were our pilgrim Fathers; for their belief contained what no other creed ever did before—a declaration that it was susceptible of improvement, and with this frank avowal—that God has more truth yet to break forth from his holy word; and it was their firm persuasion, that new lights would constantly arise, and new and refreshing views of the will of God would be given from the Scriptures; that man, as a religious being, was to be progressive, as well as an intellectual one. The pilgrims were of the order called Puritans, and of the sect improperly called Brownites; but the great divine at their head conjured them to sink the name, and they did so among themselves, after they arrived in this country; but the appellation of Pilgrims they retained with fondness; for the first child born among them, on these shores, they baptized Peregrine, in allusion to their wanderings.

Thus the moral, intellectual, religious, and political seed sown on these northern shores, was as pure and as full of life as any ever sown on any soil in any age of the world. In examining the course pursued by the pilgrims, every one must be struck with the strong moral honesty in their first intercourse with each other. A community of interests they soon found would not answer their purpose, and they came to an amicable understanding of having separate worldly interests, preserving the integrity of ecclesiastical, legislative, and military power. There were still so few of them for many years, and they were so closely connected in every thing, that they understood each other's minds, dispositions, and course of thinking, as well as acting. They were truly one people, of one heart, and of one mind. Labour gave them muscular strength, and their habits of reasoning upon every thing, taught them sagacity and quickness of thought. The philosophy of man as a thinking and an immortal being, tried by the standard of the Scriptures—the nature of governments—the doctrine of equal rights—the duties of rulers—how far obedience to civil institutions should extend—were constant topics of discussion in the labours of the field, in the chase over the hunting grounds, in the fishing smack, or on their travels in search of their foes. The constant alarm they were in for their personal safety, and the protection of their dwellings, instructed them in the true grounds of human courage—a confidence in themselves and in one another. Almost any man will fight bravely who is sure of the courage of his associates. They knew with whom they went out to fight, against whom they were to fight, and for what they fought; not only for their own existence, but for their wives and little ones. It was necessity that made them warriors; there was no prince or potentate to reward their valour; no spoil of an opulent enemy to gain and divide; no wreaths of glory; no huzzas of a grateful people were known to them. To fight well, was an every day duty, and their ties grew stronger by every shock. They were anxious for their offspring; and not for their immediate descendants alone, but for more remote posterity. They wisely came to the conclusion, that a republican government could not be supported without a more than ordinary share of intelligence, and they set about establishing schools on the broadest basis; and declared, that as the community shared in the benefits of a general diffusion of knowledge, they should be at the expense of educating the whole mass of the children. In the seventeenth year of the settlement of Massachusetts Bay, (May, 1647,) they passed this or-

dinance, the most remarkable on the page of history. It was at once a proud tribute to their ancestors, and a spirited determination of their own, not to suffer their descendants to degenerate. They ordered that every town containing fifty families, or householders, should maintain a school for reading and writing; and that every town that numbered one hundred families or householders, should support a grammar school. The reasons given may seem quaint at the present day, but they are most admirable, and should never be forgotten. Some have attempted to take from them the honour of first establishing public schools at the common expense; this was a vain attempt; our records show the fact without difficulty; and we know that our records are true. The ordinance was carried into effect, if possible, in a more republican manner than one would expect from the very letter of the ordinance; for when a town was divided into school districts, each district was taxed in proportion to its property, and the school money was divided among the districts in proportion to the number of persons in it. And this principle, in many parts of New England, is still extant. The ordinance referred to runs thus: "It being one chief project of Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times, keeping them in unknown tongues, so in these latter times, by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupted with false glosses of deceivers; to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavours; it is ordered," &c., making the requisitions we have mentioned. In May, 1671, the penalty for neglect of this ordinance was increased; and in October, 1683, it was ordered, that every town, consisting of more than five hundred families or householders, should support two grammar schools and two writing schools. At the very threshold of their political existence, a college was founded; and from that time to this, most liberally supported. The system of parish, town, and county government, gave all, who strove for it, an opportunity to display their talents in some public way; there was no particular rank aside from the elective franchise, for the aspiring youth to bow to for office or favour. A man must then have had regard to the feelings of a virtuous and an enlightened people to rise into power. The government was in its form simple; but there is more wisdom in simplicity than in complexity.

The machinery of government was understood by all, for there were no concealed wires or hidden springs known to a favoured few, but unknown to the mass of the people; and there was but very little party spirit existing among them. The good of the whole was the happiness of each.

For the first century their growth was slow, but solid and hardy. Their numerous wars, and their traffic to the unhealthy climate of the West Indies, made great inroads upon the ranks of those just entering, and of those who had just entered, into life. The whole community were like that class in other countries, in which it has been said, that nearly all virtue and intelligence centres; in the class which has not reached opulence, and yet is above want. Our forefathers put in no claims for ancestral honours or splendid alliances, but they were justly proud of a pure honest blood; there were no left-hand marriages among them, and none of the poison of licentiousness, or the taint of crime. The women were as brave as the men, and a heroic mother seldom has a coward son. He who learns his lessons of valour on the knee of her who bore him, never shrinks from tales of fear, told by other tongues. Pure principles, early instilled into the human mind, where there are no evil communications to corrupt them, generally last through life. The other portions of New England were settled principally by emigrants from the old colony and Massachusetts Bay, and possessed the same characteristics, and have retained them quite as well as the parent states.

Carver did not live long to enjoy this land of religious freedom, for after enacting a few laws, and making a treaty with the In-

open, but, finding within implements of war, they concluded these were Indian graves; and therefore, replacing what they had taken out, they left them inviolate. In different heaps of sand they also found baskets of corn, a large quantity of which they carried away in a great kettle, found at the ruins of an Indian house. This providential discovery gave them seed for a future harvest, and preserved the infant colony from famine.* On the 6th of December the shallop was sent out with several of the principal men, to sail round the bay in search of a place for settlement. During their researches, part of the company travelled along the shore, where they were surprised by a flight of arrows from a party of Indians; but, on the discharge of the English muskets, the Indians instantly disappeared. The shallop, after imminent hazard from the loss of its rudder and mast in a storm, and from shoals, which it narrowly escaped, reached a small island on the night of the 8th; here the company reposed themselves, grateful for their preservation during the week; and on this island they kept the sabbath. The day following they sounded the harbour, and found it fit for shipping; went on shore, and explored the adjacent land, where they saw various corn-fields and brooks; and, judging the situation to be convenient for a settlement, they returned with the welcome intelligence to the ship.

On the 23d, as many of the company as could, with convenience, went on shore, and felled and carried timber to the spot appropriated for the erection of a building for common use. On the 25th, they commenced the erection of the first house. A platform for their ordnance demanding the earliest attention, they formed one upon a hill, which commanded an extensive prospect of the plain beneath, of the expanding bay, and of the distant ocean. They divided their whole company into nineteen families; measured out the ground; and assigned to every person by lot half a pole in breadth, and three poles in length, for houses and gardens. In grateful remembrance of the Christian friends whom they found at the last town they left in their native country, they called their settlement Plymouth. Thus was founded the first British town of New England.†

The climate was found much more severe than the colonists had anticipated; and they had arrived when winter was nearly one third advanced. They had

every thing to do, and in this season could do very little, even of what was indispensable. Their shelter was wretched; their sufferings were intense; their dangers were not small, and were rendered painful by an absolute uncertainty of their extent. All these evils they encountered with resolution, and sustained with fortitude. To each other they were kind: to the savages they were just: they loved the truth of the gospel; embraced it in its purity; and obeyed it with an excellence of life, which added a new wreath to the character of man.

"Such," says Dr. Dwight, "was the first colonization of this country. Almost every country on this globe has been originally settled by savages; or, if settled by civilized people, has been peopled solely for political or commercial purposes. Here the enjoyment and perpetuation of civil and religious liberty, conformity to the dictates of conscience, and a reverential obedience to the law of God, were the controlling principles. It is not contended that every individual was governed by these principles; but that this was the character of the great body is unanswerably evinced, if history can evince any thing. The manner in which they acted, and the spirit with which they endured distress, both in England and in Holland; the cool determination with which they resolved on so difficult an enterprise; the honourable testimonies which they received from the Dutch magistrates and people; the sacrifices which they made of property, safety, and comfort; the affection which they manifested to each other; the serenity, firmness, and submission with which they sustained the distresses of their voyage; the undiscouraged perseverance with which they encountered danger and suffering after they had landed; the wisdom of the government which they established; the steadiness of their submission to its regulations; their ardent piety to God; and the equity, gentleness, and good-will with which they treated the Indians, form a constellation of excellence eminently brilliant and distinguished. No intelligent Englishman would hesitate to acknowledge it as a luminous spot on the character of his nation; were he not, in a sense, compelled to remember, that he may be descended from those very men, by whose injustice these pilgrims were driven into this melancholy exile."‡

James I. about this time, being dissatisfied with the limited extent of the colony which had proceeded to

dians, he died suddenly on the 23d of March, 1621, and was succeeded by Mr. Bradford, as governor. Carver was a man of talents and integrity, and was a great loss to the infant colony,—as these pioneers of religious and political liberty required all that was firm in purpose and steadfast in faith to surmount the difficulties that beset them.—*American Editor.*

* "Before the close of the month, Mrs. Susannah White was delivered of a son, who was called Peregrine; and this was the first child of European extraction born in New England."

† Hubbard's History of New England, c. 9. p. 35—61. Smith's Hist. Virg. p. 230—233. I. Mather's Hist. New England, p. 5.

‡ Dwight's Travels, vol. i. p. 107.

establish his dominion on the vast tract over which he claimed the sovereignty; and the old chartered company of Plymouth having done nothing effectual towards any permanent settlement, he issued a new charter to the duke of Lenox, the marquis of Buckingham, and several other persons of distinction in his court, by which he conveyed to them a right to a territory in America, still more extensive than what had been granted to the former patentees, incorporating them as a body politic, in order to plant colonies there, with powers and jurisdictions similar to those contained in his charters to the companies of South and North Virginia. This society was distinguished by the name of the Grand Council of Plymouth for planting and governing New England; and their patent was the only civil basis of all the subsequent patents and plantations which divided this country. The expectations of the king respecting his new company were, however, disappointed; and after many schemes and arrangements, all the attempts towards colonization proved unsuccessful.

While this was transpiring in England, the New Plymouth colonists were advancing under favourable circumstances. After commencing their town, they took the earliest opportunity to ascertain the state of the surrounding country; and they found, to their surprise, that it had been absolutely depopulated, throughout a considerable extent, by the small pox, a short time before their arrival. This event opened to them a place of settlement, not only without any jealousy, but even with the good wishes of their aboriginal neighbours. The people who had been destroyed were Wampanoags. Massasoit, the chief sachem of his tribe, was continually threatened, after this destruction of his people, by their formidable neighbours, the Narrhagansetts. Having gained some knowledge of the character of the English from one of his own people, named Squanto, or Tisquantum, (one of twenty-four Indians kidnapped, carried off, and sold to the Spaniards of Malaga, by Thomas Hunt, as slaves, but afterwards conveyed to London, and thence again to America,) Massasoit believed, that the colonists might be made useful allies in the present state of his affairs. Accordingly he soon came to Plymouth, and entered into a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the colonists, which he maintained without any serious interruption to his death. He appears to have been a fair, honest, benevolent man. All these circumstances were favourable to the

English, but they deemed it prudent to use the means of farther security. They accordingly surrounded the town with fortifications, and erected three gates, which were guarded every day, and locked every night. In the succeeding summer they built a strong and handsome fort, on which cannon were mounted, and a watch kept; it was also used as a place of public worship.

During this year, Thomas Weston, a merchant of good reputation in London, having procured for himself a patent for a tract of land in Massachusetts Bay, arrived with two ships and fifty or sixty men, at his own charge, to settle a plantation at a place since called Weymouth, midway between Plymouth and Boston. But the colonists were of a dissolute character, and therefore totally unqualified for such an enterprise. The Indians whom they abused formed a plot for their destruction, but it was prevented from issuing fatally by the interference of the Plymouth settlers. The colony, however, was ruined the next year. Several other attempts of a similar nature were made soon after, but failed.

Of these fruitless efforts, we can only notice very briefly that of Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando sent by the Plymouth council as general governor of New England, who arrived at Massachusetts Bay with several passengers and families, and purposed to begin a plantation at Wessagusset; but he returned home, with scarcely saluting the country within his government. Gorges brought with him William Morrell, an episcopal minister, who had a commission from the ecclesiastical courts in England to exercise a kind of superintendence over the churches which were, or might be, established in New England; but he found no opportunity to execute his commission. This was the first essay for the establishment of a general government in New England; but, like every succeeding attempt, it was totally unsuccessful.

Among the attempts at forming settlements at this time was one of a character as peculiar as it was undesirable. Captain Wollaston began a plantation, which he named after himself. One Morton, of Furnival's inn, was of this company. He was not left in command, but contrived to make himself chief, changed the name of Mount Wollaston to Merry Mount, set all the servants free, erected a may-pole, and lived a life of dissipation, until all the stock intended for trade was consumed.* He was charged with furnishing the Indians with guns and ammuni-

* "Morton took the counsel of the wicked husbandmen about the vineyard in the parable; for making the company merry one night, he persuaded them to turn out Filcher, and keep possession for themselves, promising himself to be a partner with them, and tell-

ing them, that otherwise they were like all to be sold for slaves, as were the rest of their fellows, if ever Rasdale returned. This counsel was easy to be taken, as suiting well with the genius of young men, to eat, drink, and be merry, while the good things last-

tion, and teaching them the use of them. At length, he made himself so obnoxious to the planters in all parts, that, at their general desire, the people of New Plymouth seized him by an armed force, and confined him, until they had an opportunity of sending him to England.

During the year 1628, the Plymouth colonists obtained a patent for Kennebeck; and up this river, in a place convenient for trade, erected a house, and furnished it with corn and other commodities; and while the trade of their infant colony was thus commencing toward the East, it became also gradually extended toward the west. After this commencement of trade, the Dutch often sent goods to the same place, and a traffic was continued several years. The offers of commercial intercourse made by the Dutch, who were settled upon the Hudson, were willingly accepted; and the arrangements then entered into laid the foundation of an advantageous trade, which was carried on for many years between the English and Dutch plantations, much to their mutual benefit.*

The time was now at hand, when the causes which had induced the voluntary exile of the Leyden congregation should produce an effect far more extensive. Applications to the Plymouth company from puritan congregations were now becoming frequent; and, in the year 1628, the council of Plymouth sold to Sir Henry Roswell and others, their heirs and associates, that part of New England which lies between two boundaries, one three miles north of the Merrimac, and the other three miles south of Charles river, from the Atlantic to the South sea. The same year Mr. Endicot, one of the patentees, came to New England, and planted himself, with a small colony, in Naumkeag, now Salem. The following year they were joined by about two hundred others, making three hundred in the whole, one hundred of whom, however, removed the same year, and settled themselves, with the consent of Mr. Endicot, governor of the colony, at Mishawum, now Charlestown. The second Salem company brought with them a considerable number of cattle, horses, sheep, and goats; which, after a little period, became so numerous as to supply all the wants of the inhabitants. Powers of government were granted to these colonists by Charles I., which constituted them a corporation, by the name of the Governor and Company of Massa-

chusetts Bay, in New England, with power to elect annually a governor, deputy governor, and eighteen assistants; four great and general courts were to be held every year, to consist of the governor, or, in his absence, the deputy governor, the assistants, or at least six of them, and the freemen of the company. These courts were authorized to appoint such officers as they should think proper, and also to make such laws and ordinances for the good and welfare of the company, and for the government of the colony, as to them should seem meet, provided such laws and ordinances should not be contrary or repugnant to the laws of England. The readiness with which this application was acceded to, and the principles on which this charter was constituted, are not easily accounted for, except that Charles and his ecclesiastical counsellors were desirous, at this time, to disencumber the church, in which they meditated extensive innovations, of a body of men, from whom the most unbending opposition to their measures might be expected.

The arbitrary proceedings of the British court, in affairs both of church and state, continued without any abatement, and induced many gentlemen of wealth and distinction to join the Plymouth company, and remove to New England. In 1629, many persons of this character, and among them the distinguished names of Isaac Johnson, John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, and Sir Richard Saltonstall, proposed to the company to remove, with their families, on condition that the charter and government should be transferred to New England. To this the company assented, and in the course of the next year, John Winthrop, who had been chosen governor, with about one thousand five hundred persons, embarked. The fleet consisted of ten sail, one of which was of three hundred and fifty tons, and, from Lady Arabella Johnson, who sailed in her, was called the Arabella. Among the passengers were a number of eminent nonconformist ministers. The most highly esteemed was Mr. Wilson, the son of a dignitary of the church, who, by his connexions and talents, might have aspired to its highest honours, but chose to renounce all, in order to suffer with those whom he accounted the people of God. But the circumstance which threw a greater lustre on the colony than any other, was the arrival of Mr. John Cotton, the most esteemed of all the puritan

ed, which was not long, by that course which was taken with them, more being flung away in some merry meetings, than, with frugality, would have maintained the whole company divers months. In fine, they improved what goods they had, by trading with the Indians awhile, and spent it as merrily about a may-pole; and, as if they had found a mine, or spring of plenty, called the place

Merry Mount. 'Thus stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant,' till it be found, that 'the dead are there, and her guests in the depths of hell.'—Hubbard's Hist. New England, p. 103, 104.

* Hubbard's Hist. New England, p. 100.

ministers in England. Becoming an object of the persecuting fury of Laud, he left Boston in disguise, and spent some time in London, seeking a proper opportunity to emigrate. There went out with him Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, who were esteemed to make a glorious triumvirate, and were received in New England with the utmost exultation. Mr. Cotton was appointed to preach at Boston, now the principal town in Massachusetts Bay, and was mainly employed in drawing up the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony.

On the arrival of the principal ships of the fleet at Charlestown, the governor and several of the patentees, having viewed the bottom of the Bay of Massachusetts, and pitched down on the north side of Charles river, took lodgings in the great house built there the preceding year, and the rest of the company erected cottages, booths, and tents, about the town hill. Their place of assembling for divine service was under a tree. When the fleet had safely arrived, a day of thanksgiving was kept in all the plantations. Early attention was paid to the great object of the enterprise. On the 30th of July, a day of solemn prayer and fasting was kept at Charlestown, when Governor Winthrop, Deputy Governor Dudley, and Mr. Wilson, first entered into church covenant; and at this time was laid the foundation of the church of Charlestown, and of the first church in Boston. On the 27th of August, the congregation kept a fast, and chose Mr. Wilson their teacher. "We used imposition of hands," says Governor Winthrop, "but with this protestation by all, that it was only a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce the ministry he received in England."

On the 23d of August, the first court of assistants, since the arrival of the colonists, was holden at Charlestown. The first question proposed was, How the ministers should be maintained? The court ordered, that houses be built, and salaries raised for them, at the common charge. At the second court of assistants held at Charlestown, it was ordered, that no person should plant in any place within the limits

* Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, bestows this just, though somewhat quaint tribute to their character. "Of those who soon dy'd after their first arrival, not the least considerable was the Lady Arabella, who left an earthly paradise in the family of an earldom, to encounter the sorrows of a wilderness, for the entertainments of a pure worship in the house of God; and then immediately left that wilderness for the heavenly paradise, whereto the compassionate Jesus, of whom she was a follower, called her. We have read concerning a noble woman of Bohemia, who forsook her friends, her plate, her house, and all; and because the gates of the city were guarded, crept through the common sewer, that she might enjoy the institutions of our Lord at another place where they might be had. The spirit which acted that noble wo-

of the patent, without leave from the governor and assistants, or the major part of them; that a warrant should presently be sent to Agawam, to command those who were planted there to come immediately away; and that Trimountain be called Boston; Matapan, Dorchester; and the town on Charles river, Watertown. The governor, with most of the assistants, about this time removed their families to Boston; having it in contemplation to look for a convenient place for the erection of a fortified town.

The first general court of the Massachusetts colony was also held this year at Boston; when many of the first planters attended, and were made free of the colony. It was now enacted, that the freemen should in future elect assistants, who were empowered to choose out of their own number the governor and deputy governor, who, with the assistants, were to have the power of making laws, and choosing officers for their execution. This measure was fully assented to by the general vote of the people; but when the general court met, early the next year, it rescinded this regulation, and ordained, that the governor, deputy governor, and assistants, should be chosen by the freemen alone.

The colony was now gaining strength from its numbers and organization; but it had also its trials to contend with, not the least of which was the sickness arising from the severity of the climate, or, more truly, from the means of counteracting the injurious tendencies of the climate not being yet properly understood. Among those who fell an early sacrifice, none were lamented more than Lady Arabella Johnson and her husband, who had left the abodes of abundance and of social comfort for the American wilderness, purely from religious principle.* As soon as the severity of the winter was abated sufficiently to admit of assemblies being convened, the colonists proceeded to enact laws for their internal regulation. It has been before observed, that those who so resolutely ventured to cross the ocean, and to brave the hardships attendant on clearing the American forests, sought rather to establish churches, than to found a kingdom; it will naturally be sup-

man, we may suppose, carried this blessed lady thus to and thro' the hardships of an American desert. But as for her virtuous husband, Isaac Johnson, Esq.,

—He try'd

To live without her, lik'd it not, and dy'd.

His mourning for the death of his honourable consort was too bitter to be extended a year; about a month after her death, his ensued, unto the extreme loss of the whole plantation. But at the end of this perfect and upright man, there was not only peace, but joy; and his joy particularly expressed itself, that God had kept his eyes open so long as to see one church of the Lord Jesus Christ gathered in these ends of the earth, before his own going away to heaven."—Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, p. 21, 22.

posed, therefore, that their legislation partook largely of an ecclesiastical character. Indeed the history of this colony (though we shall endeavour to make it as prominently a civil history as the case will admit) presents more matter for the ecclesiastical than the civil historian. At the very first court of election, a law was passed, enacting that none should hereafter be admitted freemen, or be entitled to any share in the government, or be capable of being chosen magistrates, or even as serving as jurymen, but such as had been or should hereafter be received into the church as members.* "This was a most extraordinary order or law," says Hutchinson, "and yet it continued in force until the dissolution of the government, it being repealed in appearance only after the restoration of King Charles II. Had they been deprived of their civil privileges in England by an act of parliament, unless they would join in communion with the churches there, it might very well have been the first in the roll of grievances. But such were the requisites to qualify for church-membership here, that the grievance was abundantly greater."

This is a very interesting, though reprehensible, feature in the history of the New England states. It has been justly observed, by a living author, that the puritans, whom the English dissenters claim as their

* "None may now be a freeman of that company, unless he be a church member among them; none have voice in elections of governor, deputy, and assistants; none are to be magistrates, officers, or jurymen, grand or petit, but freemen. The ministers give their votes in all elections of magistrates. Now the most of the persons at New England are not admitted of their church, and therefore are not freemen; and when they come to be tried there, be it for life or limb, name or estate, or whatsoever, they must be tried and judged too by those of the church who are, in a sort, their adversaries. How equal that hath been, or may be, some by experience do know, others may judge."—Lechford. "This law at once divested every person who did not hold the prevailing opinions, not only on the great points of doctrine, but with respect to the discipline of the church and the ceremonies of worship, of all the privileges of a citizen. An uncontrolled power of approving or rejecting the claims of those who applied for admission into communion with the church, being vested in the ministers and leading men of each congregation, the most valuable civil rights were made to depend on their decision with respect to qualifications purely ecclesiastical. Even at a later period, when the colonists were compelled, by the remonstrances of Charles II., to make some alteration of this law, they altered it only in appearance, and enacted that every candidate for the privilege of a freeman, should produce a certificate from some minister of the established church, that they were persons of orthodox principles, and of honest life and conversation—a certificate which they who did not belong to the established church necessarily solicited with great disadvantage. The consequence of such laws was to elevate the clergy to a very high degree of influence and authority; and, happily for the colony, she was long blessed with a succession of ministers whose admirable virtues were calculated to counteract the mischief of this inordinate influence, and even to convert it into an instrument of good. Various persons, indeed, resided in peace within the colony, though excluded from political franchises; and one episcopal minister is particularly noted for having said, when he signified his refusal to

ancestors, had none of, what he is pleased to term, the latitudinarian ideas which the moderns possess. It does not appear that they disapproved of the principles of persecution; but rather of the extent to which it was carried, and of themselves being its objects. They adhered firmly to the doctrine that the sword of the magistrate should be employed to prevent the promulgation of sentiments differing from their own, never, apparently, having perceived that the principle would also justify the Romish church, and would call upon heathen magistrates to repel all christian instructors by a similar method: thus, what they regarded as pious in themselves, they felt to be iniquitous in others. Surely the dreadful results to which this erroneous principle so speedily led even these excellent men, to their irretrievable disgrace, must stagger, if not convince, the most ardent advocate for the intermixture of the civil power with the spiritual. In censuring, we must however bear in mind, that the light of experience had not shone on them with the lustre it sheds on the present generation, although it must be admitted, that the truth on this point was clearly stated to them by some of the objects of their persecution, especially by Roger Williams,† whose history we shall have more particularly to record.

It has already been observed, that the small-pox

join any of the colonial congregations, that, as he had left England because he did not like the *lord bishops*, so they might rest assured he had not come to America to live under the *lord brethren*."—Grahame, vol. i. p. 263, 264.

† Dr. Dwight makes the following apology for the founders of New England. "Every government in the Christian world claimed, at that time, the right to control the religious conduct of its subjects. This claim, it is true, finds no warrant in the scriptures; but its legitimacy had never been questioned, and therefore never investigated. All that was then contended for was, that it should be exercised with justice and moderation. Our ancestors brought with them to America the very same opinions concerning this subject which were entertained by their fellow-citizens, and by all other men of all Christian countries. As they came to New England, and underwent all the hardships incident to colonizing it, for the sake of enjoying their religion unmolested, they naturally were very reluctant that others, who had borne no share of their burthens, should wantonly intrude upon this favourite object, and disturb the peace of themselves and their families. With these views, they began to exercise the claim which I have mentioned, and, like the people of all other countries, carried the exercise to lengths which nothing can justify. But it ought ever to be remembered, that no other civilized nation can take up the first stone to cast against them. An Englishman certainly must, if he look into the ecclesiastical annals of his own country, be for ever silent on the subject. It ought also to be remembered, that they scrupulously abstained from disturbing all others, and asked nothing of others, but to be unmolested at home."—Dwight, vol. i. p. 134. "It is sufficient to remark," says a writer in the *North American Review*, "that they never professed themselves the advocates of toleration. Toleration was not a virtue of the age in which they lived; and they ought not to be reproached with the want of it, since they cannot be charged with the opposite error, beyond every other Christian sect of that day. Their grand object was to worship God according to the dictates of conscience, and for this object

had devastated the neighbourhood of the English settlements to a very considerable extent. As several of the vacant Indian stations were well chosen, such was the eagerness of the English to take possession of them, that their settlements became more numerous and more widely dispersed than suited the condition of an infant colony. This led to an innovation which totally altered the nature and constitution of the government. When a general court was to be held in 1634, the freemen, instead of attending it in person, as the charter prescribed, elected representatives in their different districts, authorizing them to appear in their name, with full power to deliberate and decide concerning every point that fell under the cognizance of the general court. Before the court proceeded to the choice of magistrates, they asserted their right to a greater share in the government than they had hitherto been allowed, and passed several resolutions, defining the powers of the general court, and ordaining trial by jury. After the election of magistrates, they further determined, that there should be four general courts every year; that the whole body of freemen should be present at the court of election only; and that the freemen of every town might choose deputies to act in their names at the other general courts, which deputies should have the full power of all the freemen. The legislative body thus became settled; and, with but inconsiderable alterations, remained in this form during the continuance of the charter. The colony must henceforward be considered, not as a corporation whose powers were defined, and its mode of procedure regulated by its

they sought an asylum in the wilderness of this continent, where they should be removed from the sight of antichristian errors of every description. Nothing was farther from their thoughts, than to build up a republic, in which sectarians and fanatics of every denomination under heaven might mingle their multifarious rites, and confound their modes of Christian worship with their own."—*North American Review*, vol. ix. p. 375. "In the first moment that they began to taste of Christian liberty themselves, they forgot that other men had an equal title to enjoy it. With an inconsistency, of which there are such flagrant instances among Christians of every denomination, that it cannot be imputed as a reproach peculiar to any sect, the very men who had themselves fled from persecution became persecutors; and had recourse, in order to enforce their own opinions, to the same unhallowed weapons, against the employment of which they had lately remonstrated with so much violence."—Robertson's *Hist. America*, b. x.

* Lest our readers should be incredulous that many of these positions, which are now considered as indubitable truths, and acted on by most civilized nations, were then regarded as criminal errors, by men who were justly considered the excellent of the earth, we refer them to the following extracts from the authentic histories of Hubbard and Mather.

"Mr. Williams proceeded vigorously to vent many dangerous opinions; as amongst many others, these that follow are some: 1. First, that it was the duty of all the female sex to cover themselves with veils when they went abroad, especially when they appeared in the public assemblies. 2. Another notion diffused by him, occasioned more disturbance; for, in his zeal for advancing the

charter, but as a society, which, having acquired or assumed political liberty, had, by its own voluntary deed, adopted a constitution or government framed on the model of that in England.

The baneful influence of the erroneous principles of the union of the civil and ecclesiastical power now became apparent, in the persecution of the most liberally minded man in the colony, Roger Williams. It is true, that he enthusiastically supported some tenets which were deemed heterodox, and occasioned considerable excitement by inveighing against the use of the cross in the national flag. In consequence of the spread of his opinion, some of the troops would not act till the relic of popery, as they considered it, was cut out of the banner, while others would not serve under any flag from which it was erased. At length a compromise was entered into, by which it was agreed that the obnoxious emblem should be omitted from the banners of the militia, while it was retained in those of the forts. This, however, was only one of the errors charged against Williams; it is said that he maintained that no female should go abroad unless veiled; that unregenerate men ought neither to pray nor to take oaths; that, indeed, oaths had better be altogether omitted; that the churches of New England should not acknowledge or communicate with the hierarchy from which they had separated; that infants should not be subjects of baptism; that the magistrate should confine his authority wholly to temporal affairs; and that James or Charles of England had no right at all to grant away the lands of the Indians without their consent.* For the zealous

purity of reformation, and abolishing all badges of superstition, he inspired some persons of great interest in that place, that the cross in the king's colours ought to be taken away, as a relic of antichristian superstition. 3. Thirdly, also he maintained, that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor to take an oath, and in special not the oath of fidelity to the civil government; nor was it lawful for a godly man to have any communion, either in family prayer, or in an oath, with such as they judged unregenerate, and therefore he himself refused the oath of fidelity, and taught others so to do. 4. And that it was not lawful, so much as to hear the godly ministers of England, when any occasionally went thither; and therefore he admonished any church members that had so done, as for heinous sin. Also he spake dangerous words against the patent, which was the foundation of the government of the Massachusetts colony. 5. He affirmed also, that magistrates had nothing to do with matters of the first table, but only the second, and that there should be a general and unlimited toleration of all religions, and for any man to be punished for any matters of his conscience, was persecution."—Hubbard's *General History of New England*, p. 204—206.

"I tell my reader that there was a whole country in America like to be set on fire by the rapid motion of a windmill in the head of one particular man. Know, then, that about the year 1630, arrived here, one Mr. Roger Williams, who, being a preacher that had less light than fire in him, hath, by his own sad example, preached unto us the danger of that evil, which the apostle mentions in Rom. x. 2. 'They have a zeal, but not according to knowledge.' He violently urged, that the civil magistrate might not

propagation of these sentiments, he was deemed worthy of banishment from the colony of Massachusetts. The order of the court was, that he should be transported to England; but he escaped the limits of their jurisdiction, repaired to the Narraganset country, and became the founder of a new colony.

There is scarcely any writer that has done the sentiments or character of this eminent, though somewhat eccentric man, even tolerable justice; all his historians are his opponents; and they have evidently laboured hard to justify the proceedings of his persecutors, while they could not conceal the benevolent and unexceptionable character of the far greater portion of his life.* His reputation has, however, been placed in its true light by at least one of the American writers. "The first legislator who fully recognised the rights of conscience," says Mr. Verplanck, "was Roger Williams, a name less illustrious than it deserves to be; for, although his eccentricities of conduct and opinion may sometimes provoke a smile, he was a man of genius and of virtue, of admirable firmness, courage, and disinterestedness, and of unbounded benevolence. After some wanderings, he pitched his tent at a place, to which he gave the name of Providence, and there became the founder and legislator of the colony of Rhode Island. There he continued to rule, sometimes as the governor, and always as

the guide and father of the settlement, for forty-eight years, employing himself in acts of kindness to his former enemies, affording relief to the distressed; and offering an asylum to the persecuted. The government of his colony was formed on his favourite principle, that in matters of faith and worship, every citizen should walk according to the light of his own conscience, without restraint or interference from the civil magistrate. During a visit which Williams made to England, in 1643, for the purpose of procuring a colonial charter, he published a formal and laboured vindication of this doctrine, under the title of *The Bloody Tenet, or a Dialogue between Truth and Peace*. In his work, which was written with his usual boldness and decision, he anticipated most of the arguments, which, fifty years after, attracted so much attention, when they were brought forward by Locke. His own conduct in power was in perfect accordance with his speculative opinions; and when, in his old age, the order of his little community was disturbed by an irruption of quaker preachers, he combated them only in pamphlets and public disputations, and contented himself with overwhelming their doctrines with a torrent of learning, invective, syllogisms, and puns. It should also be remembered, to the honour of Roger Williams, that no one of the early colonists, without excepting William Penn him-

punish breaches of the first table in the laws of the ten commandments; which assertion, besides the door which it opened unto a thousand profanities, by not being duly limited, it utterly took away from the authority all capacity to prevent the land, which they had purchased on purpose for their own recess from such things; its becoming such a sink of abominations, as would have been the reproach and ruin of Christianity in these parts of the world. The church taking the advice of their fathers in the state, on this occasion Mr. Williams removed unto Plymouth, where he was accepted as a preacher for the two years ensuing. These things were, indeed, very disturbing and offensive; but there were two other things in his quixotism, that made it no longer convenient for the civil authority to remain unconcerned about him; for, first, Whereas the king of England had granted a royal charter unto the governor and company of this colony, which patent was, indeed, the very life of the colony, this hot-headed man publicly and furiously preached against the patent, as an instrument of injustice, and pressed both rulers and people to be humbled for their sin in taking such a patent, and utterly throw it up, on an insignificant pretence of wrong thereby unto the Indians, which were the natives of the country, therein given to the subjects of the English crown. Secondly, An order of the court, upon some just occasion, had been made, that an oath of fidelity should be, though not imposed upon, yet offered unto the freemen, the better to distinguish those whose fidelity might render them capable of employment in the government; which order this man vehemently withstood, on a pernicious pretence, that it was the prerogative of our Lord Christ alone to have his office established with an oath; and that an oath being the worship of God, carnal persons, whereof he supposed there were many in the land, might not be put upon it. These crimes at last procured a sentence of banishment upon him."—Mather. b. vii. chap. ii.

* Grahame has followed Mather, Hubbard, and Hutchinson, too closely; and has by no means perceived the true merit of his character. We are surprised he should have censured so strongly the objectionable traits, (vol. i. p. 268,) while he has passed over, with

but a slight notice, those principles which immortalize the name of Roger Williams. Murray is brief, but, in this case, exercises more penetration, and is more impartial. Even the North American Review seems embarrassed by an attempt to commend both parties: "We are not prepared to defend the proceedings against Roger Williams, and especially the ultimate sentence; but many considerations in extenuation, may be offered. The settlement was in its infancy. Some of the opinions which he pertinaciously inculcated, were dangerous to the establishment; and his conduct, in several particulars, may be justly viewed as seditious. In a more advanced state of the colony, his peculiar sentiments might have been inculcated without hazard, and would, probably, have been less seriously regarded. The new settlement had enemies of powerful influence, and its leaders were compelled to observe the most vigilant course in every transaction. Williams was continually gaining adherents by his perseverance and zeal, and some of his tenets were so extravagant, that their adoption would have convulsed and degraded the country. The leading characters, both in church and state, solicitous for the preservation of the system of religious and civil polity which they had sacrificed and suffered so much to erect, were desirous of recommending it to others by a discreet deportment, which might invite soter and considerate men to unite with them, and repel the malignant suggestions of their enemies." The fact is, the puritan emigrants were decidedly wrong in the principle they laid down as the basis of their commonwealth; and the proof of their error is abundant in the absurdity, injustice, cruelty, and murder, to which it seduced the noblest and purest spirits of the age, results which never arose from the influence of truth. All that can be said in their palliation is, that all the world, except the banished Roger Williams and a few others, were in the same error; and that hundreds of learned and professedly enlightened men found it very hard to abandon the error in the nineteenth century, till touched by the magic wand of the greatest captain of the age, and the first lord of the richest treasury in the world.

self, equalled him in justice and benevolence towards the Indians.*

While the colonies were occupied with internal disputes, the English parliament, inquiring into the grievances of the nation, had turned their attention to the charters of the New England states; and deeming them injurious monopolies, both that of Plymouth and Massachusetts were declared forfeited to the king, and the colonies removed from the jurisdiction of the companies to that of the crown, an arrangement which, for some time, proved rather beneficial than detrimental.

During the year 1635, no less than three thousand persons arrived in New England.† Among them was Henry Vane, a young man of noble family, animated with a devotion to the cause of religion and liberty, which induced him to relinquish all his hopes in England, and settle in an infant colony which as yet afforded little more than a bare subsistence to its inhabitants: he was naturally received in New England with high regard and admiration, and was instantly complimented with the freedom of the colony. Enforcing his claims to respect by the address and ability which he showed in conducting business, he was elected governor in the year subsequent to his

arrival, by the universal consent of the colonists, and with the highest expectations of an advantageous administration. These hopes, we shall find in the sequel, were by no means realized. He entered too deeply into polemical theology; to allow him to devote the energies of his mind to the civil and political duties which afforded so abundant a field for their exercise. During his administration, the increase which had taken place in the colony promoted the settlement of Connecticut, and indirectly led to the war with the Pequod Indians, both of which circumstances we shall notice in the history of that state.

A brief period elapsed after the expulsion of Roger Williams, before the repose of the colony was again interrupted by religious dissensions. The puritans had transported, with their other religious practices, that of assembling one evening in the week to converse over the discourses of the preceding sabbath; a proceeding well calculated to keep alive that zeal which arises from the vigorous exercise of private judgment, but not to promote the subserviency requisite to a quiet submission to the uniformity of authorized opinions. These meetings had been originally confined to the brethren; but Mrs. Hutchinson,‡ a lady of respectable station in life, of considerable

* Anniversary Discourse, delivered before the New-York Historical Society, December 7, 1818, by Gulian C. Verplanck, Esq. p. 23—26.

† It was at this time that Charles I. prevented Pym, Hampden, and Cromwell, from emigrating to New England. The destitution of foresight with which despots are frequently visited, cannot but be admired as one of the most excellent arrangements of a merciful Providence. Two Charleses now have set their seal to the truth of this proverb, "*Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*"

‡ It often happens, that persons live in an age too early to have their merits duly estimated. This was the case of Galileo and others, who have done much for mankind. It often takes whole ages to set history right upon matters of fact and opinion. No person, in our annals, has suffered more obloquy without cause, than Mrs. Hutchinson. She came with her husband from Lincolnshire to Boston, in 1636. Her husband was a man of note, being a representative of Boston, and in good repute. Mrs. Hutchinson was a well educated, shrewd woman; she was a great admirer of Mr. Cotton, then a popular preacher in Boston, with whom, it is probable, she was well acquainted in England, as they came from the same county. She was ambitious and active, and was delighted with metaphysical subtleties and nice distinctions. She had a ready pen, and a fine memory, and from the habit of taking notes in church, she possessed herself of all the points in Mr. Cotton's sermons, which she was fond of communicating to others of less retentive faculties. She held conference meetings at her own house, and commented on the great doctrines, of salvation. She entertained several speculative opinions, that, in the present state of intelligence, would be considered as harmless as a poet's dream, but which, at that time, "threw the whole colony into a flame." Every household was fevered by religious discussions upon covenants of faith and covenants of works, always the most bitter of all disputes. In all probability, the vanity of Mrs. Hutchinson was raised, to see that she could so easily disturb the religious and metaphysical world about her; and no doubt, but that the persecutions she suffered, made her more obstinate than she otherwise would have been. If they had let her alone, her doctrines would have passed away with a thousand other vagaries; but the clergy

would not suffer this to be, notwithstanding they risked something in calling this popular woman to an account. She was considered wiser and more learned in the scriptures than all her opponents. She had powerful friends. Sir Henry Vane, the governor, a popular young man, of large wealth, was her friend, and Cotton and Wheelwright, the ministers, were her warm supporters, and had a profound respect for her talents and virtues; but still the majority of the clergy was against her.

In 1637 a synod was called, the first in our history, which was held in conclave at Cambridge. It was composed of the governor, the deputy governor, the council of assistants, and the teachers and the elders of churches. They sat in conclave for fear of the people, particularly Mrs. Hutchinson's followers. Her friend, Sir Henry Vane, was no longer in the chair of state. In this body she was charged with heresy, and called upon to defend herself before these inquisitors. The charges and specifications were numerous, as is proved by the judgment of the court. Before the tribunal she stood for three weeks, defending herself against a body of inquisitors, who were at once the prosecutors, the witnesses, and the judges. The report of the trial is said to be from the minutes of Governor Winthrop, certainly not from her own brief. The charges from the governor, who presided, were vituperations and vague, consisting of general matters, rather than of special allegations; to all of which she returned the most acute and pregnant answers, evincing a mind of the first order. One after another of her judges questioned and harangued, but she never lost her self-possession. The only circumstance in the whole case that shows the sincerity of her judges, is the report they have made of her trial. Her judges were the first in the land, comprising every one in the colony, who had not fallen under the suspicion of having been her friend. That intolerant old Dudley, the lieutenant governor, was the most inveterate of her enemies. Cotton, who was called as a witness, behaved well, and, grave and holy as he was, was treated with great severity as a witness. On the whole, they proved nothing against her, but that she had expressed her own opinions freely, and supported them manfully, by unanswerable texts of scripture. No defence ever recorded in profane history has ever been equal to this. Socrates before his judges did not meet his ac-

native talent, and of affable manners, deemed it desirable that the sisters should also exercise a similar privilege. Unfortunately, it was not long before this lady and her associates discovered that there would be much more propriety in their instructing their ministers than in the reverse process, which had hitherto prevailed. They adopted that most convenient dogma, that good works are no evidence of being a true Christian, or one of the elect; and that the only testimony to a state of justification, was the overpowering assurance of the mind, produced by the immediate influence of the divine Spirit. It is not our place to discuss doctrines, but to record facts; or it would not be difficult to demonstrate, that it is through the incongruous and irrational ideas which have existed among the great mass of those who have been accustomed to deem themselves sound in doctrine, that these vagaries have acquired and maintained so utterly undeserved a prominence in what is termed the religious world. It has ever been a prime manœuvre of the great enemy of man, to connect the most magnificent truths with the most absurd errors; and thus to raise a cloud which encircles itself with the brilliancy of that very orb whose rays it obscures.

The disturbance occasioned by the propagation of these offensive sentiments, was aggravated by the circumstance of the governor, Mr. Vane, being their decided advocate. Vehement discussions and bitter accusations abounding; but the antinomian party, though most zealous, were least numerous; and at the annual election, Mr. Vane was displaced by Mr. Winthrop, by a very decided majority. After various

accusers with half the acuteness. Eugene Aram's defence had not the same directness and power, nor that of Maria Antoinette more high mindedness. St. Paul's alone, before the Areopagii, can bear any comparison. He was charged of introducing a new God, which, by an Athenian law, was death, to prevent an increase of their catalogue of divinities. He escaped by declaring that he had not enlarged their number, but that he taught them who was the unknown God, whose temple he had seen among them, and whose name was inscribed on its walls.

Instead of raising a monument, as they should have done, to this most acute metaphysician and eloquent defender of herself, they found her guilty of more than eighty heretical opinions; but fortunately for themselves, they did not venture to specify them in her sentence, but ordered her to recant and renounce them, under the penalty of excommunication and banishment. Mrs. Hutchinson was firm; she made a fair explanation, but would not renounce what she conscientiously believed to be right, and was accordingly banished. She went to Rhode Island, but did not long remain there. After the death of her husband, in 1642, she went to the Dutch country beyond New Haven, and was, with most of her large family, massacred by the Indians. This, the superstitious considered as a judgment, "for many evils in her conversation, as well as for corrupt opinions;" and to this day she is called an artful woman, but not one of her accusers dare name one of those evils of conversation, and but two or three of those corrupt opinions. The writer feels ashamed of the land of his birth, in reading the whole course of this fanatical and unjust sentence, but would not

measures had been resorted to, in order to bring the dissentients within the pale of orthodoxy, a synod was called, which determined that the sentiments of Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers were grievously erroneous, and, as they still refused submission, the favourite measure of banishment was had recourse to. Another accession was thus made to the "alluvies," as Mather terms it, of Rhode Island; but not finding that land of liberty perfectly to her taste, Mrs. Hutchinson removed to a Dutch plantation, where, not long after, she was basely murdered, with many of her family, by the Indians.*

While these transactions were occurring in America, the enemies of the colonists in England were busily engaged in promoting the destruction of the Massachusetts charter. That of Plymouth had been already surrendered. "The principal reasons assigned for this surrender were, that the people of Massachusetts had improperly extended the limits of their patent, so as to include lands granted to others, and that in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, they had made themselves independent of the council, as well as the crown. These evils, the council said, they were unable to remedy; and therefore deemed it necessary for his majesty to take the whole business into his own hands.† Soon after the surrender of the Plymouth charter, a *quo warranto* was issued against that of Massachusetts. The writ was served only on those in England, who either then were, or had been members of the company; but no notice was given to the company in New England. Some on whom the writ was served in England appeared, and disclaimed any right under the charter, others

have it erased from the records, as it is calculated to humble the pride of the infallible bigot, and serves as a good lesson for modern times, in more than in one instance. That woman must have been of virtuous life, that such a band of inquisitors could not find cause to condemn, except as to opinions. The whole story is a lesson, for it shows, that men, in a body, may do that which but few of them, separately, would dare to support. In that body were to be found the learned Phillips, the apostle Elliot, the honest Welde, with many other excellent men, who voted against the great female metaphysician of her time. Three only of the synod had the courage to dissent from the judgment. It seems, after all, that the sentence was more a matter of policy than of law, as may be drawn from the scantiness of the record on this head; for Winthrop was an acute lawyer, and if he had found any thing which he dared to put on record, in justification of this body, it would have been found there. That they should have erred, is not surprising; but that historians of a later age should have continued to justify them, is astonishing, and shows how little independence or original thinking there is among those who venture to call themselves historians.—*American Editor*.

* Various other persons, besides the immediate adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson, were dissatisfied with the proceedings of the synod and council of Massachusetts, migrated from the colony, and assisted in the formation of the settlements of Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Maine; the circumstances of which will be recorded at length in the history of those states.

† Pitkin, vol. i. p. 39.

were defaulted, and the rights and franchises in the charter were seized and taken into the hands of the king, so far as those in England were concerned, and the other patentees were outlawed. No judgment, in form, was ever rendered against the corporation itself. Not satisfied with this proceeding, a special order was sent by the lords of trade and plantations, to Massachusetts, in April, 1638, requiring the governor, or such other person as had the custody of the charter, to transmit the same by the return of the ship which carried the order, with a threat, in case of neglect or refusal, that the king would resume the whole plantation into his own hands. The general court of Massachusetts, before whom this order was laid, resolved not to send the charter, but presented an humble petition to the commissioners. The colonists found on this, as on many other occasions, the advantage of the delay arising from their distance from the mother country; for, while these negotiations were pending, the disputes between Charles and his parliament acquired an importance that left little opportunity for the monarch to trouble himself with colonial affairs; and thus the charter of Massachusetts, and the liberties of New England, were preserved.*

Scarcely had the venerable founders of New England felled the trees of the forest, when they began to provide means to insure the stability of their colony. Learning and religion they wisely judged to be the firmest pillars of the commonwealth. The legislature of Massachusetts, having previously founded a public school or college, had, the last year, directed its establishment at Newtown, and appointed a committee to carry the order into effect. The liberality of an individual now essentially contributed to the completion of this wise and benevolent design.

* A copy of Charles's "commission for regulating the plantations;" of the "letter of the lords of the council for the patent of the plantation to be sent to them;" and of the "humble petition of the Massachusetts in the general court there assembled;" are all to be found in Hubbard's History, chap. xxxvi.

† Hubbard, chap. xxxii. p. 237. There were several benefactors to this college, besides Mr. Harvard; and "the other colonies sent some small help to the undertaking; and several gentlemen did more than whole colonies to support and forward it."—Mather's *Magnalia*, b. iv. p. 126. "There were probably, at that time, forty or fifty sons of the university of Cambridge in Old England, one for every two hundred or two hundred and fifty inhabitants, dwelling in the few villages of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The sons of Oxford were not few."—Savage: note upon Winthrop.

‡ "A printing house was begun at Cambridge by one Daye, at the charge of Mr. Glover, who died on sea hitherward. The first thing which was printed was the freemen's oath; the next was an Almanack, made for New England by Mr. William Peirce, mariner; the next was the Psalms, newly turned into metre." Winthrop, vol. i. p. 289. *Ib.* Hist. Camb. Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. vii. p. 19. Thomas's History of Printing in America, vol. i. p. 227. "Mr. Glover was a worthy and wealthy nonconformist minister.

John Harvard, a worthy minister, dying this year at Charleston, left a legacy of nearly 800*l.* to the public school at Newtown. In honour of their benefactor, the collegiate school was, by an order of court, named Harvard College; and Newtown, in compliment to the institution, and in memory of the place where many of the first settlers of New England received their education, was called Cambridge.† At this time also, Rowley, in Massachusetts, was founded by about sixty industrious families from Yorkshire, under the guidance of Ezekiel Rogers, an eminent minister. These settlers, many of whom had been clothiers in England, built a fulling mill; employed their children in spinning cotton wool; and were the first who attempted to make cloth in North America. A still more important branch of business was introduced this year, that of printing, the first press ever used in North America being established at Cambridge.‡

The colony of Massachusetts, as well as its rural neighbours, continued rapidly to increase. In the year 1639, a settlement was begun on the north side of Merrimack, called Salisbury; and another at Winicowet, called Hampton.

New England was henceforth to be left almost exclusively to her own resources. The state of affairs in England was now reversed; and the persecuting power of Charles was wrested from his grasp. The principal motive to emigration, therefore, no longer existed; indeed, several of the most considerable colonists, and many of the ministers in New England, returned to their native country;§ but the great majority of the settlers had experienced so much happiness in the societies which had been formed in the colony, that they felt themselves united to New England by stronger feelings than those of attach-

He contributed liberally toward a sum sufficient to purchase printing materials; and for this purpose solicited the aid of others in England and Holland. He gave to the college a fount of printing letters, and some gentlemen of Amsterdam gave, towards furnishing of a printing press with letters, forty-nine pounds, and something more."—Records of Harvard College; *American Annals*, vol. i. p. 255.

§ "Now that fountain began to be dried, and the stream turned another way, and many that intended to have followed their neighbours and friends into a land not sown, hoping by the turn of the times, and the great changes that were then afoot, to enjoy that at their own doors and homes, which the other had travelled so far to seek abroad, there happened a total cessation of any passengers coming over; yea, rather, as at the turn of a tide, many came back with the help of the same stream, or sea, that carried them thither; inasmuch, that now the country of New England was to seek of a way to provide themselves of clothing, which they could not attain by selling of their cattle as before; which now were fallen from that huge price forementioned, 25*l.*, first to 14*l.* and 10*l.* an head, and presently after (at least, within a year) to 5*l.* a piece; nor was there at that rate ready vent for them neither."—Hubbard, p. 238.

ment to their native soil, and resolved to remain in the region which their virtue had converted from a wilderness into a garden.

There does not appear to be any authentic statement of the population of the New England colonies at this period. It would seem to have been under twenty thousand.* In the twenty years which had elapsed since the settlement of Plymouth, nearly three hundred vessels had transported more than twenty-one thousand persons across the Atlantic, at the immense cost of nearly 200,000*l.* an amazing sum in that age, which nothing but the determined and persevering zeal which animated the puritans could have induced them to expend, in the laborious work of converting a vast wilderness into the abode of civilized man.†

The following year, the general court of Massachusetts established one hundred laws, called *The Body of Liberties*.‡ Having already been submitted to the court, and sent into every town for consideration, they were now amended, and were to remain in force for the term of three years; after that period, to be again revised, and established in perpetuity. As it is in the laws of an infant people that we trace their principles, and discover their policy, a sketch of the most remarkable laws in the first New England code is introduced. It was enacted, that there never should be any bond-slavery, villanage, or captivity, among the inhabitants of the province, except in lawful captives taken in just wars, or such as should willingly sell themselves, or be sold to them; and such should have the liberties and Christian usage which the law of God, established in Israel concerning such persons, morally requires: That if any strangers, or people of other nations, professing the Christian religion, should fly to them from tyranny or oppression of their persecutors, or from famine, wars, or the like necessary and compulsory cause, they should receive entertainment and succour: That there should be no monopolies, but of such new inventions as were profitable to the country, and those for a short time only: That all deeds of conveyance,

whether absolute or conditional, should be recorded, that neither creditors might be defrauded, nor courts troubled with vexatious suits and endless contentions about sales and mortgages: That no injunction should be laid on any church, church officer, or member, in point of doctrine, worship, or discipline, whether for substance or circumstance, besides the institution of the Lord; and that, in the defect of a law, in any case, the decision should be by the word of God.

The dispersed situation of the New England colonists rendered union among them necessary, not only for their mutual defence against the savages, but also for protection and security against the claims and encroachments of the Dutch. This union, or confederation, was formed in 1643, by the name of *The United Colonies of New England*. It had been proposed by the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, as early as 1638, but was not finally completed until five years after. This confederacy, which continued about forty years, constituted an interesting portion of the political history of New England. It consisted of the colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. By the articles of confederation, as they were called, these colonies entered into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, for offence and defence, mutual advice and succour, upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare. Each colony was to retain its own peculiar jurisdiction and government; and no other plantation or colony was to be received as a confederate, nor any two of the confederates to be united into one jurisdiction, without the consent of the rest. The affairs of the united colonies were to be managed by a legislature, to consist of two persons, styled commissioners, chosen from each colony. The commissioners were to meet annually in the colonies, in succession, and when met, to choose a president, and the determination of any six to be binding on all.§ This confederacy, which was declared to be perpe-

* Grahame says, "about twenty-one thousand persons," (vol. i. p. 302,) but this is evidently the gross number of those who emigrated during the twenty years; and the probability is, that the actual population at this period was considerably short of that number.

† "They, who then professed to be able to give the best account, say, that in two hundred and ninety-eight ships, which were the whole number from the beginning of the colony, there arrived twenty-one thousand two hundred passengers, men, women, and children, perhaps about four thousand families. A modest computation then made of the whole charge of transportation of the persons, their goods, the stock of cattle, provisions until they could support themselves, necessities for building, artillery, arms, and ammunition, amounts to 192,000*l.* sterling. A dear purchase, if

they had paid nothing before to the council of Plymouth, and nothing afterwards to the sachems of the country. Well might they complain, when the titles to their lands were called in question by Sir Edmund Andros; their labour in clearing and improving them was of more value than the lands after they were improved, and this other expense might be out of the question."—Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 93.

‡ "They had been composed by Mr. Nathaniel Ward, minister of Ipswich, who had formerly been a student and practitioner at law."—*American Annals*, vol. i. p. 260.

§ "These commissioners had power to hear, examine, weigh, and determine all affairs of war, or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and number of men for war, division of spoils, and whatsoever is gotten by conquest, receiving of more confederates for plantations,

tual, continued without any essential alteration, until the New England colonies were deprived of their charter by the arbitrary proceedings of James II. This union evidently served as the basis of the great confederacy afterwards formed between the thirteen states of America. An examination of the two systems will prove a similarity not only in names, but in general principles.*

The contest between the king and the parliament at length resulted in open war; and the New England colonies, actuated by the same feeling as the puritans in England, embraced with ardour the cause of the latter. The parliament, however, did not lose sight of its right to govern the colonies; and in 1643, they passed an ordinance, no less remarkable for the extent of power exerted, than for the extraordinary regulations it established. By it, the Earl of Warwick was appointed governor-in-chief and lord high-admiral of the colonies, with a council of five peers and twelve commoners to assist him. It empowered him, in conjunction with his associates, to examine the state of their affairs; to send for papers and persons; to remove governors and officers, appointing others in their place; and to assign over to these such part of the powers that were then granted as he should think proper. Such was the authority which the parliament exerted over its transatlantic dominions. The colonists implicitly admitted its rectitude, by applying to the commissioners for protection and patents. The right of parliament, indeed, was not doubted in those days; it was the irregular exertion of prerogative, and not the authority

into combination with any of the confederates, and all things of a like nature, which are the proper concomitants and consequences of such a confederation for amity, offence and defence, not intermeddling with the government of any of the jurisdictions, which, by the third article, is preserved entirely to themselves. The expenses of all just wars to be borne by each colony, in proportion to its number of male inhabitants, of whatever quality or condition, between the ages of sixteen and sixty. In case any colony should be suddenly invaded, on motion and request of three magistrates of such colony, the other confederates were immediately to send aid to the colony invaded, in men, Massachusetts one hundred, and the other colonies forty-five each, or for a less number, in the same proportion. The commissioners, however, were very properly directed, afterwards, to take into consideration the cause of such war or invasion, and if it should appear that the fault was in the colony invaded, such colony was not only to make satisfaction to the invaders, but to bear all the expenses of the war. The commissioners were also authorized to frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all the plantations were interested, for preserving peace among themselves, and preventing, as much as may be, all occasions of war, or difference with others, as about the free and speedy passage of justice, in every jurisdiction, to all the confederates equally as to their own, receiving those that remove from one plantation to another, without due certificates. It was also very wisely provided in the articles, that runaway servants, and fugitives from justice, should be returned to the colonies where they belonged, or from which they had fled. If any of the confederates should violate any of

of the legislature, that was dreaded as unconstitutional, or feared as oppressive.

The increasing prosperity of the colony naturally tended to heighten the value of its political franchises; and the increasing opulence of the dissenters, already alluded to, seemed to aggravate the hardship of their disfranchisement. Some of them having assumed privileges from which they were excluded by law, they were punished by Mr. Winthrop, the deputy governor. They complained to the general court of this treatment by a petition, which contained a forcible remonstrance against the injustice of depriving them of their rights as free-men, and of their privileges as Christians, because they could not join as members with the congregational churches, or because, when they solicited admission into them, they were arbitrarily rejected by the ministers. "They prayed," says Hutchinson,* "that civil liberty and freedom might be forthwith granted to all truly English, and that all members of the church of England or Scotland, not scandalous, might be admitted to the privileges of the churches of New England; or, if these civil and religious liberties were refused, that they might be freed from the heavy taxes imposed upon them, and from the impresses made of them, or their children, or servants, into the war; and if they failed of redress there, they should be under a necessity of making application to England to the honourable houses of parliament, who they hoped would take their sad condition into consideration." The party in favour of the dissenters had sufficient interest to obtain a

the articles, or in any way injure any one of the other colonies, such breach of agreement, or injury, was to be considered and ordered by the commissioners of the other colonies."—Pitkin's Political History, vol. i. p. 51.

* "The principles upon which this famous association was formed were altogether those of independency, and it cannot easily be supported upon any other. The colonies of Connecticut and New Haven had at that time enjoyed no charter, and derived their title to their soil from mere occupancy, and their powers of government from voluntary agreement. New Plymouth had acquired a right to their lands from a grant of a company in England, which conferred, however, no jurisdiction. And no other authority, with regard to the making of peace, or war, or leagues, did the charter of Massachusetts convey, than that of defending itself, by force of arms, against all invaders. But, if no patent legalized the confederacy, neither was it confirmed by the approbation of the governing powers in England. Their consent was never applied for, and was never given. The various colonies, of which that celebrated league was composed, being perfectly independent of one another, and having no other connexion than as subjects of the same crown, and as territories of the same state, might, with equal propriety and consistency, have entered into a similar compact with alien colonies, or a foreign nation. They did make treaties with the neighbouring plantations of the French and Dutch; and in this light was their conduct seen in England, and at a subsequent period did not fail to attract the attention of Charles II."—Chalmers's Political Annals, b. i. chap. viii. p. 178.

† Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 146.

vote to require Mr. Winthrop to answer in public to the complaints against him. On the day appointed for his trial he descended from the tribunal, and placing himself at the bar, in presence of a numerous assemblage of the inhabitants, he proceeded to vindicate his conduct to his judges and fellow-citizens. Having proved that his proceedings were warranted by law, and that it had no other end than to maintain the existing institutions, he was not only honourably acquitted by the sentence of the court, and the voice of the public, but recommended so powerfully to the esteem of his fellow-citizens by this and all the other indications of his character, that he was chosen governor of the province every year after, as long as he lived.* His accusers were visited with public displeasure; their petition was dismissed, and a charge was drawn up against them; but it was intimated, that if they would acknowledge their offence they should be forgiven; they, however, refused, and were fined in various sums, two or three of the magistrates dissenting. The petitioners, animated by opposition, rather than overborne by oppression, resolved to lay their condition before the supreme power; and, with this design, two deputies were sent to England. The famous Cotton had asserted, in one of his sermons, "that, if any shall carry writings or complaints against the people of God in that country to England, it would be as Jonas in the ship;" and a storm unfortunately arising during the voyage, the mariners, often prone to superstition, recollected this prediction, and insisted that all obnoxious papers should be thrown overboard; thus the deputies were constrained to consign their credentials to the waves. The parliament, probably influenced by the intrigues of the agents, or too much engaged in their own important affairs, took no cognizance of this extraordinary transaction; and the petitioners never received any redress.†

* We cannot refrain from presenting our readers with an extract of his admirable and powerful address:—"The questions," said Mr. Winthrop, "that have troubled the country, have been about the authority of the magistracy and the liberty of the people. It is you who have called us unto this office; but being thus called, we have our authority from God. I entreat you to consider, that when you choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves, men subject unto like passions with yourselves. If you see our infirmities, reflect on your own, and you will not be so severe censurers of ours. The covenant between us and you is the oath you have exacted of us, which is to this purpose, 'That we shall govern you and judge your causes according to God's laws and the particular statutes of the land, according to our best skill.' As for our skill, you must run the hazard of it; and if there be an error only therein, and not in the will, it becomes you to bear it. Nor would I have you to mistake in the point of your own liberty. There is a liberty of corrupt nature, which is affected both by men and beasts, to do what they list. This liberty is inconsistent with authority; impatient of all restraint, 'tis the grand enemy of truth and peace, and all the ordinances of God are bent against it. But

How refreshing is it to turn from the mutual recriminations of religious controversy, and the hateful sight of ecclesiastical persecution, to the contemplation of that expansive benevolence which is the true genius of Christianity! History is essentially biographical to a considerable extent; but there are occasions when her pencil is called to trace, with peculiar vividness, the moral dignity and beauty of her heroes; and what name shall arouse her boldest efforts, if that of Elliot does not call them forth? When the wreaths of literary, scientific, and even the most glittering, though least enviable of all, of military fame, whose leaves have never been tinged with the unction of eternity, shall fade amidst the brilliancy of holier and more resplendent honours, whose crown will shine more brightly than that of the Indians' father and friend? His labours form the redeeming trait of an age, that might justly be termed one of the most vigorous religious selfishness. Why were not the gigantic energies more than wasted in the pugnacious defence of men-made forms of Christianity, devoted to spread its essence among the heathen, by whom they were surrounded, or to whom they could have obtained access? Hardships for the sake of religion the puritan colonists endured, indeed, abundantly; but that it was for their own enjoyment rather than the benefit of others, is evident, from their treating those who differed from their opinions as though they robbed them of their property. But Elliot was of a nobler mould; he banished not others for his fancied good, but himself, for the welfare of the ignorant and oppressed.

Elliot was one of the ministers of Roxbury. Strongly penetrated with a sense of the duty of redeeming to the dominion of religion and civilization the wastes of human character that lay in ignorance and idolatry around him, he had for some time been labouring to overcome the primary obstacle to its per-

there is a civil, a moral, a federal liberty, which is the proper end and object of authority: it is a liberty for that only which is just and good. For this liberty you are to stand with the hazard of your very lives; and whatsoever crosses it is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to authority; and the authority set over you will, in all administrations for your good, be quietly submitted unto by all but such as have a disposition to shake off the yoke, and lose their true liberty by their murmuring at the honour and power of authority." We cordially agree with Mr. Grahame, when he says, "The circumstances in which this address was delivered, remind us of scenes in Greek and Roman history; while the wisdom, worth, and dignity that it breathes, resemble the magnanimous vindication of the judge of Israel;" and we must add, that the whole history of the rise and progress of these states is more calculated to instruct and elevate the mind, than the scenes of ancient history; and that it is a great discredit to our schools, colleges, and universities, that the study of modern history in general, and this portion of it particularly, does not form an essential part of a liberal education.

† Cha'mer's Annals, b. i. chap. viii. p. 180.

formance; at length he attained such acquaintance with the Indian language as enabled him to construct a system of grammar.* His kindness of manner soon gained him a favourable hearing from many of the natives; and both parties being sensible of the expediency of altering the civil and domestic habits that counteracted the impressions which he attempted to produce, he obtained from the general court an allotment of land in the neighbourhood of the settlement of Concord, in Massachusetts. A considerable body of Indians resorted to the land allotted them by the colonial government, and exchanged their wild and barbarous habits for the modes of civilized living and industry. Mr. Elliot was continually among them, instructing, animating, and directing them.

In endeavouring to extend their missionary influence among the surrounding tribes, Mr. Elliot and his associates encountered a variety of issues corresponding to the varieties of human character. Many, indeed, expressed the utmost abhorrence and contempt of Christianity; but, in spite of every discouragement, the missionaries persisted, and at length their labours were rewarded with astonishing success.†

That our readers may have authentic testimony on which to form a correct idea of its extent—the more as it affords a striking contradiction to the still lurking half-prevailing antinomianism, that the Eternal, whose very nature is benevolence, withholds his sanction and blessing from the labours of his faithful servants out of pure sovereignty—we insert the following document:—

* Dr. Cotton Mather has, almost humorously, described the difficulty of acquiring the Indian language, and giving it a graphic form: "Behold new difficulties to be surmounted by our indefatigable Elliot! He hires a native to teach him this exotic language, and, with a laborious care and skill, reduces it into a grammar, which afterwards he published. There is a letter or two of our alphabet which the Indians never had in theirs; but if their alphabet be short, I am sure the words composed of it are long enough to tire the patience of any scholar in the world; they are *sesquipedalia verba*, of which their lingo is composed; one would think they had been growing ever since Babel, unto the dimensions to which they are now extended. For instance, if my reader will count how many letters there are in this one word, *Nummatchekodtantamoon-ganunnonash*, when he has done, for his reward I'll tell him, it signifies no more in English, than 'our lusts;' and if I were to translate 'our loves,' it must be nothing shorter than *Nooveomantamoonkanunnonash*. Or, to give my reader a longer word than either of these, *Kummogkodonatootlummoetiteaongannunnonash*, is, in English, 'our question;' but I pray, Sir, count the letters! Nor do we find in all this language the least affinity to, or derivation from, any European speech that we are acquainted with."—We think the folly of good men as useful to posterity as their virtues; and we claim sacred story as our authority; and therefore we continue the extract:—"I know not what thoughts it will produce in my reader when I inform him, that once finding that the dæmons in a possessed young woman understood the Latin and Greek and Hebrew languages, my curiosity led me to make trial of this Indian

"A LETTER CONCERNING THE SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL AMONGST THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND.

"Written by MR. INCREASE MATHER, Minister of the Word of God, at Boston, and Rector of the College at Cambridge, in New England, to DR. JOHN LEUSDEN, Hebrew Professor in the University of Utrecht.

"TRANSLATED OUT OF LATIN INTO ENGLISH.

"WORTHY AND MUCH HONOURED SIR,

"YOUR letters were very grateful to me, by which I understand that you and others in your famous university of Utrecht desire to be informed concerning the converted Indians in America: take, therefore, a true account of them in a few words:—

"It is above forty years since that truly godly man, Mr. John Elliot, pastor of the church at Rocksborough, (about a mile from Boston, in New England,) being warmed with a holy zeal of converting the Americans, set himself to learn the Indian tongue, that he might more easily and successfully open to them the mysteries of the gospel, upon account of which he has been (and not undeservedly) called the Apostle of the American Indians. This reverend person, not without very great labour, translated the whole bible into the Indian tongue; he translated also several English treatises of practical divinity and catechisms into their language. About twenty-six years ago he gathered a church of converted Indians in a town called Natick; these Indians con-

language, and the dæmons did seem as if they did not understand it!"—Mather's *Magnalia*, b. iii. p. 193.

† "It is a remarkable feature in Elliot's long and arduous career, that the energy by which he was actuated never sustained the slightest abatement, but, on the contrary, evinced a steady and vigorous increase. As his bodily strength decayed, the energy of his being seemed to retreat into his soul, and at length all his faculties (he said) seemed absorbed in holy love. Being asked, shortly before his departure, how he did, he replied, 'I have lost every thing, my understanding leaves me, my memory fails me, my utterance fails me; but I thank God my charity holds out still, I find that rather grows than fails.' He died in the year 1690. While Mr. Elliot and an increasing body of associates were thus employed in the province of Massachusetts, Thomas Mayhew, a man who combined, in a wonderful degree, an affectionate mildness that nothing could disturb with an ardour and activity that nothing could overcome, together with a few coadjutors, not less diligently and successfully, prosecuted the same design in Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth Isles, and within the territory comprehended in the Plymouth patent."—Grahame, vol. i. p. 326, 329.

"On the publication of the accounts of the hopeful progress of the Indians in New England in the knowledge of the gospel, the attention of the English nation was excited to the subject. By the solicitation of Edward Winslow, then in England as agent for the United Colonies, an act of parliament was passed, by which the Society for propagating the Gospel in New England was incorporated."—Holmes's *American Annals*, vol. i. p. 290.

fessed their sins with tears, and professed their faith in Christ, and afterwards they and their children were baptized, and they were solemnly joined together in a church covenant; the said Mr. Elliot was the first that administered the Lord's supper to them. The pastor of that church now is an Indian, his name is Daniel. Besides this church at Natick, among our inhabitants in the Massachusetts colony, there are four Indian assemblies, where the name of the true God and Jesus Christ is solemnly called upon; these assemblies have some American preachers: Mr. Elliot formerly used to preach to them once every fortnight, but now he is weakened with labours and old age, being in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and preacheth not to the Indians oftener than once in two months. There is another church, consisting only of converted Indians, about fifty miles from hence, in an Indian town, called Mashippaug. The first pastor of that church was an Englishman, who, being skilful in the American language, preached the gospel to them in their own tongue. This English pastor is dead, and instead of him that church has an Indian preacher. There are, besides that, five assemblies of Indians professing the name of Christ, not far distant from Mashippaug, which have Indian preachers. John Cotton, pastor of the church at Plymouth, (son of my venerable father-in-law, John Cotton, formerly the famous teacher of the church at Boston,) both made very great progress in learning the Indian tongue, and is very skilful in it; he preaches in their own language to the last five mentioned congregations every week. Moreover, of the inhabitants of Saconet, in Plymouth colony, there is a great congregation of those who, for distinction sake, are called praying Indians, because they pray to God in Christ. Not far from a promontory called Cape Cod, there are six assemblies of heathens who are to be reckoned as Catechumens, amongst whom there are six Indian preachers. Samuel Treat, pastor of a church at Eastham, preacheth to these congregations in their own language. There are likewise among the islanders of Nantucket a church, with a pastor who was lately a heathen, and several meetings of Catechumens, who are instructed by the converted Indians. There is also another island about seven leagues long, called Martha's Vineyard, where are two American churches planted, which are more famous than the rest, over one of which there presides an ancient Indian as pastor, called Hiacoons. John Hiacoons, son of the Indian pastor, also preacheth the gospel to his countrymen. In another church in that place, John Tokinosh, a converted Indian, teaches. In these churches ruling

elders of the Indians are joined to the pastors; the pastors are chosen by the people, and when they had fasted and prayed, Mr. Elliot and Mr. Cotton laid their hands on them, so that they were solemnly ordained. All the congregations of the converted Indians (both the Catechumens and those in church order) every Lord's-day meet together; the pastor or preacher always begins with prayer, and without a form, because from the heart; when the ruler of the assembly has ended prayer, the whole congregation of Indians praise God with singing; some of them are excellent singers; after the psalm, he that preaches reads a place of scripture (one or more verses as he will) and expounds it, gathers doctrines from it, proves them by scriptures and reasons, and infers uses from them after the manner of the English, of whom they have been taught; then another prayer to God in the name of Christ concludes the whole service. Thus do they meet together twice every Lord's-day. They observe no holy-days but the Lord's-day, except upon some extraordinary occasion, and then they solemnly set apart whole days, either in giving thanks, or fasting and praying, with great fervour of mind.

"Before the English came into these coasts, these barbarous nations were altogether ignorant of the true God; hence it is that in their prayers and sermons they use English words and terms; he that calls upon the most holy name of God, says, Jehovah, or God, or Lord, and also they have learned and borrowed many other theological phrases from us. In short, there are six churches of baptized Indians in New England, and eighteen assemblies of Catechumens professing the name of Christ. Of the Indians there are four-and-twenty who are preachers of the Word of God; and besides these there are four English ministers, who preach the gospel in the Indian tongue. I am now myself weary with writing, and I fear lest, should I add more, I should also be tedious to you; yet one thing I must add, which I had almost forgot, that there are many of the Indians' children who have learned by heart the catechism, either of that famous divine, William Perkins, or that put forth by the assembly of divines at Westminster, and in their own mother tongue can answer to all the questions in it. But I must end; I salute the famous professors in your university, to whom I desire you to communicate this letter, as written to them also. Farewell, worthy Sir; the Lord preserve your health for the benefit of your country, his church, and of learning. Yours ever,

"INCREASE MATHER.

"BOSTON, IN NEW ENGLAND, *July 12, 1687.*"

To return to the secular affairs of the colony. In the year 1651, the long parliament having fully established its authority in England, determined to have its power expressly acknowledged through all the dependencies of the British empire. An order was therefore transmitted to Massachusetts to send the charter of the colony to London, and to take out a new patent. Alarmed at this requisition, and dreading the power of parliament, the general court resorted to its usual expedient of petitioning, which was, of course, productive of the desired delay; and the colony being in high favour with Cromwell, it is probable his influence was exercised in its behalf, as the parliament do not appear to have followed up their requisition with any further proceedings.

In the following year, the inhabitants of the province of Maine were, by their own request, taken under the protection of Massachusetts. Commissioners, appointed by the general court, repaired to Kittery and Agamenticus, summoned the inhabitants to appear before them, and received their submission. Agamenticus was now named York; the province made a county by the same name; and the towns, from this time, sent deputies to the general court at Boston.* New Hampshire had been added to Massachusetts in the year 1641.

The evil principle of the interference of the civil power again displayed itself. Mr. Grahame has recorded these transactions so impartially, and reasoned upon them so justly, that we shall at once give our readers an interesting portion of history, and an excellent specimen of that valuable work, by quoting the passage. "Of all the instances of persecution that occur in the history of New England," says that author, "the most censurable in its principle, though happily also the least vehement in the severities which it produced, was the treatment inflicted on the anabaptists by the government of Massachusetts. The first appearance of these sectaries in this province was in the year 1651, when, to the great astonishment and concern of the community, seven or eight persons, of whom the leader was one Obadiah Holmes, all at once professed the baptist tenets, and separated from the congregation to which they had belonged, declaring that they could no longer take counsel, or partake divine ordinances, with unbaptized men, as they pronounced all the other inhabitants of the province to be. The erroneoust doctrine which

thus unexpectedly sprang up, was at this time regarded with peculiar dread and jealousy, on account of the horrible enormities of sentiment and practice with which some of the professors of it in Germany had associated its repute; and no sooner did Holmes and his friends set up a baptist conventicle for themselves, than complaints of their proceedings, as an intolerable nuisance, came pouring into the general court from all quarters of the colony. The court at first proceeded no farther than to adjudge Holmes and his friends to desist from their unchristian separation; and they were permitted to retire, having first, however, publicly declared that they would follow out the leadings of their consciences, and obey God rather than man. Some time after, they were apprehended on a Sunday, while attending the preaching of one Clark, a baptist, from Rhode Island, who had come to propogate his tenets in Massachusetts. The constables who took them into custody carried them to church, as a more proper place of christian worship, where Clark put on his hat the moment that the minister began to pray. Clark, Holmes, and another, were sentenced to pay small fines, or be flogged; and thirty lashes were actually inflicted on Holmes, who resolutely persisted in choosing a punishment that would enable him to show with what constancy he could suffer for what he believed to be the truth. A law was at the same time passed, subjecting to banishment from the colony every person who should openly condemn or oppose the baptism of infants, who should attempt to seduce others from the use or approbation thereof, or purposely depart from the congregation when that rite was administered, "or deny the ordinance of the magistracy, or their lawful right or authority to make war."† The eagerness with which every collateral charge against the baptists was credited in the colony, and the vehement impatience with which their claim of toleration was rejected, forcibly indicate the illiberality and delusion by which their persecutors were governed; and may suggest to the christian philosopher a train of reflections, no less instructive than interesting, on the self-deceit by which men so commonly infer the honesty of their convictions, and the rectitude of their proceedings, from that resentful perturbation which far more truly indicates a secret consciousness of injustice and inconsistency. There is not a more common nor more pernicious error in the world, than

* Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 177. Chalmers, b. i. p. 480, 499, 501.

† We do not wish to be understood as according with Mr. Grahame, in the application of this epithet, nor in that of the term *anabaptist*.

‡ "The baptists who were exiled from Massachusetts were allowed to settle in the colony of Plymouth, (Hutchinson, vol. ii. p.

478,) whence it may be strongly inferred, that they did not in reality profess (as they were supposed by the people of Massachusetts to do) principles adverse to the safety of society. The charge probably originated in the extravagance of a few of their own number, and the impatience and injustice of their adversaries."—Grahame, vol. i. p. 345, 346

that one virtue may be practised at the expense of another. Where sincerity without charity is professed, there is always reason to suspect the professor of a dishonest disregard of the secret surmises of his own spirit. The severities that were employed proved in the end totally ineffectual to restrain the growth of the baptist tenets; though, for the present, the professors of these doctrines appear to have either desisted from holding separate assemblies, or to have retired from Massachusetts.*

These proceedings against the baptists were mildness itself when compared with subsequent coercive measures adopted towards the quakers. There appears, indeed, to have been in the latter case a far greater degree of exciting, though by no means amounting to a justificatory cause. We are far from being inclined to give their persecutors full credit for their representation of the conduct of the quakers;† but after making every abatement for the prejudice of such narrators as Mather and others, there still remains an almost incredible amount of folly on the part of these enthusiasts, as of cruelty in the ruling party. It was in the month of July, 1566, that two females, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, arrived in New England from Barbadoes; and not long after, nine more individuals, of the same tenets, came from England. They were very speedily brought before the court of assistants, where they gave what were deemed very contemptuous replies to the interrogatories which they were required to answer; and the court did not hesitate to commit them to prison. The court ultimately passed sentence of banishment against them all; and required the captain who brought them from England to find sureties to a heavy amount, that he would carry them out of the colony, detaining them in prison till the vessel was ready to sail.

Up to this period there had been no special law for the punishment of quakers; but they had been proceeded against under the general law respecting heretics. At the next sessions of the general court, an

act passed, laying a penalty of one hundred pounds upon the master of any vessel who should bring a known quaker into any part of the colony, and requiring him to give security to carry him back again; enacting also, that the quaker should be immediately sent to the house of correction, receive twenty stripes, and afterwards kept to hard labour until transportation. They also laid a penalty of five pounds for importing, and the like for dispersing quakers' books, and severe penalties for defending, their heretical opinions. The next year an additional law was made, by which all persons were subjected to the penalty of forty shillings for every hour's entertainment given to any known quaker; and any quaker, after the first conviction, if a man, was to lose one ear, and a second time the other; a woman, each time to be severely whipped; and the third time, man or woman, to have their tongues bored through with a red-hot iron; and every quaker who should become such in the colony to be subjected to the like punishments. In May, 1658, a penalty of ten shillings was laid on every person present at a quakers' meeting, and five pounds upon every one speaking at such meeting. Notwithstanding all this severity, the number of quakers, as might well have been expected, increasing rather than diminishing, in October a further law was made for punishing with death all quakers who should return into the jurisdiction after banishment.‡

It would appear that the enactment of severe laws only heightened the enthusiasm of the advocates of quakerism, especially among its female adherents. Every species of abuse and reviling of magisterial authority was practised;§ the divine worship of the colonists was interrupted by their violent conduct; and even the public decency outraged by (an undoubted fact, though almost incredible) the appearance of females entirely destitute of clothing in the streets and in their religious assemblies.¶ It is even said that a quaker, of the name of Faubord, of Grindleton, was detected in the act of sacrificing his son,

* Grahame, vol. i. p. 343—346.

† It is the more difficult to realize the absurd errors and the insane vehemence which were manifested by the quakers of the seventeenth century, since those of the present day are surpassed by none in peaceable and decorous demeanour, in their attachment to civil order, devoted acts of benevolence, and deep interest in the distribution of the sacred volume.

‡ "Great opposition was made to this law, the magistrates were the most zealous, and in general for it; but it was rejected at first by the deputies, afterwards, upon reconsideration, concurred by twelve against eleven, with an amendment, that the trial should be by a special jury. Captain Edward Hutchinson, and Captain Thomas Clark, two of the court, desired leave to enter their dissent against this law."—New England Judged.

§ Mather has collected from the history of the quakers of that day

the following epithets, which were applied, he says, to Dr. Owen, and other worthy men: "Thou fiery fighter and green-headed trumpeter; thou hedgehog and grinning dog; thou bastard, that tumbled out of the mouth of the Babylonish bawd; thou mole; thou tinker; thou lizard; thou bell of no metal, but the tone of a kettle; thou wheelbarrow; thou whirlpool; thou whirlgig; O thou firebrand; thou adder and scorpion; thou louse; thou cow-dung; thou moon-calf; thou ragged tatterdemalion; thou Judas; thou livest in philosophy and logic, which are of the devil."—Mather's Magnalia, b. vii. p. 26.

¶ "One of the sect apologizing for this behaviour said, 'If the Lord did stir up any of his daughters to be a sign of the nakedness of others, he believed it to be a great cross to a modest woman's spirit, but the Lord must be obeyed.'"—Hutchinson p. 204.

as an imitation of the example of Abraham.* Notwithstanding the recently enacted law, rendering every quaker who returned after banishment liable to the punishment of death, there were several who braved the awful penalty. Robinson, Stephenson, and Dyer, were brought to trial, and for their rebellion, sedition, and presumptuous obtruding themselves after banishment upon pain of death, were sentenced to die; the two first were executed the 27th of October.† Dyer, upon the petition of William Dyer, her son, was reprieved, on condition that she departed the jurisdiction in forty-eight hours, and if she returned to suffer the sentence. She was carried to the gallows, and stood with a rope about her neck until the others were executed. She was so infatuated as afterwards to return, and was executed June 1, 1660.

The court evidently appears to have felt some compunction after these deeds of blood. Honourable repentance is but rarely deemed consistent with the dignity of a public body; it was resolved, therefore, to put forth a vindication; and as it is an official document, which places the fact of the execution of persons for their religious tenets, or their propagation of them, at least, by the New England puritans, beyond doubt to the most skeptical, we have given the document at length.‡ These executions, however, notwithstanding their vindication, excited con-

* Hutchinson, p. 204.

† "Mr. Winthrop, the governor of Connecticut, laboured to prevent their execution, and Colonel Temple went to the court and told them, 'that if, according to their declaration, they desired their lives absent, rather than their deaths present, he would carry them away, and provide for them at his own charge; and if any of them should return, he would fetch them away again.' This motion was well liked by all the magistrates, except two or three, and they proposed it to the deputies the next day, but those two or three magistrates, with the deputies, prevailed to have execution done."—Hutchinson, p. 200.

‡ "A Declaration of the General Court of Massachusetts, holden at Boston, October 18, 1659, and printed by their Order. EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.

* Although the justice of our proceedings against William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyer, supported by the authority of this court, the laws of the country, and the law of God, may rather persuade us to expect encouragement and commendation from all prudent and pious men, than convince us of any necessity to apologize for the same; yet, forasmuch as men of weaker parts, out of pity and commiseration, (a commendable and christian virtue, yet easily abused, and susceptible of sinister and dangerous impressions,) for want of full information, may be less satisfied, and men of perverser principles may take occasion hereby to calumniate us and render us as bloody persecutors—to satisfy the one and stop the mouths of the other, we thought it requisite to declare, That, about three years since, divers persons, professing themselves quakers, (of whose pernicious opinions and practices we had received intelligence from good hands; both from Barbados and England,) arrived at Boston, whose persons were only secured to be sent away by the first opportunity, without censure or punishment, although their professed tenets, turbulent and contemptuous behaviour to authority, would have justified a severer animadversion, yet the prudence of this court was exercised only

siderable clamour against the government; many persons were offended by the exhibition of severities, against which the very existence of the colony seemed designed to be a perpetual testimony; and many were touched with a compassion for the sufferings of the quakers, that effaced all recollection of the disgust that their principles had heretofore inspired. The people began to flock in crowds to the prisons, and load the unfortunate quakers with demonstrations of kindness and pity. At length the rising sentiments of humanity and justice attained such general and forcible prevalence, as to overpower all opposition. On the trial of Leddra, the last of the sufferers, another quaker named Wenlock Christison, who had been banished upon pain of death, came boldly into court with his hat on, and reproached the magistrates for shedding innocent blood. He was taken into custody, and soon after put upon his trial. When sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he desired his judges to consider what they had gained by their cruel proceedings against the quakers. "For the last man that was put to death," said he, "here are five come in his room; and if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment." The law now plainly appeared to be unsupported by

in making provision to secure the peace and order here established against their attempts, whose design (we were well assured of by our own experience, as well as by the example of their predecessors in Munster) was to undermine and ruin the same. And, accordingly, a law was made and published, prohibiting all masters of ships to bring any quakers into this jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in, on penalty of the house of correction till they could be sent away. Notwithstanding which, by a back door, they found entrance, and the penalty inflicted upon themselves proving insufficient to restrain their impudent and insolent obtrusions, was increased by the loss of the ears of those that offended the second time; which also being too weak a defence against their impetuous fanatic fury, necessitated us to endeavour our security; and upon serious consideration, after the former experiment, by their incessant assaults, a law was made, that such persons should be banished on pain of death, according to the example of England in their provision against jesuits, which sentence being regularly pronounced at the last court of assistants against the parties above named, and they either returning or continuing presumptuously in this jurisdiction, after the time limited, were apprehended, and owning themselves to be the persons banished, were sentenced by the court to death, according to the law aforesaid, which hath been executed upon two of them. Mary Dyer, upon the petition of her son, and the mercy and clemency of this court, had liberty to depart within two days, which she hath accepted of. The consideration of our gradual proceedings will vindicate us from the clamorous accusations of severity; our own just and necessary defence calling upon us (other means failing) to offer the point which these persons have violently and wilfully rushed upon, and thereby become *felones de se*, which might have been prevented, and the sovereign law, *salus populi*, been preserved. Our former proceedings, as well as the sparing of Mary Dyer upon an inconsiderable intercession, will manifestly evince we desire their lives, absent, rather than their death, present."—Hubbard, p. 572, 573.

public consent, and the magistrates hastened to interpose between the sentence and its execution. Christison, and all the other quakers who were in custody, were forthwith released, and sent beyond the precincts of the colony; and in the first year after the restoration of Charles II., even this degree of persecution was suspended, by a letter from the king to Mr. Endicot, and the other governors of the New England settlements.

We have already strongly expressed our opinion on the persecuting principles manifested by this colony; we shall now only repeat our deep regret, that those who professed to abhor the principles of a Laud or a Bonner, should have so nearly copied their criminal example. It must be admitted, however, as Dr. Dwight observes, that there is no nation which can cast the first stone at New England. All sects have been persecutors in turn; if, indeed, we may not except, to their honour, the quakers and the baptists.*

In the year 1660, Generals Whalley and Goffe, two of the judges who tried king Charles I., arrived at Boston. Having left London before the king was proclaimed, they did not conceal their persons or characters. They immediately visited Governor Endicot, who gave them a courteous reception; but, choosing a situation less public than Boston, they went, on the day of their arrival, to Cambridge. By the act of indemnity, which was brought over in November, it appeared that Whalley and Goffe were excepted from those to whom pardon was offered; and they soon after went to New Haven, where they remained in concealment.

The following year, the king appointed the great officers of state a committee, touching the settlement of New England. Complaints being made to the king against Massachusetts, he commanded the governor and council to send persons to England to answer these various accusations. The governor, on receiving intelligence of the transactions that were taking place in England to the prejudice of the colony, judged it inexpedient longer to delay the solemnity of proclaiming Charles II. Calling the court together, a form of proclamation was agreed to, and Charles was acknowledged to be their sovereign lord and king, and proclaimed to be lawful king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and all other territories thereto belonging. On receiving intelligence of farther complaints against the colony of Massachusetts, the court appointed Simon Bradstreet, one of the magistrates, and John Norton, one of the

ministers of Boston, as agents for the colony, and sent an address by them to the king, which met with a gracious reception. The colony received a letter from Charles II., confirming and offering to renew its charter, tendering pardon to all his subjects, for all offences, excepting such as stood attainted, but requiring the following conditions:—That all laws made in the late troubles, derogatory to the royal authority and government, should be repealed; that the rules of the charter for administering the oath of allegiance be observed; that the administration of justice be in the king's name; and charging the government, that freedom and liberty of conscience, in the use of the Book of Common Prayer, be allowed; and that all persons of good and honest lives and conversations be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to it, with an exception to any indulgence to quakers. The letter also enjoined, that there should be impartiality in the election of the governor and of magistrates, without any regard to any faction, with respect to their opinion or profession; that all freeholders of competent estates, not vicious in their lives, and orthodox in religion, though of different persuasions concerning church government, should be admitted to vote.

The colonists had, from their first settlement, entertained such an opinion of the nature and extent of their allegiance and obligations to the crown of England, as did not tend to insure a prompt compliance with all these conditions. Believing they were subject to the king, and dependent on his authority, only according to their charter, which some of the requisitions might be thought to infringe, their compliance was slow and occasional, as prudence would admit, or necessity impel them. The answer of the general court to his majesty's letter is characteristic of the colony. After a respectful introduction, they say, "For the repealing of all laws here established since the late changes, contrary and derogatory to his majesty's authority and government, we, having considered thereof, are not conscious to any of that tendency; concerning the oath of allegiance, we are ready to attend it as formerly, according to the charter; concerning liberty to use the Common Prayer Book, none as yet among us have appeared to desire it; touching administration of the sacraments, this matter hath been under consideration of a synod, orderly called, the result wherof our last general court commended to the several congregations, and we hope will have a tendency to general satisfaction."†

* It has been said that these sects were never in power; Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, however, contradict this assertion.

† Danforth Papers, in 2 Col. Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. viii. p. 48. Holmes's American Annals, vol. i. 322.

The New England colonies had certainly evinced a republican tendency; it was not to be expected, therefore, that they should be favoured in the commercial arrangements with the mother country; indeed, the interests of the latter were generally made an object of preference by the British legislature. In 1663 it was enacted, that no European commodity should be imported into the colonies, unless shipped directly from England, and in British vessels. By this regulation, in connexion with others that had been previously made, all the trade of the colonies was secured to Great Britain. They submitted reluctantly to these restrictions, and often made them the subject of complaint; but the English government pertinaciously declined to repeal them.

During the year 1664, the king despatched four commissioners to visit the several colonies of New England, to examine into their condition, to hear and decide complaints, and to make him a report of their proceedings and observations. This measure appeared dictated by no friendly feeling, and was considered by most of the colonists as a violation of their charters. The first session of the commissioners was at Plymouth, where but little business was transacted; the next in Rhode Island, where they heard complaints from the Indians, and all who were discontented, and made divers determinations respecting titles to land, which were but little regarded. In Massachusetts, the general court complied with such of their requisitions as they thought proper; but, professing sincere loyalty to his majesty, declined acknowledging their authority, and protested against the exercise of it within their limits. In consequence of this assertion of their rights, an angry correspondence took place between them, at the close of which the commissioners informed the general court, that they would lose no more of their labours upon them, but would represent their conduct to his majesty. From Boston, the commissioners proceeded to New Hampshire, where they exercised several acts of government, and offered to release the inhabitants from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. This offer was almost unanimously rejected. In Maine, they excited more disturbance. They encouraged the people to declare themselves independent, and found many disposed to listen to their suggestions; but Massachusetts, by a prompt and vigorous exertion of power, constrained the disaffected to submit to her authority.

At the termination of the first half century from the arrival of the emigrants at Plymouth, the New England colonies were calculated to contain one hundred and twenty towns, and as many thousand

inhabitants, of whom sixteen thousand were capable of bearing arms. The habits of industry and economy, which had been formed in less happy times, continued to prevail, and gave a competency to those who had nothing, and wealth to those who had a competency. The wilderness receded before these hardy and persevering labourers, and its savage inhabitants found their game dispersed, and their favourite haunts invaded. This was the natural consequence of the sales of land, which they were at all times ready to make to the whites. But this result the Indians did not foresee; and when they felt it in all its force, the strongest passions were awakened which could animate the savage breast. A leader only was wanting to concentrate and direct their exertions, and Philip, of Pokanoket, sachem of a tribe residing within the boundaries of Plymouth and Rhode Island, assumed that station. His father was the friend, but he had ever been the enemy of the whites; and he exerted all the arts of intrigue, of which he was master, to induce the Indians, in all parts of New England, to unite their efforts for their destruction. He succeeded in forming a confederacy, able to send into action more than three thousand warriors.

The English were apprised of the plots of the Indians, and made preparations to meet their hostilities. They hoped, however, that the threatened storm would pass by, as others had, and that peace would be preserved. But the insolence of Philip, and the number of his adherents, increased daily; and, in June, 1675, some of them entered the town of Swanzy, in Plymouth, where, after slaughtering the cattle, and plundering the houses, they fired upon the inhabitants, killing and wounding several. The troops of the colony marched immediately to Swanzy, and were soon joined by a detachment from Massachusetts. The Indians fled, and marked the course of their flight by burning the buildings, and fixing on poles by the way side, the hands, scalps, and heads of the whites, whom they had killed. The troops pursued, but unable to overtake them returned to Swanzy. The whole country was alarmed, and the number of troops augmented. By this array of force, Philip was induced to quit his residence at Mount Hope, and take post near a swamp at Pocasset. At that place the English attacked him, but were repulsed. Sixteen were killed, and the Indians by this success were made bolder.

Most of the settlements were surrounded by thick forests, and as the Indians lived intermixed with the whites, the former were acquainted, of course, with

the dwellings of the latter, and all the avenues to them; could watch their motions, and fall upon them in their defenceless and unguarded moments. Many were shot dead as they opened their doors in the morning; many while at work in their fields, and others while travelling to visit their neighbours, or to places of worship; their lives were in continual jeopardy; and no one could tell but that, in the next moment, he should receive his death shot from his barn, the thicket, or the way side. Whenever the enemy assembled in force, detachments were sent against them; if weaker than these, they would retreat; if stronger, assault and harass, or destroy them. Defenceless villages were suddenly attacked, the houses burned, and the men, women and children killed or carried into captivity. Their ruin was the work of a moment; and when accomplished, its authors vanished. The colonists found their numbers sensibly diminished, and their strength impaired; and they began to apprehend even total extinction. Nothing but a vigorous effort could save them. The commissioners of the three United Colonies met on the 9th of September, and it was concluded, that the war was just and necessary; that it ought to be jointly prosecuted by all the United Colonies; and that there should be immediately raised 1000 soldiers out of the colonies, in such proportions as the articles of confederation established: Massachusetts, 527; Plymouth, 158; Connecticut, 315. At an adjourned meeting, the commissioners declared the Narragansets to be deeply accessory in the present bloody outrages of the Indians that were at open war, and determined that 1000 more soldiers be raised, for the Narraganset expedition, to obtain satisfaction of those Indians, or to treat them as enemies. On the 8th of December, the Massachusetts forces marched from Boston, and were soon joined by those of Plymouth. The troops from Connecticut joined them on the 18th, at Petaquamscot. At break of day the next morning they commenced their march, through a deep snow, toward the enemy, who were about fifteen miles distant in a swamp, at the edge of which they arrived at one in the afternoon. The Indians, apprized of an armament intended against them, had fortified themselves as strongly as possible within the swamp. The English, without waiting to draw up in order of battle, marched forward in quest of the enemy's camp. The Indian fortress stood on a rising ground in the midst of the swamp, and was composed of palisades, which were encom-

passed by a hedge, nearly a rod thick. It had but one practicable entrance, which was over a log, or tree, four or five feet from the ground; and that aperture was guarded by a block-house. Falling providentially on this very part of the fort, the English captains entered it, at the head of their companies. The two first, with many of their men, were shot dead at the entrance: four other captains were also killed. When the troops had effected an entrance, they attacked the Indians, who fought desperately, and compelled the English to retire out of the fort; but after a hard fought battle of three hours, they became masters of the place, and set fire to the wigwams, to the number of five or six hundred, and in the conflagration many Indian women and children perished. The surviving Indians fled into a cedar swamp, at a small distance; and the English retired to their quarters. Of the English, there were killed and wounded about two hundred and thirty; of the Indians, one thousand are supposed to have perished.

From this blow, the confederated Indians never recovered; but they still remained sufficiently strong to harass the settlements by continual inroads. In retaliation, the English sent several detachments into their territories, nearly all of which were successful. Captain Church, of Plymouth, and Captain Dennison, of Connecticut, were conspicuous for their bravery and success. In the midst of these reverses, Philip remained firm and unshaken. His warriors were cut off; his chief men, his wife and family, were killed, or taken prisoners; and at these successive misfortunes, he is represented to have wept with a bitterness which proves him not to have been destitute of the noblest affections; but he disdained to listen to any offers of peace. He even shot one of his men, who proposed submission. At length, after being hunted from swamp to swamp, he was himself shot, by the brother of the Indian he had killed. The death of Philip, in retrospect, makes different impressions from those which were made at the time of the event. It was then considered as the extinction of a virulent and implacable enemy; it is now viewed as the fall of a great warrior, a penetrating statesman, and a mighty prince: it then excited universal joy and congratulation, as a prelude to the close of a merciless war; it now awakens sober reflections on the instability of empire, and the peculiar destiny of the aboriginal race.* This event was certainly the signal of complete

* "The assurance of the equity of our ancestors," says the compiler of the *American Annals*, "in giving the natives an equivalent for their lands, is highly consoling. The upright and respected Governor

Winslow, in a letter dated at Marshfield, May 1, 1676, observes, 'I think I can clearly say, that before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony, but

victory. The Indians in all the neighbouring country now generally submitted to the English, or fled, and incorporated themselves with distant and strange nations. Never was peace more welcome. In this short, but tremendous war, about six hundred of the inhabitants of New England, composing its principal strength, were either killed in battle, or murdered by the enemy; twelve or thirteen towns were entirely destroyed; and about six hundred buildings, chiefly dwelling houses, were burnt. In addition to these calamities, the colonies contracted a very heavy debt; while, by the loss of their substance through the ravages of the enemy, their resources were greatly diminished. But, in their deepest distress, they forbore to apply to the mother country for assistance; and this omission excited surprise and jealousy. "You act," said a privy councillor, "as though you were independent of our master's crown; and though poor, yet you are proud."

The New England colonies, in their impoverished state, were destined to a new scene of trouble. Complaints were brought against them the preceding year, by the merchants and manufacturers of England, for their disregard to the acts of navigation.* The governors of these colonies were therefore commanded to enforce a strict obedience to the commercial regulations. Commissions were transmitted, empowering proper persons to administer an oath, framed to secure a strict observance of those laws.†

These laws being enacted by a parliament in which the colonies were not represented, they were regarded as violations of their rights, and continued to be evaded with impunity. Edward Randolph was therefore sent over, commissioned as inspector of the customs in New England. He was also the bearer of a letter from the king, requiring that agents should be sent to the court of London, fully empowered to act for the colonies. It was well understood to be the intention of the king to procure from the agents a surrender of the charters, or to annul them by a suit in his courts, that he might himself place officers over the colonies, who would be subservient to his

what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors. We first made a law, that none should purchase or receive of gift any land of the Indians, without the knowledge and allowance of our court. And lest they should be straitened, we ordered that Mount Hope, Pocasset, and several other necks of the best land in the colony, because most suitable and convenient for them, should never be bought out of their hands." See Hubbard's Narrative, (where this important letter is inserted entire,) and Hazard, Coll. ii. p. 531—534.

* "The complainants stated, that the inhabitants of New England not only traded to most parts of Europe, but encouraged foreigners to go and traffic with them; that they supplied the other plantations with those foreign productions which ought only to be

views. The inhabitants of Massachusetts felt that to be deprived of their charter, which secured to them the right of self-government, would be the greatest of calamities; and their agents were instructed in no emergency to surrender it. This being known to the king, a prosecution was instituted against the corporation, and, in 1684, a subservient court of chancery decreed that the charter should be forfeited; and their liberties were seized into the king's hands. Thus fell the old charter of this ancient colony, under which the colonists, during fifty-five years, had enjoyed liberty and prosperity; not without encountering frequent aggressions to preserve the one, and incessant difficulties to attain the other. But, though the charter was gone, the spirit which it had cherished, and the habits which it had formed, were retained. Who would then have deemed it credible, that, within a century, its independence would be acknowledged by the parent state?

The impediments to the royal will being thus removed, James established a temporary government over the colony, first appointing Joseph Dudley governor, but he was soon superseded by Sir Edmund Andros. This latter appointment caused the most gloomy forebodings. Sir Edmund had been governor of New York, and it was known that his conduct there had been arbitrary and tyrannical. Having secured a majority in the council, he assumed control over the press, appointing Randolph licenser. He established new and oppressive regulations concerning taxes, public worship, marriages, and the settlement of estates. His subordinate officers, as well as himself, extorted enormous fees for their services. He declared, that the charter being cancelled, the old titles to land were of no validity, and compelled the inhabitants, in order to avoid suits before judges dependent on his will, to take out new patents, for which large sums were demanded.

Happily, this despotic rule was not of long duration. In the beginning of 1689, a rumour reached Boston, that William, prince of Orange, had invaded England, with the intention of dethroning the king. Animated by the hope of deliverance, the people

sent to England; that, having thus made New England the great staple of the colonies, the navigation of the kingdom was greatly prejudiced, the national revenues were impaired, the people were extremely impoverished; that such abuses, at the same time that they will entirely destroy the trade of England, will leave no sort of dependence from that country to this."—Holmes's American Annals, vol. i. p. 384, 385.

† "To add weight to these measures, it was determined, that no Mediterranean passes should be granted to New England, to protect its vessels against the Turks, till it is seen what dependence it will acknowledge on his majesty, or whether his custom-house officers are received as in other colonies."—Holmes's American Annals, vol. i. p. 385. Chalmers, b. i. p. 400—402.

rushed spontaneously to arms, took possession of the fort, seized Andros, Randolph, and other obnoxious persons, and placed them in confinement. A council of safety, consisting of their former magistrates, was then organized, to administer the government until authentic intelligence should be received from England. It was not many weeks before the tidings that William and Mary were firmly seated on the throne arrived. This news was most joyfully received. The people were now relieved from anxiety as to the consequences of their late conduct, which must be allowed to have been more signalized by enthusiastic zeal, than by a calculating prudence. The proclamation of the accession of William and Mary was celebrated at Boston with greater ceremony than any previous event; the governor and council, civil and military officers, the merchants and principal gentlemen of the town and country, mounted on horseback, formed a grand procession; a splendid entertainment was provided in the town-hall; and the soldiers were supplied with wine, in which to pledge their fidelity to their new sovereign.

The people of Massachusetts now applied to the British government for the restoration of their old, or the grant of a new charter. A definitive answer was deferred, but the council was authorized to administer the government according to the provisions of the old charter, until further directions should be given; and Andros, Randolph, and others, were ordered home for trial.

In this unsettled state of the country, the French in Canada and Nova Scotia instigated the northern and eastern Indians to commence hostilities against the English settlements. Dover and Salmon Falls, in New Hampshire, Casco, in Maine, and Schenectady, in New York, were attacked by different parties of French and Indians, and the most shocking barbarities perpetrated on the inhabitants. The Indians having taken the fort at Pemaquid, and the French privateers from Acadie still infesting the coast of New England, the general court of Massachusetts determined to make an attempt on Port Royal. A fleet, with seven or eight hundred men, under the command of Sir William Phipps, sailed on that expedition in the latter end of April. The fort at Port Royal, not being in a state to sustain a siege, surrendered, with little or no resistance; and Sir William took possession of the whole sea coast, from Port Royal to the New England settlements.

Regarding Canada as the principal source of their miseries, New England and New York formed the bold project of reducing it to subjection. By great exertion they raised an army, which, under the com-

mand of General Winthrop, was sent against Montreal, and equipped a fleet, which, commanded by Sir William Phipps, was destined to attack Quebec. The fleet, retarded by unavoidable accidents, did not arrive before Quebec until the fifth of October. Phipps, the next morning, sent a summons on shore, but received an insolent answer from Count Frontenac. The next day he attempted to land his troops, but was prevented by the violence of the wind. On the 8th, all the effective men, amounting to between twelve and thirteen hundred, landed at the Isle of Orleans, four miles below the town, and were fired on from the woods by French and Indians. Having remained on shore three days, they received information from a deserter of the strength of the place, and precipitately embarked. A tempest soon after dispersed the fleet, which made the best of its way back to Boston. A successful result had been so confidently expected, that adequate provision was not made at home for the payment of the troops. In this extremity, the government of Massachusetts issued bills of credit, or paper money; and these were the first that were ever issued in the American colonies; but though it afforded relief at the moment, it produced in its consequences extensive and complicated mischief.

When the colonists resumed their charter in 1689, they earnestly solicited its re-establishment, with the addition of some necessary powers; but the king could not be prevailed on to consent to that measure, and a new charter was obtained. Sir William Phipps arrived at Boston in May, with this charter, and a commission, constituting him governor. The province comprehended in the new charter, contained the whole of the old Massachusetts colony, to which were added the colony of Plymouth, the province of Maine, the province of Nova Scotia, and all the country between the province of Maine and Nova Scotia, as far northward as the river St. Lawrence, also Elizabeth islands, and the Islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. Under the old charter, all the magistrates and officers of state were chosen annually by the general assembly; by the new charter, the appointment of the governor, lieutenant governor, secretary, and all the officers of the admiralty, was vested in the crown. Under the old charter, the governor had little more share in the administration than any one of the assistants; he had the power of calling the general court, but he could not adjourn, prorogue, or dissolve it. Under the new charter, there was to be an annual meeting of the general court on the last Wednesday in May; but the governor might discretionally call an assem-

bly at any other time, and adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve it at pleasure, while no act of government was to be valid without his consent. He had also the sole appointment of all military officers, and of all officers belonging to the courts of justice; and no money could issue out of the treasury but by his warrant, with the advice and consent of the council. The new charter contained nothing respecting an ecclesiastical constitution; but, with the exception of papists, liberty of conscience, which was not mentioned in the first charter, was now expressly granted to all.

The new government went into operation without any opposition from the inhabitants; and almost the first act of Sir William Phipps and his council, was the institution of a court to try the unfortunate victims of popular delusion, accused of witchcraft, at Salem. "A belief in the direct and sensible agency of supernatural beings has universally prevailed in ages of ignorance and superstition. It formed the life of the pagan mythology; and it has not been

* Murray, Vol. i. p. 294.

† From the mountains of Scotland, or from an indigenous growth of superstition, witchcraft had, in England, gained such an alarming height, as it was called, that a statute was passed against the crime in the thirty-third year of the reign of Henry VIII., making it felony, without the benefit of clergy. Many miserable wretches suffered death under this law, but the evil was not diminished by severity. In the reign of Elizabeth, a reverend prelate, Bishop Jewell, loudly descanted before her upon the prevalence of the crime, and attempted, by his harangue, to awaken the fears of the queen; but she thought she knew as much as any old woman in her realms. This sermon was preached in 1558. In 1584, Reginald Scot, a bold writer, in the strong spirit of common sense, in his treatise on the "Discoverie of Witchcraft," made a complete detection of the wretched fallacy. This work, say the historians, had a good effect for a while, but King James, in 1597, wrote his work on "Demonologie," and the royal dupe to superstition had the most readers, and the good effects of Scot's work were, in a great measure, lost. Persecutions still went on, and the old and ignorant perished by the infatuation in great numbers. Our ancestors, though a quiet and a religious people, brought with them all the prejudices of their kindred, as well as their own. Amongst these prejudices was that of a full belief in witchcraft, and as soon as they began to make laws of a permanent nature for offences, this crime was considered as capital, and enumerated the next after treason and murder in the records of the Old Colony, dated at New Plymouth, November 15, 1636. The language of the law, in defining the crime, is, "*Solemne compaction, or conversing with the divell, by way of witchcraft, conjuration, or the like.*" But on a careful examination of all the Old Colony records, not a single indictment was found until the month of March, 1676, when *Mary Ingham, wife of Thomas Ingham, of the town of Scituate*, was indicted for bewitching Mehitable Woodworth, daughter of Walter Woodworth, of the same place. The woman was not convicted, and no other case occurred until the union under the charter of William and Mary. In other parts of the present Commonwealth there were several trials, and some convictions. In Charlestown, in 1648, Margaret Jones was tried for a witch and executed. She was the first executed in New England.

In 1651, Mary Parsons, of Springfield, was tried for witchcraft and murder. She was acquitted of the former, but found guilty of the latter crime. The next May, her husband, Hugh Parsons, was tried for witchcraft, and acquitted; but in three years afterwards, 1655, Mrs. Hibbons, wife of an assistant to the Governor, was tried, convicted, and executed as a witch. Her death was

wholly effaced among the less enlightened professors of christianity, especially amid those superstitious forms which defaced it during the dark ages. Even the first reformers, who displayed such vigour and independence of mind, and brought to light so many important truths, could not wholly shake off the delusions of the age. Luther's enemies are able to produce from his writings some comments of this nature, which appear almost incredible. The New Englanders brought with them this belief, still in a very prevailing state; and all the circumstances of their situation tended to stamp on their minds solemn and supernatural impressions.* Mather, after Hale, defines a witch to be "a person who, having the free use of reason, doth knowingly and willingly seek and obtain of the devil, or of any other besides the true God, an ability to do or know strange things, or things which he cannot by his own human abilities arrive unto. This person is a witch."

The first trials for witchcraft in New England* occur-

deeply felt, as most persons considered her a woman of fine intellect and good character. This execution checked the infatuation for several years in the Commonwealth. Connecticut was the next in which it was found. It broke out there in 1662-71-73-83, and made no small disturbance; some were executed and some escaped. In 1679, it again appeared in Massachusetts, at Newbury; but nothing serious followed. In 1687, and the next year, the cry of witchcraft was again heard in Boston. The four children of John Goodwin were declared to be afflicted by an old Irish woman, who was tried and executed. This last case was four years before the delusion reached Salem, and it is impossible for us to tell why that good town should bear the whole obloquy of the New England witchcraft, when she only followed the example of Boston, after it had been before her for thirty years.

In most histories of delusions, the lower classes become frantic, and overwhelm the still small voice of the wise; but it was not so here. It began in respectable families, but the good sense of the commonalty would have soon put it down, if divines, magistrates, and statesmen, had not aided the delusion by arguments from scripture, from the opinion of English judges, and from the learned nonsense of the doctors of universities. Phipps, Stoughton, Mather, Hawthorn, and Norris, pursued witches as though they had been possessed by some evil spirits at war with the former; and after all their efforts, jurymen often stood out and took the responsibility of an acquittal upon their own consciences, and when forced by authority to convict some poor wretch, repented of it, and threw the blame on the judges. One of the judges of that day had good sense enough to see the folly and wickedness of the course pursued, and after a struggle to stem the current, but in vain, retreated from the scene of iniquity. This man was Judge Saltonstall, of Haverhill. He deserves a monument more durable than brass,—it will hereafter be erected.

The friends of common sense and humanity, at this time, found a powerful advocate in Mr. Robert Calef, a merchant of Boston. He, like Reginald Scot, breasted the current of popular opinion, and incurred the resentment of the Mathers. His book, a perusal of which is now so refreshing, was burnt in the yard of Harvard College, by the hands of the president of that institution. Calef published his work in England, in 1700, and it has lately been republished in Salem.

It is a subject of philosophical inquiry, at the present time, to ascertain the course of this delusion; perhaps it will never be fully settled. "Our fathers," says a writer of eminence, "looked upon nature with more reverence and horror before the world was enlightened by learning and philosophy; and loved to astonish themselves

red in the year 1645, when four persons charged with this crime were put to death in Massachusetts. For more than twenty years after, we hear but little of any similar prosecutions. But, in the year 1688, a woman was executed for witchcraft at Boston, after an investigation conducted with a degree of solemnity that made a deep impression on the minds of the people. The suspicions of the people thus powerfully awakened in this direction, the charges of witchcraft began gradually to multiply, till, at length, there commenced at Salem that dreadful tragedy which rendered New England for many months a scene of bloodshed, terror, and madness, and at one time seemed to threaten the subversion of civil society. In February, 1692, a daughter and a niece of Mr. Paris, the minister of Salem, were afflicted with disorders affecting their bodies in a manner somewhat singular. The physicians, unable to explain the nature of the disease, or to effect a cure, pronounced them bewitched; and the children, hearing of this, declared that an Indian woman who lived in the house was the cause of their torments. Mr. Paris concurred with the physicians. Several private fasts were kept at his house, and the gloom was increased by a solemn fast throughout the colony. The Indian woman confessed herself guilty. The children were visited, noticed, and pitied. This encouraged them to persevere, and other children, either from sympathy, or the desire of similar attentions, exhibited similar contortions. From this moment the evil spread daily wider and wider. Several females charged Mr. Burroughs, a clergyman, with using against them the arts of necromancy, and an indictment against him was speedily drawn up. Being brought to trial, he argued, "that there neither are nor ever were witches, that, having made a com-

with the apprehensions of witchcraft, prodigies, charms, and enchantments. There was not a village in England that had not a ghost in it; the church yards were all haunted; every large common had a circle of witches belonging to it; and there was scarcely a shepherd to be met with that had not seen a spirit." This was not confined to England, but was in full credit in all the northern countries.

"The gloomy state of New England probably facilitated the delusion, for superstition flourishes in times of danger and dismay." Some portion of the people were mourning over the loss of the old charter; and others were grieving at the great expenses the colonies had incurred in their abortive attempt on the Canadas. Moral causes often produce physical evils. But after all, the folly of receiving what they called "spiritual evidence," can never be atoned for. Men had indeed lost their reason. It was an evil that in time produced abundance of good. Superstition has never reared its head there successfully since.—*American Editor.*

* "The statement afterwards given in by Deliverance Dane, Abigail Baker, and four other females, affords an affecting description of the impulses which induced them to adopt this criminal course. 'Joseph Ballard of Andover's wife being sick,' say they, 'he either from himself, or the advice of others, fetched two of the persons called the afflicted persons from Salem village to Andover,

pact with the devil, can send a devil to torment other people at a distance." This was a flight far beyond the place or age; his defence was declared altogether frivolous, and sentence of death was at once pronounced. The evil, however, instead of being checked, spread more and more. The accused were multiplied in proportion to the accusers. Children denounced their parents, and parents their children. A word from those who were supposed to be afflicted, occasioned the arrest of the devoted victim; and so firmly convinced were the magistrates that the prince of darkness was in the midst of them, using human instruments to accomplish his purposes, that the slightest testimony was deemed sufficient to justify a commitment for trial. The court specially instituted for this purpose held a session in June, and afterwards several others by adjournment. Many were tried, and received sentence of death, and twenty persons were executed, one of whom was pressed to death because he would not plead! By a most unaccountable departure from the first principles of jurisprudence, all that confessed the crime, if imputed to them, were reprieved; and only those who maintained their innocence had capital punishment inflicted on them. What was still more horrible, the confessed criminals were admitted witnesses against the lives of their fellow-sufferers. By this absurd arrangement, those who were possessed of that high integrity, which will endure death rather than utter deliberate falsehood, fell under the hand of the executioner, while the ignoble and dishonest preserved their lives.* Even amidst those who had been overcome with the powerful temptation arising from the desire to escape the dreadful doom of those who persisted in their innocence, there were some, who, on mature reflection, did not hesitate to retract their

which was the cause of that dreadful calamity which befel us at Andover. We were blindfolded, and our hands were laid on the afflicted persons, they being in their fits, and falling into these fits at our coming into their presence, and then they said that we were guilty of afflicting them, whereupon we were all seized as prisoners by a warrant from the justice of peace, and forthwith carried to Salem; and by reason of that sudden surprisal, we knowing ourselves altogether innocent of that crime, we were all exceedingly astonished, and amazed, and consternated, and affrighted out of our reason; and our dearest relations seeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, they, out of tender love and pity, persuaded us to confess what we did confess; and, indeed, that confession was no other than what was suggested to us by some gentlemen, they telling us that we were witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and they knew that we knew it, which made us think that we were so, and our understanding, and our reason, and our faculties being almost gone, we were not capable of judging of our condition; as also the hard measures they used with us rendered us incapable of making any defence, but we said any thing and every thing they desired, and most of what we said was, in fact, but a consenting to what they said."—*Neale, vol. ii. p. 160—162.*

forced confessions; though death looked them full in the face. Samuel Wardmel was the first who ventured to act so noble a part; and he was immediately put on his trial, condemned, and executed! Others were not prevented, however, from following this most meritorious example; and this conduct shook the faith of many, and threw discredit on the numerous confessions which had continually occurred.*

The "defenders of the faith" in witchcraft, when summoned by their opponents to produce a confession free from just grounds of suspicion, felt themselves in a very difficult predicament, as all the confessions must lie under the imputation of being given to insure the important purpose of saving their necks from the halter; and how does posterity blush for them, when they tender, as their best defence, such miserable trash as the following confession of W. B.: "God having called me to confess my sin and apostacy in that fall, in giving the devil advantage over me, appearing in the shape of a black man, in the evening, to set my name to his book, as I have owned to my shame, he told me that I should not want, so doing. At Salem village, there being, a little off the meeting-house, about a hundred fine blades, some with rapiers by their sides, which was called, and might be for aught I know, by B. and Bu, and the trumpet sounded, and bread and wine, which they called the sacrament; but I had none, being carried over all on a stick, and never was present at any other meeting. I being at cart last Saturday all the day of hay and English corn, the devil brought my shape to Salem, and did afflict M. S. and R. F. by clitching my hand; and on sabbath-day my shape afflicted A. M., &c. The design was to destroy Salem village, and to begin at the minister's house, and to destroy the churches of God, and to set up Satan's kingdom, and then all will be well. And now I hope God hath made me in some measure sensible of my sin and apostacy, begging pardon of God, and of the honourable magistrates, and all God's people; hoping, and promising, by the help of God, to set to my heart and hand to do what lieth in me to destroy such wicked worship; humbly begging the prayers of God's people for me, I may walk humbly under all this great affliction, and that I may procure to myself the sure mercies of David."†

* One poor girl, of the name of Mary Jacobs, deserves to be immortalized, more than half the names that shine so splendidly on the page of history. She gives the following account, in a letter to her mother: "I having, through the threats of the magistrates, and my own vile and wretched heart, confessed several things contrary to my own conscience and knowledge, though to the wounding of my own soul, the Lord pardon me for it; but, oh! the terrors of a wounded conscience who can bear! But, blessed be the Lord,

The nature of the evidence by which these charges of demoniacal possession were sustained, was quite consistent with the confession we have just quoted. A specimen from Mather will sufficiently attest the truth of this observation. "It is well known," says that historian, "that these wicked spectres did proceed so far as to steal several quantities of money from divers people, part of which individual money was dropt sometimes out of the air, before sufficient spectators, into the hands of the afflicted, while the spectres were urging them to subscribe their covenant with death. Moreover, poisons to the standers-by, wholly invisibly, were sometimes forced upon the afflicted; which, when they have, with much reluctancy, swallowed, they have swoln presently, so that the common medicines for poisons have been found necessary to relieve them. Yea, sometimes the spectres in the struggles have so dropt the poisons, that the standers-by have smelt them, and viewed them, and beheld the pillows of the miserable stained with them. Yet more, the miserable have complained bitterly of burning rags run into their forcibly distended mouths; and though nobody could see any such cloths, or indeed, any fires in the chambers, yet, presently, the scalds were seen plainly by every body on the mouths of the complainers, and not only the smell, but the smoke of the burning, sensibly filled the chambers. Once more, the miserable exclaimed extremely of branding irons heating at the fire on the hearth to mark them; now, though the standers-by could see no irons, yet they could see distinctly the print of them in the ashes, and smell them too as they were carried by the not-seen furies unto the poor creatures for whom they were intended; and those poor creatures were thereupon so stigmatized with them, that they will bear the marks of them to their dying day. Nor are these the tenth part of the prodigies that fell out among the inhabitants of New England.—Flashy people may burlesque these things, but when hundreds of the most sober people in a country, where they have as much mother-wit certainly as the rest of mankind, know them to be true, nothing but the absurd and froward spirit of Sadducism can question them. I have not yet mentioned so much as one thing that will not be justified, if it be required, by

he would not let me go on in my sins, but in mercy, I hope, to my soul, would not suffer me to keep it in any longer; but I was forced to confess the truth of all before the magistrates, who would not believe me, and God knows how soon I shall be put to death. Dear father, let me beg your prayers to the Lord in my behalf, and send us a joyful and happy meeting in heaven."—Neale, vol. ii. p. 146, 147.

† Mather, b. vi. p. 81.

the oaths of more considerate persons than any that can ridicule these odd phenomena."

To such an extent of idiocy did this folly proceed, that irrational animals did not escape suspicion, and a dog was actually hanged as being an accomplice with his master! After this, we shall be excused, perhaps, taking our stand amongst the "flashy people" who "burlesque these things;" or rather amongst those who grieve that so much ignorance and folly could possibly exist, combined with such excellent mental and moral qualities, as those with which we find it associated, both in the parent country and the colonies, during the seventeenth century.

Emboldened by their success, and carried away by the enthusiasm of deception, the accusers took higher aim, and levelled their shafts of malice against many of the most respectable as well as virtuous inhabitants, including ministers, and even the governor himself. The community were thrown into consternation. Each felt alarm for himself, his family, and his friends. The shock roused them to reflection. They considered more closely the character of the accusers; the nature of the alleged crime; the testimony, often contradictory, and never explicit; and more than all these, the high standing of some who were implicated;* and they began to doubt whether they had not been too credulous and precipitate. Of fifty-six bills which were presented at the next sessions, the grand jury threw out thirty, rejecting, in some instances, even the confession of the accused. Of the remaining twenty-six the petty jury condemned only three; but the governor had now determined to make a general sweep of the whole proceedings. He pardoned all those under sentence, threw open the prison doors, and turned a deaf ear to all the outcries and groans of the afflicted; and, in order to prevent the dissensions that might arise from retributory proceedings against the accusers and their witnesses, he proclaimed a general pardon to all persons for any concern they might have had in the prosecutions for witchcraft. The believers in witchcraft anticipated the most gloomy consequences from the free scope thus given to the operations of the powers of darkness. Great then was their surprise to find that from this moment all the troubles of the afflicted ceased, and were never more heard of. Many

of the witnesses now came forward and published the most solemn recantations of the testimony they had formerly given, both against themselves and others; apologizing for their perjury by a protestation, of which all were constrained to admit the force, that no other means of saving their lives had been left to them. Many of the jurymen subscribed and published a declaration, lamenting and condemning the delusion to which they had yielded, and acknowledging that they had brought the reproach of innocent blood on their native land. The house of assembly appointed a general fast, and prayer, "that God would pardon all the errors of his servants and people in a late tragedy raised among us by Satan and his instruments." Mr. Paris, the clergyman who had instituted the first prosecutions, and promoted all the rest, sensible, at length, how dreadfully erroneous his conduct had been, hastened to make a public profession of repentance, and solemnly begged forgiveness of God and man. But the people declaring that they would never more attend the ministry of one who had been the instrument of misery and ruin to so many of their countrymen, he was obliged to resign his charge, and depart from Salem.

This scene of delusion and cruelty, which has justly excited the astonishment and reprehension of all civilized nations,† indicates most powerfully the truth, that the doctrines of Christianity were not designed by their Divine Promulgator to supersede the possession of general knowledge; but that there is no department of knowledge, the acquisition of which does not tend to exhibit the beauties of Christianity more fully, and give to its purifying efficacy a more expansive surface on which to operate. This is especially the case with mental and moral philosophy. Had these excellent men been acquainted with the structure of the human mind, they would have at once devised far other methods to counteract the delusions of afflicted childhood and half civilized Indians, than the halter and the executioner; and never would have disgraced the name of Christianity, which they pre-eminently bear, with a degree of superstition and folly equal to that of the darkest ages of popery or of heathenism. Let some of those who now stand foremost in the ranks of Christian profession ask themselves faithfully, whether, in their

* The reasons given by the historian, were not the only operating causes in staying this wide spreading evil; several actions for slander were brought by persons accused, against their fanatical slanderers; and the damages in these cases were laid to an amount so far above their means, that it was impossible for them to procure bail; of course, the defendants were imprisoned, and his frightened the whole tribe of those who had, with impunity, falsely accused whom they pleased, and thus were they completely

silenced. This species of action has often been prosecuted since, with great benefit to society.—*Am. Ed.*

† It is but justice to the inhabitants of New England to observe, that though the present age may censure the past for its superstition, neither England nor any other nation is entitled to cast the first stone at them. More persons were put to death in England in a single county in a few months, than suffered in all the colonies during the whole period of their existence.

deficiency of general knowledge, and their rigid attachment to party, they do not imitate the reprehensible features of the puritan character, while they leave far behind their devoted zeal, manifested in the heroic sacrifices they made for the all-important truths to which they were so ardently attached.

It is matter of satisfaction to the historian, that his attention is not again to be diverted, in the annals of this state, from his peculiar province, to record events which, had the intention of religion been rightly apprehended, would not have intermixed with civil affairs in fact, and therefore not in history.—The legislature, at its first session under the new charter, passed a law which indicates the same independent spirit that afterwards resisted the usurpations of the British parliament. It provided that no tax should be imposed upon any of his majesty's subjects, or their estates, in the province, but by the act and consent of the governor, council, and representatives of the people, in general court assembled. It is almost needless to add, that this law was disallowed by the king.

The war with the French and Indians, which began in 1690, was not yet terminated. For several years were the frontier settlements harassed by the savages, and the English were employed in expeditions against them. This continuance of the war on the part of the Indians, instigated and aided by the French, induced repeated applications for a force from the British government, to act in conjunction with land forces to be raised in New England and New York, for the reduction of Canada; and it was at length determined, that an expedition should be undertaken for that purpose. A fleet was to be employed in the winter in the reduction of Martinico; and, after the performance of that service, was to sail to Boston, take on board a body of land forces under Sir William Phipps, and proceed to Quebec. By attempting too much, the whole of this extensive project entirely failed. The attacks of the natives on the English continued with little intermission till the peace of 1697. They were carried on with Indian cunning, treachery, and cruelty. "To these causes of suffering were superadded the power of all such motives as the ingenuity of the French could invent, their wealth furnish, or their bigotry adopt. Here all the implements of war and the means of sustenance were supplied; the expedition was planned; the price was bidden for scalps; the aid of European officers and soldiers was conjoined; the devastation and slaughter were sanctioned by the ministers of religion; and the blood-hounds, while their fangs were yet dropping blood, were caressed

and cherished by men regarded by them as superior beings. The intervals between formal attacks were usually seasons of desultory mischief, plunder, and butchery; and always of suspense and dread. The solitary family was carried into captivity; the lonely house burnt to the ground; and the traveller waylaid and shot in the forest. It ought, however, to be observed, to the immortal honour of these people, distinguished as they are by so many traits of brutal ferocity, that history records no instance in which the purity of a female captive was violated by them, or even threatened."*

The peace of Ryswick, which had been signed on the 20th of September, was proclaimed at Boston on the 10th of December, and the English colonies had a brief repose. By the seventh article it was agreed, that mutual restitution should be made of all the countries, forts, and colonists, taken by each party during the war.

In the year 1702, Joseph Dudley arrived at Massachusetts, with a commission from Queen Anne, who had succeeded William and Mary on the British throne, to be captain-general and governor-in-chief over that province. In his first speech to the council and assembly, he informed the house of representatives, that he was commanded by her majesty to observe to them, "that there is no other province or government belonging to the crown of England, except this, where there is not provided a fit and convenient house for the reception of the governor, and a settled stated salary for the governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary, judges, and all other officers; which, therefore, is recommended to you. And since this province is so particularly favoured by the crown, in more instances than one, their more ready obedience is justly expected in this and all other occasions." The house, in their answer the next day, observed, "As for those points which, in obedience to her majesty's command, your excellency has laid before this house, we shall proceed with all convenient speed to the consideration of them." Having resolved that the sum of 500*l.* be at this time presented out of the public treasury to the governor, the house, in their answer to some parts of his speech, observed, "As to settling a salary for the governor, it is altogether new to us; nor can we think it agreeable to our present constitution, but we shall be ready to do according to our ability, what may be proper on our part for the support of the government." Shortly after, the governor directed that the speaker and representatives should be sent for up to the council chamber;

* Dwight's Travels, vol. i. p. 118, 119.

and, after expressing his regret and disappointment at their procedure, and observing that there was a necessity of his seeing the other province and the frontiers, dismissed them. Thus commenced the dispute between the governor and the general assembly of Massachusetts, upon the claims of the one, and the rights of the other, which lasted more than seventy years. It was a Gordian knot, which could not be untied, but which was severed at the revolution.

In a few years war again broke out in Europe, and hostilities speedily recommenced in America. The first blow fell upon Deerfield. In February, 1704, it was surprised in the night, about forty persons were killed, and more than one hundred were made prisoners, among whom were Mr. Williams, the minister, and his family. The killed were scalped, and the prisoners commanded to prepare for a long march to Canada. On the second day, Mrs. Williams was so exhausted with fatigue that she could go no farther. Her husband solicited permission to remain with her; but the retreating savages, according to their custom in such cases, killed her, and compelled him to proceed. Before the termination of their journey, twenty more became unable to walk, and were in like manner sacrificed. Those who survived the journey to Canada were treated by the French with humanity; and after a captivity of many years, most of them were redeemed, and returned to their friends.

New York having agreed with the French and the Western Indians to remain neutral, the enemy were enabled to pour their whole force upon Massachusetts and New Hampshire, the inhabitants of which, for ten years, endured miseries peculiar to an Indian war, of which the description we have given falls below the truth. The enemy were at all times prowling about the frontier settlements, watching in concealment for an opportunity to strike a sudden blow, and to fly with safety. The women and children retired into the garrisons; the men left their fields uncultivated, or laboured with arms at their sides, and with sentinels at every point whence an attack could be apprehended. Yet, notwithstanding these precautions, the Indians were often successful, killing sometimes an individual, sometimes a whole family, sometimes a band of labourers, ten or twelve in number; and so swift were they in their movements, that but few fell into the hands of the whites. It was computed, that the sum of one thousand pounds was expended for every Indian killed or made captive.

In 1707, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, despatched an armament against Port Royal, in Nova Scotia, then in possession of the French, which returned, however, without effecting

its object; but in 1710, the troops of New England, assisted by a British fleet, succeeded in reducing the place; and in compliment to Queen Anne, changed its name to Annapolis.

Encouraged by the success of this enterprise, General Nicholson visited England to concert an expedition against Canada. His proposition was adopted, and in June, 1711, Admiral Walker, with a fleet of fifteen ships of war, and forty transports, bringing an army of veteran troops, arrived at Boston. Taking on board two additional regiments, he sailed from that port about the last of July. At the same time General Nicholson repaired to Albany, to take the command of the troops that were to proceed by land. When the fleet had advanced ten leagues up the river St. Lawrence, the weather became tempestuous and foggy. A difference of opinion arose concerning the course to be pursued; the English pilots recommending one course, and the colonial another. The admiral, like most English officers, preferred the advice of his own pilots to the colonial. Pursuing the course they recommended during the night, nine transports were driven upon the rocks and dashed to pieces. From every quarter cries of distress arose, conveying, through the darkness, to those who were yet afloat, intelligence of the fate of their comrades, and of their own danger. The shrieks of the drowning pleaded powerfully for assistance, but none could be afforded until the morning dawned, when six or seven hundred, found floating on the scattered wrecks, were rescued from death, more than a thousand having sunk to rise no more. Weakened by this terrible disaster, the admiral determined to return to England, where he arrived in the month of October. The New England troops returned to their homes, and Nicholson, having learned the fate of the fleet, led back his troops to Albany. In the year 1713, France and England made peace at Utrecht, and the Indian wars terminated at the same time.

Colonel Shute, who had served under the celebrated duke of Marlborough, was appointed to succeed Governor Dudley, in the year 1716. On his arrival in the province, he found the people divided into two parties, one in favour of a public bank, which had just been established, the other of the incorporation of a private bank. Having attached himself to the interests of the former, the latter became hostile; and, led by a Mr. Cooke, virulently opposed all his measures. At the election of speaker to the general court, in 1720, this party were successful. The choice was communicated to the governor, who interposed his negative. The house persisting in their choice, and denying his right to interfere, the

governor dissolved the assembly, and ordered a new election. The charter not giving to the governor a vote on the choice of a speaker, the people resolved to support their representatives, and nearly all of them were again elected. When met, to avoid a second dissolution, they chose a Mr. Lindall speaker; but in a remonstrance to the governor, reasserted their right to choose their presiding officer. The session was short, and displayed no abatement in the angry feelings of the house. Instead of 600*l.*, the usual grant to the governor for half a year's salary, they appropriated but 500, and, in evident displeasure, deferred that act until near the close of the session. At their next meeting, the same feelings prevailed, and the same diminished sum was voted. The governor then informed them, that he had been instructed by the king to recommend to the assembly to establish for him a permanent and honourable salary. The house, aware of the importance of retaining the power of granting such sums as the governor might merit by his conduct, replied, that the subject was new, and expressed a wish that the court might rise; with which request the governor complied.

This disagreement continued, the breach still widening, through several subsequent sessions. The representatives, confident of the support of the people, refused to establish a permanent salary for the governor, and often withheld the pittance they gave, until he had sanctioned the measures they had adopted. His residence in the province being thus rendered unpleasant, he suddenly and privately quitted it, in December, 1722. Upon his arrival in England, he exhibited charges against the house, of having made various encroachments upon the king's prerogative, which the agents of the province were instructed to answer and repel.

Shute remained in England until 1728, when he resigned his office, and William Burnet, then governor of New York, was appointed his successor. In his first speech, the new governor informed the house that he had received positive instructions from the king to insist on a permanent salary. The representatives, generous of their money, but tenacious of their rights, appropriated 300*l.* for the expenses of his journey, and 1400*l.* towards his support, not specifying for what time. The first sum he accepted, but absolutely declined receiving any compensation for his services, except in the mode of a fixed salary. The delegates were equally decided; and having transacted all their necessary business, requested the governor, by message, to adjourn them. He replied, that he could not comply with their request, as, if he

did, he should put it out of their power to pay immediate regard to the king's instructions. The court still persisted in its refusal to comply with the reiterated and earnest requests of his majesty's representative. On this account the governor adjourned the assembly, to meet at Salem, intimating that they were too much under the influence of the inhabitants of Boston. The governor seemed determined to continue the assembly in session until the members complied with the royal mandate. In this situation, the house of representatives presented a memorial to the king, setting forth the reasons of their conduct in relation to the salary. They informed his majesty, that "it is, and has been very well known in this, as well as other nations and ages, that governors, at a distance from the prince, or seat of government, have great opportunities, and sometimes too prevailing inclinations, to oppress the people; and it is almost impossible for the prince, who is the most careful father of his subjects, to have such matters set in a true light." This address was referred to the board of trade, before whom there was a hearing in behalf of the crown, as well as on the part of the house. The board condemned the conduct of the latter, in refusing to comply with the royal instructions; and in the conclusion of the report to the king and council, discovered an extreme jealousy of the growing power and wealth of that province, and of the supposed determination of its inhabitants to become independent of the crown. "The inhabitants," say the board, "far from making suitable returns to his majesty, for the extraordinary privileges they enjoy, are daily endeavouring to wrest the small remains of power out of the hands of the crown, and to become independent of the mother kingdom. The nature of the soil and products are much the same with those of Great Britain, the inhabitants upwards of ninety-four thousand, and their militia, consisting of sixteen regiments of foot and fifteen troops of horse, in the year 1718, fifteen thousand men; and by a medium, taken from the naval officers' accounts for three years, from the 24th of June, 1714, to the 24th of June 1717, for the ports of Boston and Salem only, it appears that the trade of this country employs continually no less than three thousand four hundred and ninety-three sailors, and four hundred and ninety-two ships, making twenty-five thousand four hundred and six tons. Hence your excellencies will be apprised of what importance it is to his majesty's service, that so powerful a colony should be restrained within due bounds of obedience to the crown; which, we conceive, cannot effectually be done without the interposition of the British legislature,

wherein, in our humble opinion, no time should be lost."^{*}

The controversy was suspended for a time by the death of the governor, which was supposed to have been hastened by his unsuccessful contest with the house of representatives. His successor was Mr. Belcher, then agent in England. As he belonged to the popular party, his appointment gave rise to the expectation, that the instruction to obtain a permanent salary was withdrawn. But not only was it left unrescinded, but enforced by a threat of punishment. The assembly were told, that, in case of further refusal, his majesty would find himself under a necessity of laying the undutiful behaviour of the province before the legislature of Great Britain, not only in this single instance, but in many others of the same nature and tendency; "whereby it manifestly appears," his majesty observes, "that this assembly, for some years last past, have attempted, by unwarrantable practices, to weaken, if not cast off, the obedience they owe to the crown, and the dependence which all colonies ought to have on their mother country." But neither the popularity of the new governor, nor the threats of the king, could induce a change of conduct on the part of the people of Massachusetts. Attempts were made to effect a compromise, but in vain. The assembly made a temporary grant of 1000*l.*, but the governor was instructed to assent to no other than a fixed and permanent salary. Satisfied that the house would never yield on this subject, the governor solicited a relaxation of his instructions, and the crown finally permitted him to assent to temporary grants. Thus, after a constant struggle of more than thirty years, the crown was at last compelled to yield to the bold and persevering opposition of the people of that province. This controversy was not renewed in Massachusetts until 1773, when an attempt on the part of the crown, to provide salaries for the governors and judges of that province, independent of the assembly, was resisted with the same firmness; and, as will hereafter appear, was one of the causes which induced the people of that province to declare themselves independent of the parent country.[†] For the present, however, these turbulent times were succeeded by a calm; during which the enemies of Governor Belcher, by incessant misrepresentation, deprived him of the favour of the ministry in England; and, in 1740, he was replaced by Mr. William Shirley.

In 1744, war again broke out between England and France, and the colonies were involved in its ca-

lamities. To guard against the incursions of the French and Indians, five hundred men were impressed, three hundred of whom were destined for the eastern frontier, and two hundred for the western. The ordinary garrisons were re-enforced, and gunpowder was sent to the several townships to be sold to the inhabitants at the prime cost. In the spring of this year opportunely arrived in Boston the king's gift to Castle William of twenty pieces of heavy artillery, and two mortars; and about the same time the legislature of Massachusetts voted a range of forts to be built between Connecticut river and New York boundary line.

Commerce in general, and especially the fisheries, suffered great injury from privateers fitted out at Louisbourg, a French port on Cape Breton. Its situation gave it such importance, that nearly six millions of dollars had been expended on its fortifications. The place was deemed so strong as to deserve the appellation of the Dunkirk of America. In peace, it was a safe retreat for the ships of France, bound homeward from the East and West Indies. In war, it gave the French the greatest advantage for ruining the fishery of the northern English colonies, and endangered the loss of Nova Scotia. The reduction of this place was, for these reasons, an object of the highest importance to New England; and Mr. Vaughan, of New Hampshire, who had often visited that place as a trader, conceived the project of an expedition against it. He communicated it to Governor Shirley, and being ardent and enthusiastic, convinced him that the enterprise was practicable, and inspired him with his own enthusiasm. Early in January, before he received any answer to the communications he had sent to England on the subject, he requested of the members of the general court, that they would lay themselves under an oath of secrecy, to receive from him a proposal of very great importance. They readily took the oath, and he communicated to them the plan which he had formed of attacking Louisbourg. The proposal was at first rejected; but it was finally carried by a majority of one. Letters were immediately despatched to all the colonies, as far as Pennsylvania, requesting their assistance, and an embargo on their ports. Forces were promptly raised, and William Pepperell, Esq. of Kittery, was appointed commander of the expedition. This officer, with several transports, under the convoy of the Shirley snow, sailed from Nantucket on the 24th of March, and arrived at Canso on the 4th of April. Here the troops, joined by those of New Hampshire and Con-

^{*} Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 230.

[†] Pitkin, vol. i. p. 131.

necticut, amounting collectively to upwards of four thousand, were detained three weeks, waiting for the ice, which environed the island of Cape Breton, to be dissolved. At length Commodore Warren, agreeably to orders from England, arrived at Canso in the *Superbe*, of sixty guns, with three other ships of forty guns each; and, after a consultation with the general, proceeded to cruise before Louisbourg. The general soon after sailed with the whole fleet; and on the 30th of April, coming to anchor at Chapeaurouge Bay, landed his troops. Lieutenant Colonel Vaughan conducted the first column through the woods within sight of Louisbourg, and saluted the city with three cheers. At the head of a detachment, chiefly of the New Hampshire troops, he marched in the night to the north-east part of the harbour, where they burned the warehouses containing the naval stores, and staved a large quantity of wine and brandy. The smoke of this fire, driven by the wind into the grand battery, so terrified the French, that they abandoned it; and, spiking the guns, retired to the city. The next morning Vaughan took possession of the deserted battery; but the most difficult labours of the siege remained to be performed. The cannon were to be drawn nearly two miles over a deep morass within gun-shot of the enemy's principal fortifications; and for fourteen nights the troops, with straps over their shoulders, sinking to their knees in mud, were employed in this arduous service.* The approaches were then begun in the mode which seemed most proper to the shrewd understandings of untaught militia. Those officers who were skilled in the art of war talked of zig-zags and epaulements; but the troops made themselves merry with the terms, and proceeded in their own way. By the 20th of May, they had erected five batteries, one of which mounted five forty-two pounders, and did great execution. Meanwhile, the fleet cruising in the harbour had been equally successful; it captured a French ship of

sixty-four guns, loaded with stores for the garrison, to whom the loss was as distressing as to the besiegers the capture was fortunate. English ships of war were, besides, continually arriving, and added such strength to the fleet, that a combined attack upon the town was resolved upon.

Discouraged by these adverse events and menacing appearances, Duchambon, the French commander, determined to surrender; and, on the 16th of June, articles of capitulation were signed. After the surrender of the city, the French flag was kept flying on the ramparts; and several rich prizes were thus decoyed. Two East Indiamen, and one South Sea ship, estimated at 600,000*l.* sterling, were taken by the squadron at the mouth of the harbour. This expedition was one of the most remarkable events in the history of North America. It was not less hazardous in the attempt, than successful in the execution. "It displayed the enterprising spirit of New England; and though it enabled Britain to purchase a peace, yet it excited her envy and jealousy against the colonies, by whose exertions it was acquired."† The intelligence of this event spread rapidly through the colonies, and diffused universal joy. Well might the citizens of New England be somewhat elated; without even a suggestion from the mother country, they had projected, and with but comparatively little assistance achieved, an enterprise of vast importance to her and to them. Their commerce and fisheries were now secure, and their maritime cities relieved from all fear of attack from a quarter recently so great a source of dread and discomfort.

Fired with resentment at their loss, the French made extraordinary exertions to retrieve it, and to inflict chastisement on New England. The next summer they despatched to the American coast a powerful fleet, carrying a large number of soldiers. The news of its approach spread terror throughout New England; but an uncommon succession of disasters de-

* This error has been kept alive by one historian after another, to the astonishment of every one who has ever viewed the ground. It was impossible then, as now, to drag cannon over this morass in the ordinary way. A boy of the weight of seventy pounds was sent on to the morass. He could only proceed a few feet. A pole was driven down thirty feet in the mud. That the cannon was then conveyed across the morass, there could be no doubt; how, was the question. While deliberating on this subject, I heard that a gentleman was living, then past ninety years of age, in Newburyport, in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, who had been an artificer at the siege of Louisbourg. I paid him a visit, and stated my difficulties on this passage of history. Captain Noyes at once explained the whole matter. "We had (said he) several hundred pairs of snow-shoes in camp, expecting a winter campaign. I had found that I could walk, with a pair of them, over this morass, and stated the fact to General Pepperell. Secretly, I had drags built, twenty feet by sixteen, smooth and flat at the bottom. Putting the cannon on these vehicles, and taking fifty men accustomed to travel

with snow-shoes, and fixing a long rope to the drag, we walked the morass without difficulty, and placed the cannon where Colonel Vaughan wished them to be; covering them with sea-weed until all our business was done, without any risk or extraordinary fatigue. All the materials for the battery were transported in the same manner; and where there appeared only a mass of sea-weed at night, a formidable battery rose in the morning. This finished the siege." The veteran spoke of the determined bravery of the troops as surpassing every thing the most experienced officers had witnessed. Pepperell was knighted for the exploit; but Vaughan, Woolcot, Gorham, and Dwight, were the heroes of that campaign; Vaughan commanded the New Hampshire troops; Woolcot the Connecticut; Gorham, Dwight, and others, those of Massachusetts.—*American Editor.*

† Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 4—60, where there is an authentic account of this expedition, from original papers. Holmes's *American Annals*, vol. ii. p. 27. Hutchinson, vol. ii. c. 4. Belknap. *New Hampshire*, vol. ii. p. 193—224.

arrived it of all power to inflict injury. After remaining a short time on the coast, it returned to France, having lost two admirals, both of whom it was supposed put an end to their lives through chagrin; having also, by tempests, been reduced to one half its force, without effecting any of the objects anticipated.

In the month of November, 1747, a great tumult occurred in the town of Boston, arising from the following circumstance: Commodore Knowles, while lying at Nantasket with a number of men of war, losing some of his sailors by desertion, thought it reasonable that Boston should supply him with as many men as he had lost. He therefore sent his boats early in the morning, and surprised not only as many seamen as could be found on board any of the ships, but pressed some ship carpenters' apprentices, and other labouring landmen. This conduct was universally resented as outrageous; and as soon as it was dusk, several thousand people assembled in King's-street, where the general court was sitting. Stones and brickbats were thrown into the council chamber through the windows. A judicious speech of the governor from the balcony, disapproving of the impress, promising his utmost endeavours to obtain the discharge of the persons impressed, but reprehending the irregular proceedings of the people, had no effect. The seizure and restraint of the commanders and other officers who were in town were insisted on, as the only effectual method to procure the release of the inhabitants aboard the ships. The militia of Boston was summoned the next day to the aid of government, but refused to appear. The governor, judging it inexpedient to remain in town another night, withdrew to Castle William; but kept up a communication with the commodore, urging the liberation of the townsmen. Meanwhile, the council and house of representatives passed some vigorous resolutions, and the tumultuous spirit began to subside. The inhabitants, assembled in town meeting, while they expressed their sense of the great insult and injury by the impress, condemned the riotous transactions. The militia of the town the next day promptly made their appearance, and conducted the governor with great pomp to his house; and the commodore dismissed most, if not all, of the inhabitants who had been impressed; and the squadron sailed, to the joy and repose of the town.

In October, 1748, a treaty of peace between England and France was signed at Aix la Chapelle. By the articles of this treaty, Cape Breton was given up to the French, in a compromise for restoring the French conquests in the low countries to the empress queen of Hungary and the States General, and for a general

restitution of places captured by the other belligerent powers. It was naturally a mortification to the inhabitants of New England, that what they termed, not unjustly, "their own acquisition," should be restored to France; but so long as peace continued, they sustained no disadvantage. In most respects, Massachusetts Bay was never in a more easy and happy situation, than at the close of this war. By the reimbursement of the whole charge incurred by the expedition against Cape Breton, the province was set free from a heavy debt, and was enabled to exchange a depreciated paper medium, which had long been the sole instrument of trade, for the more substantial one of silver and gold, a commercial advantage which almost excited the envy of the other colonies, in which paper was the principal currency. The Indians upon the frontiers were so reduced, that new settlements were made without danger, which not only caused the territory settled to increase in value, but afforded materials for enlarging the commerce of the province.

There was but little subject for controversy in the general assembly. Governor Shirley's administration had been satisfactory to the major part of the people. Indeed, the prosperous state of the province was very much owing to the success of his vigorous measures, of which he wished to give an account in person, and for that purpose, as well as to promote some arrangements for the defence of the colony against the encroachments of the French, had obtained leave to go to England.

Hostilities from the Indians had ceased when peace was concluded with France; but it was thought necessary on this, as on previous occasions, to have the peace formally recognized. Scarcely, however, was this effected in due form, before a circumstance occurred which had nearly occasioned a new war. In the end of November, actuated by feelings of revenge for past injuries, some English inhabitants of a place in the county of York, called Wiscasset, killed an Indian, and dangerously wounded two others. Two persons were apprehended and brought to trial for the murder; but they were, it appears, unjustly acquitted. "Many good people at this time," says Hutchinson. "lamented the disposition, which they thought was discovered, to distinguish between the guilt of killing an Indian, and that of killing an Englishman, as if God had not made of one blood all the nations of men upon the face of the earth."* The Indians made an attempt to avenge themselves by the capture of Fort Richmond, on the Kennebeck, but were not successful; they succeeded, however, in taking pri-

* History of Massachusetts' Bay, from 1749 to 1774. London, 1828

soners several of the inhabitants who resided near the fort: but after a short time the injury was forgotten.

In the following year, the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut were deeply engaged in a controversy respecting their boundary line; but the limits of our work will not permit a detail of the affair, nor would it be interesting to the general reader. During this year also, the question of "paper against gold," which has occupied so much of the attention of the British legislature, and of the community at large, occasioned several tumults in Boston. Our readers will, however, be surprised to learn, that the dissatisfaction was occasioned, not by the introduction of paper, but by the substitution of gold and silver for what has been elegantly termed the "old rag system." "The paper," they said, "was not worth hoarding, but silver and gold would all fall to the share of men of wealth, and would either be exported or hoarded up, and no part of it would go to the labourer, or the lower class of people, who must take their pay in goods, or go without. In a short time, however, experience taught them, that it was as easy for a frugal industrious person to obtain silver, as it had been to obtain paper; and the prejudice in the town of Boston was so much abated, that, when a large number of people from Abingdon, and other towns near to it, came to Boston, expecting to be joined by the like people there, they were hooted at, and insulted by the boys and servants, and obliged to return home disappointed."*

It has already been observed, that the restoration of peace, and the almost entire extinction of the Indians on the frontiers, added much to the security and to the value of the land; these circumstances also afforded a prospect for a more extended settlement of the colony. A Mr. Waldo, proprietor of a large tract of land in the eastern frontier, induced many emigrants from Germany, and other foreign protestant states, to accept conditional grants of land; but Governor Hutchinson seems to be of opinion, that the expectations, both of the emigrants and of the proprietor, were disappointed.

The administration of Mr. Phipps, who had acted as lieutenant-governor during Mr. Shirley's absence, was but short; and, as was usually the case, the government of lieutenants was little disturbed by any controversy with the general court. Mr. Shirley returned to Boston in August, 1753. During his abode in France, he took a step, which, according to Mr. Hutchinson's idea of it at least, "he had reason to

repent of as long as he lived. At the age of three-score he was captivated with the charms of a young girl, his landlord's daughter in Paris, and married her privately. This imprudence lessened him in Lord Halifax's esteem; and, though he had shown himself to be very capable of his trust of commissary in France, as well as very faithful in the discharge of it, yet, as he failed of success, which, more frequently than real merit, entitles to reward, his private fortune was much hurt by his employment. The rumour of his marriage came to New England before his arrival, and some who were not well affected to him, were ready enough to insinuate that his French connexions might induce him to favour the French cause, but his conduct evinced the contrary. He pronounced an accommodation desperate, that the sword must settle the controversy, and that it ought to be done without delay, otherwise the French would make themselves too strong for all the force the English could bring against them."†

The period of the French war of 1756—1763, the confines of which we now approach, will require a separate notice, after the history of the remaining colonies has been brought down to the same date. As it implicated the whole of the British settlements in North America, and promoted those ideas of federative union, which were subsequently attended with such important results, a combined view of the operations of the war will be preferable to allotting a share of its history to each of the colonies.

It may be imagined by some of our readers, that we have been unduly severe on the errors of the noble-minded founders of the greatest republican empire the world has yet witnessed; but we cannot plead guilty to such a charge. These errors, it is true, have been fully exposed; but, great as they are, the characters of which they form but the exceptions can well stand the shock their development excites. The faults of great and good men should, after the highest model of historical writing, be faithfully narrated. Their record is essential to prevent the mind, while it gives due weight to the example and opinions of past ages, from receiving its chief impulse from a source still impregnated with impure infusions; and to open a channel for the mighty tide of reason and of truth, whose waters purify as they carry forward the mass of example. Were the defects of the heroes of New England, however, far greater, and their virtues far less, they would yet throw into the shade of merited oblivion the characters of their defamers, either of the past or of the present age.

* Hutchinson, p. 8, 9.

† Hutchinson p. 15, 16.

CHAPTER IV.

NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE.*

THE history of the colony of Massachusetts is, to a considerable extent, that of all the New England colonies; but still it is requisite to give each of the states a distinct, though a more brief, notice. The first attempts at colonizing that part of North America, now designated as the states of New Hampshire and Maine, are to be traced to the zeal of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the earliest and most persevering of those who undertook to people with civilized inhabitants the transatlantic wilds. Having obtained a grant from the chartered company of Plymouth, already so frequently referred to, in conjunction with some other principal members of the company, among whom was Sir John Popham, lord chief justice of the court of King's Bench, with other persons of influence, he despatched two vessels to explore their newly acquired territory. One of these was seized by the Spaniards; but the safe return and favourable report of the other encouraged the adventurers to prosecute their undertaking. A colony was therefore organized, consisting of George Popham, as president, Raleigh Gilbert, as admiral, and six inferior officers, with about one hundred private individuals; the imagination of the projectors having sketched the outlines of a large and flourishing state. They selected a small island at the mouth of the river Kennebeck for their place of residence, induced by the commodiousness of its situation as a port for fishermen. Arriving towards the close of the year, they were barely enabled to build and fortify a store-house before the cold became intense; and they were afterwards distressed by a rapid succession of unforeseen hardships. Having emigrated in the expectation of enjoying a perpetual spring, their disappointment, when exposed to the premature and unusual severity of a northern winter, may be readily conceived. The loss of their store-house by fire, and the death of their president, had already depressed their courage, when tidings arrived of the death of Sir John Popham, who was the very soul of the expedition. Gilbert also returned to England in the spring, having succeeded to a rich inheritance by the death of his brother, Sir John Gilbert. The resolution of the adventurers seems to have sunk under these accumulated misfortunes, for the settle-

ment was soon afterwards abandoned in despair. The disappointed colonists seemed anxious to hide their disgrace by invectives against the cold and sterile regions which they had forsaken; and they were so far successful, that the company of Plymouth never made another effort of equal magnitude with the expedition to Sagadahoc. Many attempts were made by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, individually, to establish colonies in North Virginia, with a perseverance worthy of better fortune than it obtained; for, after spending a large portion of his life and estate in these attempts, and involving himself in several vexatious suits, the whole issue of his exertions was the establishment of an inconsiderable settlement in Maine.

It was in the year 1623, that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, John Mason,† and others, having obtained of the Plymouth or New England company grants of several tracts of land, lying north of Massachusetts, sent from England, a few persons to begin a settlement. Part landed, and for a short time remained at Little Harbour, on the west side of Piscataqua river, and near its mouth, where they erected the first house, calling it Mason Hall; the remainder, proceeding higher up the river, settled at Coheco, afterwards called Dover. Fishing and trade being the principal objects of these emigrants, their settlements increased slowly.

In 1635, a fresh distribution of territory was made by the Plymouth Company, when they obtained a grant of land, lying along the coast from Naumkeag river, near the northern boundary of Massachusetts to the river Piscataqua, extending sixty miles into the country from their sources; and the region, thus conveyed, was for the first time called New Hampshire. As no more ancient patents stood in the way of the present, and as length of occupancy formed no bar, Mason acquired that kind of right to the soil which the law of England considered as valid; but it gave him none of the powers of government. He sent agents to dispose of his lands, and to take general care of his interests; but he soon after died, leaving it to others to enjoy his rights, and to exercise his powers. At the same period, the company made a grant of a still larger territory, extending from the northern limits of New Hampshire, north-eastward, to the river Kennebeck, and from them sixty miles into the country, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in abso-

* Although the Maine was not constituted a state till subsequently to the declaration of independence, its early history is so connected with that of New Hampshire, that it is deemed desirable to unite them in this chapter.

† John Mason procured from the council of Plymouth a grant of all the land from the river of Naumkeag round Cape Ann to the

river Merrimack; and up each of those rivers to the farthest head of them, then to cross over from the head of the one to the head of the other, with all the islands lying within three miles of the coast. This district was 'called Mariana.'—Belknap's New Hampshire, vol. i. c. 1.

lute property with such powers of jurisdiction as the grantors possessed. The same year he despatched William Gorges, his nephew, to govern that territory, then called Somersetshire, who ruled, for some years, a few traders and fishers with a good sense equal to the importance of the trust. But, whether Gorges distrusted his own powers, or was actuated by the prudent caution which experience inspires, he obtained from the favour of his prince a patent of confirmation, in April, 1639. His limits were now extended to one hundred miles from the rivers south-westward into the desert. This immense region was denominated Maine; and he was invested with all the royal rights of a count-palatine, with a reference to the powers formerly exercised by the bishop of Durham. Animated by these attentions, and invested with these powers, he established a civil government within his province in the subsequent year. This constitution was, however, merely executive, without any of the powers of legislation; nor was an assembly in which the people were represented, either mentioned or alluded to. He did not even offer liberal terms on which men might purchase and enjoy his lands, though this had been at all times proposed as the best means to promote settlement and augment population. The province consequently languished for years in hopeless feebleness.

The persecuting policy of the Massachusetts colony peopled this country, when money and persuasion had been tried in vain. It has already been stated, that among those who were expelled from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, at the time of the dissensions occasioned by opposition to the spread of antinomian sentiments at Boston, was the Rev. John Wheelwright. Previously to the date of Mason's patent, he had purchased the land of the Indians, and laid the foundation of Exeter. In the year 1630, thirty-five persons residing in that town combined and established civil government; and within a year or two afterwards, the inhabitants of Dover and Portsmouth followed their example, each town remaining distinct and independent.

These towns did not long remain in this dissociated state. There appears, indeed, to have been some difference of opinion, but the majority were for an incorporation with the colony of Massachusetts; and, accordingly, the general court, in October, 1641, passed an ordinance, declaring that the people inhabiting on the river Piscataqua shall henceforth be reputed under its power, as are already the other inhabitants; that they shall have the same order for the administration of justice; that they shall be exempted from all public charges, except such as shall

arise among themselves, or shall be for their own benefit; that they shall be allowed the same liberties of fishing, of planting, and of felling timber, as formerly; and that they shall be allowed to send two deputies to the court at Boston. Thus New Hampshire, at the end of six years only, ceased to be a separate province. The general court, having in this manner conferred on its neighbours the greatest of blessings, general protection, and a regular administration of justice, turned its next cares to their future welfare. It sent them several ministers, Moody, Cotton, Reyner, and others, by whose care and diligence, as we are assured, the people were very much civilized and reformed; but Wheelwright and his followers, who had formerly sought an asylum in the desert from the persecutions of their enemies, fled across the Piscataqua into the province of Maine, because, in the present change, they feared future injuries. This union proved perplexing to the proprietary, and ultimately embarrassing to the councils of the parent state. It was in vain for Mason, who now acted as agent for his kinsmen, to protest against the daily encroachments on their lands; and it was to no purpose he petitioned the general court. It had been stipulated as the groundwork on which was established the subjection of New Hampshire, that the views of their opponents should be countenanced, and the assumed rights of the proprietors consequently depressed. Being now freed from the weighty cares of government; being protected from the attacks of their Indian enemies, and from their internal dissensions, the people of New Hampshire, during the space of forty years, enjoyed the advantages and blessings of a regular administration, and engaged successfully in all the pursuits that naturally tend to promote the prosperity, wealth, and greatness of nations. In the year 1652, the inhabitants of Gorges' territories of the Maine also were induced to submit themselves to the government of Massachusetts.

Having contended with the general court upwards of fourteen years to no purpose, Gorges and Mason made a tender of their claims to Charles II., who favourably received proposals which promised future advantages to his family, for he had entertained the design of forming New Hampshire and Maine into an establishment for the duke of Monmouth, the most beloved of all his sons. The general court, relying on its own construction of its patent, though it explained by its agents its conduct and pretensions, declined long either to give up possession, or to appoint deputies to defend its proceedings. The monarch was wearied with continued solicitation; and the committee of plantations at length determined to

propose to the Massachusetts government, either to receive commissioners authorized to decide amicably the claims of all, or to send agents to answer before the king in council: adding, what was probably decisive, "that, should it still prove refractory, notwithstanding the equity of this overture, every means would be used to interrupt the trade of the colony, which, by the acts of trade, may be given it." After sixteen years, in which the whole energy of government had been exerted, the general court sent agents to England, who were empowered to consent to the final settlement of claims which had at last become serious. When the disputants appeared before Rainsford and North, the two chief justices to whom this controversy was referred, the agents at once disclaimed pretensions which had been so long defended with the greatest ability as sacred, because their counsel informed them that they could not possibly be defended before such judges.* The limits of Massachusetts were restrained to the literal expression of its charter, and its jurisdiction within the boundaries of the soil; and the province of Maine was adjudged to Gorges, with such right of government as had been granted by the patent under which he claimed.

Long had Charles II. been in treaty with the proprietors of New Hampshire and Maine; but his poverty, which was well known in New England, the wars that happened in the mean time, the intrigues of his adversaries, and the high expectations of the owners, all prevented the completion of a business which might have proved so advantageous both to prince and people. For years had the friends of Massachusetts warned her of the danger of suffering such claims to exist; and ultimately, the agents prudently purchased what had been so long disputed. The general court applied now, with an ability equal to the prudence with which it had made the acquisition, to derive some advantage from what had cost so much money and vexation. As proprietary, it appointed the deputy governor president of Maine, it named officers, it established various judicatories, and justice was administered in the mode prescribed by the patent of Gorges. No assembly, of which the representatives of the people composed a constituent part, was allowed, because none had been mentioned in the original grant; a measure by no means satisfactory to the inhabitants, who were thereby deprived of their rights as citizens.

When the decision respecting Maine was confirmed by Charles II., the province of New Hampshire was left without a regular government. It was de-

termined, therefore, that New Hampshire should be constituted a separate province, to be ruled by a president and council to be appointed by the king, and a house of representatives to be chosen by the people. The first assembly, consisting of eleven members, met in 1680, at Portsmouth. At this session, a code of laws was adopted, of which the first, in a style worthy of freemen, declared "that no act, imposition, law, or ordinance, should be imposed upon the inhabitants of the province, but such as should be made by the assembly, and approved by the president and council."

Mason, who had been appointed a member of the council, arrived during the year in the colony. He assumed the title of lord proprietor, claimed the soil as his property, and threatened to prosecute all who would not take from him leases of the land they occupied. His pretensions were resisted by most of the inhabitants, who claimed the fee-simple of the soil by what they deemed a more righteous, if not a more legal title. The peace of the colony was long disturbed by these conflicting claims. At the head of those who contended with Mason, stood Major Waldron, of Dover. Against him and many others suits were instituted. No defence being made, judgments were obtained; but so general was the hostility to Mason, that he never dared attempt to enforce them. After Sir Edward Andros was deposed, the inhabitants of New Hampshire desired to be re-incorporated with Massachusetts; their request being opposed by Samuel Allen, who had purchased Mason's title, it was refused, and Allen himself made governor of the colony. Under his administration, the disputes occasioned by adverse claims to land continued to rage with increased violence. Other suits were instituted, and judgments obtained; but the sheriff was forcibly resisted by a powerful combination, whenever he attempted to put the plaintiff in possession.

From Indian hostilities, this colony suffered more severely than her neighbours. The surprise of Dover, in 1689, was effected with the most shocking barbarity; though the natives having been ill-treated by one of the principal inhabitants may account for, if not palliate, their ferocious revenge. Having determined upon their plan of attack, the Indians employed their usual art to lull the suspicions of the inhabitants. So civil and respectful was their behaviour, that they occasionally obtained permission to sleep in the fortified houses in the town. On the evening of the fatal night, they assembled in the neighbourhood, and sent their women to apply for lodgings at the houses devoted to destruction. When all was quiet, the doors were opened, and the signal given.

* Chalmers, p. 485.

The Indians rushed into Waldron's house, and hastened to his apartment. Awakened by the noise, he seized his sword, and drove them back, but when returning for his other arms was stunned with a hatchet, and fell. They then dragged him into his hall, seated him in an elbow chair upon a long table, and insultingly asked him, "Who shall judge Indians now?" After feasting upon provisions, which they compelled the rest of the family to procure, each one with his knife cut gashes across his breast, saying, "I cross out my account." When weakened with the loss of blood, he was about to fall from the table, his own sword was held under him, which put an end to his tortures. At other houses, similar acts of cruelty were perpetrated; in the whole, twenty-three persons were killed, and twenty-nine carried prisoners to Canada, who were mostly sold to the French. Many houses were burned, and much property was plundered; but so expeditious were the Indians, that they had fled beyond reach before the neighbouring people could be collected. The war thus commenced, was not easily terminated. The French, by giving premiums for scalps, and by purchasing the English prisoners, animated the Indians to exert all their activity and address, and the frontier inhabitants endured the most aggravated sufferings. The peace of Ryswick, in 1697, closed the distressing scene till 1703, when another war began, which continued ten years.

During the year 1719, above one hundred families, mostly presbyterians, emigrated from the north of Ireland, and settled in the town of Londonderry.* They introduced the foot spinning wheel, the manu-

facture of linen, and the culture of potatoes. They were industrious, hardy, and useful citizens.

A few years only transpired before the inhabitants again suffered the afflictions of an Indian war. Following the example of the French, the government offered premiums for scalps, which induced several volunteer companies to undertake expeditions against the enemy. One of these, commanded by Captain Lovewell, was greatly distinguished. In May, 1725, with thirty-four men, he fought a famous Indian chief, named Paugus, at the head of about eighty savages, near the shores of a pond in Pequackett. Lovewell's men were determined either to conquer or die, although outnumbered by the Indians more than twice. They fought till Lovewell and Paugus were killed, and all Lovewell's men but nine were either killed or dangerously wounded. The savages having lost, as was supposed, sixty of their number out of eighty, and being convinced of the fierce and determined resolution of their foes, at length retreated, and left them masters of the ground. The scene of this desperate and bloody action, which took place in the town that is now called Fryeburgh, is often visited with interest to this day, and the names both of those who fell, and those who survived, are yet repeated with exultation.†

After the lapse of a considerable period from the transfer from Mason to Allen, it was discovered that the conveyance was so defective as to be void. In 1746, John Tufton Mason, a descendant of the original grantee, claiming the lands possessed by his ancestors, conveyed them, for fifteen hundred pounds, to twelve persons, subsequently called the Masonian

* "The settlement was at first called Nutfield; but it was incorporated, in 1722, by the name of Londonderry. Mr. James Macgregore was their first minister. He continued with them until his death; and his memory is still precious among them. He was a wise, affectionate, and faithful guide to them, both in civil and religious concerns."—Belknap's New Hampshire, vol. ii. p. 36—39.

† "John Lovewell, a captain in the militia of Massachusetts, the hero of Pigwawckett, was the son of Zaccheus L., who was an ensign in the army of O. Cromwell, and who settled at Dunstable, and died there, aged 120, being the oldest person who ever died in New Hampshire. Zaccheus had three sons, Zaccheus, a colonel in the French war of 1759; Jonathan, a preacher, representative, and judge; and the subject of this article. In the Indian wars a large bounty being offered for scalps, Capt. Lovewell, at the head of a volunteer company of thirty men, marched to the north of Winipiseogee lake, and killed an Indian, and took a boy prisoner, Dec. 19, 1724. Having obtained his reward at Boston, he augmented his company to seventy, and marched to the same place. There dismissing thirty men for the want of provisions, he proceeded with forty men to a pond in Wakefield, now called Lovewell's pond, where he discovered ten Indians asleep by a fire; they were on their march from Canada to the frontiers. He killed them all, Feb. 20, 1725, and with savage triumph entered Dover with their scalps hooped and elevated on poles, for each of which one hundred pounds was paid out of the public treasury at Boston. He marched a third time with forty-six men. Leaving a few men

at a fort, which he built at Ossapy pond, he proceeded with thirty-four men to the north end of a pond in Pigwawckett, now Fryeburgh, in Maine, and there a severe action was fought with a party of forty-two Indians, commanded by Paugus and Wahwa, May 8, 1725. At the first fire, Lovewell and eight of his men were killed; the remainder retreated a short distance to a favourable position, and defended themselves. With the pond in their rear, the mouth of an unfordable brook on their right, a rocky point on their left, and having also the shelter of some large pine trees, they fought bravely from ten o'clock till evening, when the Indians,—who had lost their leader, Paugus, killed by Mr. Chamberlain,—retired, and fled from Pigwawckett. Ensign Robbins and two others were mortally wounded; these were necessarily left behind to die. Eleven, wounded but able to march, and nine, unhurt, at the rising of the moon, quitted the fatal spot. Jonathan Frye, the chaplain, Lieut. Farwell, and another man, died in the woods, in consequence of their wounds. The others, with the widows and children of the slain, received a grant of Lovewell's town, or Suncook, now Pembroke, N. H., in 1728, in recompense of their sufferings. The bodies of twelve were afterwards found by Col. Tyng, and buried. Capt. Lovewell had two sons; John died in Dunstable, and Colonel Nehemiah in Corinth, Vermont. His daughter married Captain Joseph Baker, of Pembroke. The last of his company, Thomas Ainsworth, died at Brookfield, January, 1794, aged 85."—Allen's Biography.

proprietors; who, to silence opposition, relinquished all title to the lands already occupied, and also granted townships on the most liberal terms. Reserving certain portions of the land for themselves, for ministers, and for schools, they required merely that the grantees should, within a limited time, erect mills and meeting-houses, clear and construct roads, and settle ministers. In the course of time, nearly all the Masonian lands, being about one fourth of the whole, were in this manner granted; and contentions ceased to disturb the repose, or impede the prosperity of the colony.

CHAPTER V.

CONNECTICUT.

It appears incontrovertibly established, that the Dutch effected the first settlements on the river Connecticut; and it seems impossible to account, on any just principles, for their being regarded as intruders by the English settlers. They had made the first discovery of Hudson's river, and had established themselves upon its banks. They had obtained a patent from their government, who had as good a right to grant lands discovered by their subjects, as any other state. This patent included the lands on Connecticut river, which was discovered by them before it was known by the English to exist, and before the grant of the New England patent. After trading with the Indians for several years, they purchased of them a tract of land, and built upon it a fort and trading house, before the country had been taken possession of by the English; and the people from the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, when they attempted to drive them from it, came without a shadow of title from the Plymouth company, under whom they professed to claim.*

The Connecticut colony consisted of people who first emigrated from England to Massachusetts, and,

* Governor Bradford gives the following account of this transaction, which confirms the Dutch claim of previous purchase and possession. "But the Dutch begin now to repent," viz. of their invitation to the English—"and hearing of our purpose and preparation, endeavour to prevent us, get in a little before us, make a slight fort, and plant two pieces of ordnance, threatening to stop our passage. But we having a great new bark and a frame of a house, with boards, nails, &c., ready, that we might have defence against the Indians, who are much offended that we bring home and restore the right sachems of the place called Watawanute, so as we are to encounter a double danger in this attempt, both the Dutch and Indians. When we come up the river, the Dutch demand what we intend, and whither we would go? We answer, Up the river to trade. Now our order was to go and seat above them. They bid us strike and stay, or they would shoot us; and stood by their ordinance ready fitted. We answer, We have a commission from the

in the years 1630 and 1632, settled and formed themselves into churches at Dorchester, Watertown, and Cambridge, where they resided several years. But either because the number of emigrants to Massachusetts did not allow them all such a choice as they wished of good lands, or because some jealousies had arisen between their pastors and leaders, and the leading men of the colony, they took the resolution of seating themselves again in the wilderness; and in the years 1635 and 1636 they removed their families to Windsor, Weathersfield, and Hartford, on the Connecticut river.

Having made some preparation in the course of the summer for their winter's accommodation, to the number of about sixty, men, women, and children, set out on foot, about the middle of October, from Boston to Connecticut, through the pathless wilderness, accompanied by their cattle, swine, and other property. After a long and tedious journey through a continued forest, and over rivers and mountains, they reached their place of destination very late in the season. "The winter set in this year much sooner than usual, and the weather was stormy and severe. By the 15th of November, Connecticut river was frozen over, and the snow was so deep, and the season so tempestuous, that a considerable number of the cattle, which had been driven on from Massachusetts, could not be brought across the river. The people had so little time to prepare their huts and houses, and to erect sheds and shelters for their cattle, that the sufferings of man and beast were extreme. Indeed, the hardships and distresses of the first planters of Connecticut scarcely admit of a description. To carry much provision or furniture through a pathless wilderness was impracticable. Their principal provisions and household furniture were therefore put on board several small vessels, which, by reason of delays and the tempestuousness of the season, were either cast away, or did not arrive. Several vessels were wrecked on the coasts of New England by the violence of the storms. Two shallops, laden with

governor of Plymouth to go up the river to such a place; and if they shoot us, we must obey our order and proceed; we would not molest them, but go on. So we pass along, and the Dutch threaten us hard, yet they shoot not. Coming to our place, about a mile above the Dutch, we quickly clap up our house, land our provisions, leave the company appointed, send the bark home, and afterwards palisade our house about, and fortify better. The Dutch send word home to the Monhatos what was done; and, in process of time, they send a band of about seventy men, in warlike manner, with colours displayed, to assault us; but seeing us strengthened, and it would cost blood, they come to a parley, and return in peace. And this was our entrance there. We did the Dutch no wrong, for we took not a foot of any land they bought, but went to the place above them, and bought that tract of land which belonged to the Indians we carried with us, and our friends, with whom the Dutch had nothing to do."—North American Review, vol. viii. p. 84, 85.

goods from Boston to Connecticut, in October, were cast away on Brown's Island, near the Gurnet's nose; and the men, with every thing on board, were lost. A vessel, with six of the Connecticut people on board, which sailed from the river for Boston, early in November, was, about the middle of the month, cast away in Manamet Bay. The men got on shore, and after wandering ten days in deep snow and a severe season, without meeting with any human being, arrived, nearly spent with cold and fatigue, at New Plymouth. By the last of November, or beginning of December, provision generally failed in the settlements on the river, and famine and death looked the inhabitants sternly in the face. Some of them, driven by hunger, attempted their way, in this severe season, through the wilderness, from Connecticut to Massachusetts. Of thirteen in one company who made this attempt, one, in passing the river, fell through the ice, and was drowned. The other twelve were ten days on their journey, and would all have perished, had it not been for the assistance of the Indians. Indeed, such was the distress in general, that, by the 3d and 4th of December, a considerable part of the new settlers were obliged to abandon their habitations. Sixty persons, men, women, and children, were necessitated, in the extremity of winter, to go down to the mouth of the river to meet their provisions, as the only expedient to preserve their lives. Not meeting with the vessels which they expected, they all went on board the *Rebecca*, a vessel of about sixty tons. This, two days before, was frozen in twenty miles up the river; but, by the falling of a small rain, and the influence of the tide, the ice became so broken, and was so far removed, that she made a shift to get out. She ran, however, upon the bar, and the people were forced to unlade her to get her off. She was reladen, and in five days reached Boston. Had it not been for these providential circumstances, the people must have perished with famine. The people who kept their stations on the river, suffered in an extreme degree. After all the help they were able to obtain by hunting, and from the Indians, they were obliged to subsist on acorns, malt, and grains.*

In the following spring, those who had made their escape from Connecticut returned, and they were joined by the rest of those who had determined to make a part of the new colony. About the beginning of June, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, and about a hundred men, women, and children, took their departure from Cambridge, and travelled more than a hundred miles

through a hideous and trackless wilderness to Hartford. They had no guide but their compass, and made their way over mountains, through swamps, thickets, and rivers, which were not passable but with great difficulty. They had no cover but the heavens, nor any lodgings but those which simple nature afforded them. They drove with them one hundred and sixty head of cattle, and by the way subsisted on the milk of their cows. Mrs. Hooker was borne through the wilderness upon a litter. The people generally carried their packs, arms, and some utensils. They were nearly a fortnight on their journey. This adventure was the more remarkable, as many of this company were persons of rank, who had lived in England in honour, affluence, and delicacy, and were entire strangers to fatigue and danger.†

From the commencement of the Connecticut colony, the natives discovered a hostile disposition. Their principal enemy was the Pequods, the most numerous and warlike nation within the limits of the state, and perhaps in New England. They inhabited the country which environs the towns of New London, Groton, and Stonington. Sassacus, the great prince of the Pequods, had under him six and twenty sachems, and could bring into the field seven hundred or a thousand warriors, who had been long accustomed to victory. The royal residence was at a large fort situated on a beautiful eminence in the town of Groton, which commands an extensive prospect of the sea and of the surrounding country. There was also another fortress, called Mystic fort, situated in the town of Stonington. After suffering repeated injuries, and the murder of about thirty of their people, principally by the Pequods, the general court, which had been convened for the purpose, resolved on active hostilities, and immediately raised an army of ninety men, half the effective force of the colony. These were to be joined by two hundred men from Massachusetts, and forty from Plymouth. The court which declared war was holden on the 1st of May; the men were raised and embarked on the river, under the command of Captain Mason, on the 10th; and, after being wind-bound several days, sailed from the mouth of the river for Narraganset bay on the 19th. They were accompanied by sixty Moheagan and River Indians, under Uncas, a Moheagan sachem. On reaching Narraganset bay, they landed to the number of seventy-seven Englishmen, marched into the country of the Narragansets, and communicated their design to Miantónimoh, the

* Trumbull's History of Connecticut, p. 62.

† Trumbull's History of Connecticut, p. 64.

sachem of the country, who offered to join them. Information was here received that Captain Patrick had reached Providence, with a company of Massachusetts troops, but it was resolved not to wait for this reinforcement. On the next day, they marched twenty miles through the west part of Rhode Island, and reached Niantick, which bordered on the Pe-

* "In the morning, a considerable number of Miantonomoh's men came out and joined the English. This encouraged many of the Nianticks also to join them. They soon formed a circle, and made protestations how gallantly they would fight, and what numbers they would kill. When the army marched the next morning, the captain had with him nearly five hundred Indians. He marched twelve miles, to the ford in Pawcatuck river. The day was very hot, and the men, through the great heat, and a scarcity of provision, began to faint. The army, therefore, made a considerable halt, and refreshed themselves. Here the Narraganset Indians began to manifest their dread of the Pequods; and to inquire of Captain Mason, with great anxiety, what were his real intentions. He assured them, that it was his design to attack the Pequods in their forts. At this they appeared to be panic struck, and filled with amazement. Many of them drew off, and returned to Narraganset. The army marched on about three miles, and came to Indian cornfields; and the captain, imagining that he drew near the enemy, made a halt; he called his guides and council, and demanded of the Indians how far it was to the forts. They represented that it was twelve miles to Sassacus's fort, and that both forts were in a manner impregnable. Wequash, a Pequot captain, or petty sachem, who had revolted from Sassacus to the Narragansets, was the principal guide, and he proved faithful. He gave such information respecting the distance of the forts from each other, and the distance which they were then at from the chief sachems, as determined him and his officers to alter the resolution which they had before adopted, of attacking them both at once, and to make a united attack upon that at Mystic. He found his men so fatigued in marching through a pathless wilderness with their provisions, arms, and ammunition, and so affected with the heat, that this resolution appeared to be absolutely necessary. One of Captain Underhill's men became lame at the same time, and began to fail. The army, therefore, proceeded directly to Mystic, and continuing their march, came to a small swamp between two hills, just at the disappearing of the day-light. The officers supposing that they were now near the fort, pitched their little camp between or near two large rocks, in Grotto, since called Porter's rocks. The men were faint and weary, and though the rocks were their pillows, their rest was sweet. The guards and sentinels were considerably advanced in front of the army, and heard the enemy singing at the fort, who continued their rejoicings even until midnight. They had seen the vessels pass the harbour some days before, and had concluded that the English were afraid, and had no courage to attack them. They were therefore rejoicing, singing, dancing, insulting them, and wearying themselves, on this account. The night was serene, and, towards morning, the moon shone clear. The important crisis was now come, when the very existence of Connecticut, under Providence, was to be determined by the sword in a single action, and to be decided by the good conduct of less than eighty brave men. The Indians who remained were now sorely dismayed, and though at first they had led the van, and boasted of great feats, yet were now all fallen back in the rear. About two hours before day, the men were roused with all expedition, and, briefly commending themselves and their cause to God, advanced immediately towards the fort. After a march of about two miles, they came to the foot of a large hill, where a fine country opened before them. The captain, supposing that the fort could not be far distant, sent for the Indians in the rear to come up. Uncas and Wequash at length appeared. He demanded of them where the fort was. They answered, on the top of the hill. He demanded of them where were the other Indians. They answered, that they were much afraid. The captain sent to them not to fly, but to surround the fort at any distance they pleased, and see

quods' country.* The army wheeled directly to Mystic fort, which was immediately attacked; the contest, though tremendously severe, terminated in favour of the English, and in the destruction of the Indians. Although this victory was complete, the situation of the army was extremely dangerous and distressing. Several were killed, and one fourth of

whether Englishmen would fight. The day was nearly dawning, and no time was now to be lost. The men pressed on in two divisions, Captain Mason to the north-eastern, and Captain Underhill to the western entrance. As the object which they had been so long seeking came into view, and while they reflected they were to fight not only for themselves, but their parents, wives, children, and the whole colony, the martial spirit kindled in their bosoms, and they were wonderfully animated and assisted. As Captain Mason advanced within a rod or two of the fort, a dog barked, and an Indian roared out, 'Owanux! Owanux!' That is, Englishmen! Englishmen! The troops pressed on, and, as the Indians were rallying, poured in upon them, through the palisades, a general discharge of their muskets, and then wheeling off to the principal entrance, entered the fort sword in hand. Notwithstanding the suddenness of the attack, and the blaze and thunder of the arms, the enemy made a manly and desperate resistance. Captain Mason and his party drove the Indians in the main street towards the west part of the fort, where some bold men, who had forced their way, met them, and made such slaughter among them, that the street was soon clear of the enemy. They secreted themselves in and behind their wigwams, and taking advantage of every covert, maintained an obstinate defence. The captain and his men entered the wigwams, where they were beset with many Indians, who took every advantage to shoot them, and lay hands upon them, so that it was with great difficulty that they could defend themselves with their swords. After a severe conflict, in which many of the Indians were slain, some of the English killed, and others sorely wounded, the victory still hung in suspense. The captain, finding himself much exhausted, and out of breath, as well as his men, by the extraordinary exertions which they had made in this critical state of action, had recourse to a successful expedient. He cries out to his men, 'We must burn them.' He immediately, entering a wigwam, took fire and put it into the mats with which the wigwams were covered. The fire instantly kindling, spread with such violence, that all the Indian houses were soon wrapped in one general flame. As the fire increased, the English retired without the fort, and compassed it on every side. Uncas and his Indians, with such of the Narragansets as yet remained, took courage, from the example of the English, and formed another circle in the rear of them. The enemy were now seized with astonishment; and, forced by the flames from their lurking places into open light, became a fair mark for the English soldiers. Some climbed the palisades, and were instantly brought down by the fire of the English muskets. Others, desperately sallying forth from their burning cells, were shot, or cut in pieces with the sword. Such terror fell upon them, that they would run back from the English into the very flames. Great numbers perished in the conflagration. The greatness and violence of the fire, the reflection of the light, the flashing and roar of the arms, the shrieks and yellings of the men, women, and children, in the fort, and the shoutings of the Indians without, just at the dawning of the morning, exhibited a grand and awful scene. In little more than an hour, this whole work of destruction was finished. Seventy wigwams were burnt, and five or six hundred Indians perished, either by the sword, or in the flames. A hundred and fifty warriors had been sent on the evening before, who, that very morning, were to have gone forth against the English. Of these, and all who belonged to the fort, seven only escaped, and seven were made prisoners. It had been previously concluded not to burn the fort, but to destroy the enemy, and take the plunder; but the captain afterwards found it the only expedient to obtain the victory, and save his men. Thus parents and children the sannup and squaw, the old man and the babe, perished in promiscuous ruin."—Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. i. p. 83—86.

their number were wounded; the remainder were exhausted with fatigue, and destitute of provisions; they were in the midst of an enemy's country, many miles from their vessels, and their ammunition was nearly exhausted; they were but a few miles distant from the principal fortress of their foe, where there was a fresh army, which they knew would be exasperated in the highest degree on learning the fate of their brethren. In the midst of their perplexity, while they were consulting on the course to be pursued, their vessels appeared in sight, steering with a fair wind directly into the harbour. The army was received on board with great mutual joy and congratulation.

The troops employed on this successful expedition reached their homes before the expiration of a month from the day that the war was resolved upon. The Pequods, on the departure of Captain Mason, burnt their wigwams, destroyed their principal fort, and scattered themselves throughout the country. Sassacus, with a party of his chief warriors, abandoned his country, and moved by slow marches towards the Hudson river. They were followed by a party of Massachusetts and Connecticut troops; and, in a great swamp in Fairfield, near the western part of Connecticut, they were overtaken, and a battle ensued. Sassacus, and about twenty of his most hardy men, escaped, and fled to the Mohawk country; but there he found no safety; he was surprised by the Mohawks, and killed, with all his party, except Mononotto,* who, after being wounded, made his escape. The Pequods who remained were divided between the Mohegans and Narragansets, and the nation became extinct.† The vigour and boldness with which this war was prosecuted on both sides, give it the air of romance. Its decisive termination, which was so fatal to one party, was productive of the most happy consequences to the other. It struck the Indians throughout New England with such a salutary terror, that they were contented, in general, to remain at peace for nearly forty years.

The summer of the year 1637 witnessed the arrival of Mr. John Davenport, a celebrated London

minister, accompanied by several eminent merchants, and other persons of respectability. The unmolested enjoyment of civil and religious liberty was the object of their emigration. Not finding in Massachusetts sufficient room for themselves, and the numerous friends whom they expected to follow them, and being informed of a large bay to the south-west of Connecticut river, commodious for trade, they applied to their friends in Connecticut to purchase for them, of the native proprietors, all the lands lying between the rivers Connecticut and Hudson; and this purchase they in part effected. In the autumn, some of the company made a journey to Connecticut to explore the lands and harbours on the coast, and pitched upon Quinnipiack for the place of their settlement. Here they erected a hut, in which a few men remained through the winter. The way being thus prepared, the rest of their company sailed from Boston for Quinnipiack in the following March; and, in about a fortnight, arrived at the desired port. On the 18th of April, they kept their first sabbath under a large spreading oak, where Mr. Davenport preached to them. They speedily entered into what they termed a plantation covenant. Determined to make an extensive settlement, these enterprising colonists paid early attention to the making of such purchases and treaties, as would give it stability. In November, they entered into an agreement with Momauguin, sachem of that part of the country, and his counselors, for the lands of Quinnipiack. Momauguin, in consideration of being protected by the English from the hostile Indians, yielded up his right and title to all the land of Quinnipiack, of which he was the sole sachem, to John Davenport, and others, their heirs and assigns, for ever; and they, in return, covenanted that they would protect him and his Indians; that they should always have a sufficient quantity of land to plant on the east side of the harbour.‡ In December, they made another purchase of a large tract, lying principally north of the other, extending eight miles east of the river Quinnipiack, and five miles west of it towards Hudson's river. Near the bay of Quinnipiack they laid out their town in

* "Among the Pequod captives were the wife and children of Mononotto. She was particularly noticed by the English for her great modesty, humanity, and good sense. She made it as her only request, that she might not be injured, either as to her offspring, or personal honour. As a requital of her kindness to the captivated maids, her life and the lives of her children, were not only spared, but they were particularly recommended to the care of Governor Winthrop. He gave charge for their protection and kind treatment."—Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. i. p. 92.

† "The prisoners who were taken in this war were treated by the English with great cruelty. Many of them were put to death. Several sachems were beheaded at Menunkatuch, and the spot has, from the cruel deed, been called Sachem's Head to this day.

The women and children were divided among the troops, and it is stated that 'the people of Massachusetts sent a number of the women and boys to the West Indies, and sold them for slaves.' How opposed is this treatment to the benevolent spirit that breathes in the letter of the amiable Robinson to the people of Plymouth, on learning that some of the natives had been killed, when he says, 'O, how happy a thing had it been that you had converted some before you had killed any!'—North American Review, vol. viii. p. 93.

‡ "By the way of free and grateful retribution, they gave him, his council, and company, twelve coats of English cloth, twelve alchymy spoons, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen of knives, twelve porringers, and four cases of French knives and scissors."—Holmes's American Annals, vol. i. p. 245.

squares, on the plan of a spacious city, and called it New Haven. This town was the foundation of a flourishing colony of the same name, of which it became also the capital.*

It appears that these emigrants at first acknowledged the authority of Massachusetts; and that the general court of that colony was very reluctant to admit a separate jurisdiction.† But it being evident that the new colonists were wholly without the limits of the Massachusetts patent, they convened an assembly at Hartford, and formed a constitution of government, which was of the most popular kind, the leading objects of which were to maintain the liberty and purity of the gospel, the discipline of the churches, and the administration of the government according to the laws.‡ The people of New Haven, also, the same year, formed a constitution similar to that of the neighbouring colony, except that it was a little more strict in not admitting any but church members to the privileges of freemen. These continued to be the constitutions of the two colonies, until they were united under the new charter in 1661.

The union of the several colonies of New England has already been described, both as to its causes, its nature, and its effects on the colony of Massachusetts. It may, however, be observed, in addition to what has

* Hubbard, c. 42. Mather, Magnal. b. i. p. 25. Trumbull, vol. i. c. 6. p. 95—100. Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 83. Chalmers, b. i. p. 290. "The last mentioned tract, bought in December, was purchased of Montowese, son of the great sachem at Mattabeseck, and was ten miles in length, north and south, and thirteen miles in breadth. It included all the lands within the ancient limits of the old towns of New Haven, Branford, and Wallingford, and almost the whole within the limits of those towns, and of the more modern towns of East Haven, Woodbridge, Cheshire, Hamden, and North Haven. For this tract the English gave thirteen coats, and allowed the natives ground to plant, and liberty to hunt within the lands. P. Stiles' MSS. and Dr. Trumbull, from New Haven Records."—Holmes's American Annals, vol. i. p. 245.

† "The annals of colonization, ancient or modern, can scarcely show the commencement of a settlement so extremely faulty as that of Connecticut. The territory, of which they thus took possession, was not only already occupied by the Dutch, but had been granted sixteen years before to the Plymouth company. The whole coast of New England was, not long after, divided into twelve different parts; and, in the presence of James I., allotted to so many distinct members of that body. And in April, 1635, that portion of it was assuredly granted to James, marquis of Hamilton, as his share, which stretches from the river Connecticut, eastward, to the Narraganset bay; and, from its source, one hundred miles into the continent. That part of it which extends from Connecticut to Hudson's river was probably conveyed to the earl of Stirling as his proportion; and since the patent was now surrendered, as we have seen, into the royal hands, the powers of government, which had been formerly given in trust to that famous corporation, again reverted to the crown. The emigrants before-mentioned can be considered in no other light, therefore, than as mere intruders on the rights of others. The jurisdiction supposed to be invested in English nobles was undoubtedly groundless; and it is unnecessary to mention those governmental acts of Massachusetts which proceeded from acknowledged usurpation."—Chalmers, b. i. chap. xii. p. 288, 289.

‡ "The preamble states, that they, the inhabitants and residents

already been stated, that, on the completion of the confederacy, several Indian sachems came in, and submitted to the English government, among whom were Miantonomoh, the Narraganset, and Uncas, the Moheagan chief. The union rendered the colonies formidable to the Dutch as well as the Indians, and respectable in the view of the French; it also maintained general harmony among themselves, and secured the peace and rights of the country.

The Connecticut and New Haven people had been engaged in the most vexatious and irritating quarrels with the Dutch, from the first settlement of their colonies, the effect of which had been to excite them to a state of the most bitter hostility. In the mean time, the English parliament declared war against the United Provinces, and several obstinate naval battles were fought in the British channel; thus opening the way for hostilities between the infant colonies of the two countries on this continent, if they were so disposed. On the 19th of May, 1653, a special meeting of the commissioners of the United Colonies was holden at Boston, in consequence of a rumour, that a plot had been formed between the Dutch at New Netherlands, and the Indians in all quarters of the country, to cut off, by a general massacre, the whole English population of New England.

of those towns, well knowing, that, where a people are gathered together, the Word of God requireth, that, to maintain the peace and union of such a people, there should be an orderly and decent government established, according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons, as occasion should require, do therefore associate and conjoin themselves to be as one public state or commonwealth. The constitution provided, that there should be annually two general courts or assemblies, one on the second Thursday of April, and the other, on the second Thursday of September; that at the first, called the court of election, there should be annually chosen a governor and six magistrates, who, being sworn according to an oath recorded for that purpose, should have power to administer justice according to the laws here established, and, in defect of a law, according to the rule of the word of God; and that as many other officers and magistrates might be chosen, as should be found requisite; that all should have the right of election who were admitted freemen, had taken the oath of fidelity, and lived within this jurisdiction, having been admitted inhabitants by the town where they live; and that no person might be chosen governor more than once in two years. The towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield were severally authorized to send four of their freemen, as their deputies, to every general court; and it was provided, that such other towns, as should afterwards be formed and admitted into the body politic, should send as many as the court, upon the principle of apportioning the number of deputies to the number of freemen, should judge meet. In this body was vested the supreme power of the commonwealth, executive, legislative, and judicial. This constitution has been thought to be one of the most free and happy constitutions of civil government ever formed. Its formation, at a period when the light of liberty was extinguished in most parts of the earth, and the rights of men were, in others, so little understood, does great honour to the colonists by whom it was framed. It continued, with little alteration, to our own day; and the liberty, peace, and prosperity, which it secured to the people of Connecticut for nearly two centuries, are seldom, if ever, found in the history of nations."—Holmes's American Annals, vol. i. p. 251.

The rumour of this plot was derived from the Indians, and it was supposed to be corroborated by various circumstances. It was also reported, that the northern and eastern Indians had become insolent in their conduct towards the English; and several Indians on Long Island, and in the neighbourhood of the Manhadoes, averred that they had been solicited, with the promise of liberal presents, to join the Dutch in a conspiracy to cut off the English. About the same time, the Dutch governor wrote to the governors of the New England colonies, proposing to enter into an engagement to remain neutral, unless contrary orders should be given by their superiors, notwithstanding the war subsisting between the two countries, and offering to send an agent to treat on the subject with the commissioners. This proposition was considered as altogether insidious, and tending to corroborate the rumours of hostile designs.

Connecticut and New Haven became alarmed: a meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies was called, and evidence of the plot laid before them. A majority was in favour of war; but the colony of Massachusetts, being remote from the danger, was averse to it. As she was much stronger than either of the others, it was, at the suggestion of her deputies, resolved, that agents should first be sent to demand of the Dutch governor an explanation of his conduct. The agents did not obtain what they conceived to be a satisfactory explanation. On their return, another meeting of the commissioners was held at Boston, additional testimony was laid before them, and several ministers of Massachusetts were invited to assist at their deliberations, a practice not unusual at that period. The opinion of these ministers being requested, they concluded, that it would be safest for the colonies to forbear the use of the sword. But all the commissioners, except one, were of opinion, that recent aggressions justified, and self-preservation dictated, an appeal to the sword. They were about to declare war, when the general court of Massachusetts, in what the other colonies conceived to be a direct violation of one of the articles of the confederation, resolved, "that no determination of the commissioners, though all should agree, should bind the colony to engage in hostilities." At this declaration, Connecticut and New Haven felt alarmed and indignant. They considered the other colonies too weak, without the assistance of Massachusetts, to contend with the Dutch and their Indian allies. They argued,

entreated, and remonstrated, but without success.* They then represented their danger to Cromwell, and implored his assistance. He, with his usual promptitude, sent a fleet for their protection, and for the conquest of their enemies; but peace in Europe, intelligence of which reached New England soon after the arrival of the fleet, saved the Dutch from subjugation, and relieved the colonies from the dread of massacre.

Soon after the restoration, the Connecticut colony sent Mr. Winthrop, son of Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, to England, with an humble petition to the king, in which they solicited a charter under the royal signature. Mr. Winthrop was a gentleman of fine talents and address, and he succeeded in engaging in his interest several gentlemen of influence at court. He was also possessed of a valuable ring, which had been given by Charles I. to his grandfather; this, on his audience with the king, he presented to his majesty, which is supposed to have materially influenced the king in his favour. On the 20th of April, 1662, he obtained a patent under the great seal, granting the most ample privileges, and confirming to the freemen of the Connecticut colony, and such as should be admitted freemen, all the lands which had been formerly granted to the earl of Warwick, and by him transferred to Lord Saye and Sele, and his associates. This charter established over the colony a form of government of the most popular kind, and continued the fundamental law of Connecticut for the space of one hundred and fifty-eight years. "It is remarkable," says a writer in the *North American Review*, "that, although it was granted at a period of the world when the rights of the people were little understood and little regarded, and by a sovereign who governed England with a more arbitrary sway than any of his successors, the form of government established by this charter was of a more popular description, and placed all power within the more immediate reach of the people, than the constitution for which it has been deliberately exchanged, in these modern days of popular jealousy and republican freedom." The colony of New Haven was included in the new charter of Connecticut; but the inhabitants for several years refused to consent to the union, till the apprehension of the appointment of a general governor, and of their being united with some other colony, with a charter less favourable to liberty, induced them to yield a reluctant assent.

* Those of our readers who may be desirous to understand the merits of this controversy between the colonies, we refer to a very able and impartial extract in the *North American Review*, vol. iv. p. 90, et seq. We take this early opportunity to express our ac-

knowledge to the editors of that very ably conducted periodical, for the assistance it has rendered us in this, as in other portions of the history; and to express the satisfaction we feel at the extensive circulation it is now acquiring in the British dominions.

The circumstance which chiefly occasioned the apprehensions alluded to, was the grant of Charles II. to his brother, the duke of York and Albany, of a patent of a large territory in America, comprising lands from the west side of the river Connecticut, to the east side of Delaware bay. A fleet was immediately despatched for the reduction of the Dutch in New Netherlands, and commissioners were appointed for taking possession of the newly granted territories, in which were embraced the whole of New Haven, and a large portion of Connecticut. They were not only intrusted with the government of this territory, but were also invested with extraordinary powers for visiting the New England colonies, and hearing all matters of complaint and controversy which might arise in them. The people of New Haven, on hearing of the arbitrary disposition of these commissioners, thought it expedient, as the least of two evils, to shelter themselves under the Connecticut charter, and to unite with that colony in endeavouring to secure the privileges granted by it. Mr. Winthrop and others (a committee appointed for the purpose) succeeded in obtaining from the commissioners the establishment of the eastern line of New York, nearly where it runs at the present day, and thus preserved the colony from being dismembered of the richest and most populous section of its territory.

Connecticut was destined to suffer, with the rest of the colonies, from the violent acts committed in the last years of the reign of the Stuarts. Massachusetts had been deprived of her charter, and Rhode Island had been induced to surrender hers, when, in July, 1685, a writ of *quo warranto* was issued against the governor and company of Connecticut. The colonial government was strongly advised by Vane to comply with the requisition, and surrender the charter; but it was determined neither to appear to defend the charter nor voluntarily to surrender it. Sir Edmund Andros, whose appointment to the office of governor of the New England colonies has been related in the preceding chapter, made repeated applications for the surrender of the charter, but without success. The singular mode of its escape from his demand in person, is thus recorded by Trumbull: "The assembly met as usual, in October, 1687, and the government continued, according to charter, until the last of the month. About this time, Sir Edmund, with his suite, and more than sixty regular troops, came to Hartford, where the assembly were sitting, demanded

the charter, and declared the government under it to be dissolved. The assembly were extremely reluctant and slow with respect to any resolve to surrender the charter, or with respect to any motion to bring it forth. The tradition is, that Governor Treat strongly represented the great expense and hardships of the colonists in planting the country; the blood and treasure which they had expended in defending it, both against the savages and foreigners; to what hardships and dangers he himself had been exposed for that purpose; and that it was like giving up his life, now to surrender the patent and privileges so dearly bought, and so long enjoyed. The important affair was debated and kept in suspense until the evening, when the charter was brought and laid upon the table where the assembly were sitting. By this time, great numbers of people were assembled, and men sufficiently bold to enterprise whatever might be necessary or expedient. The lights were instantly extinguished, and one Captain Wadsworth, of Hartford, in the most silent and secret manner, carried off the charter, and secreted it in a large hollow tree, fronting the house of the Honourable Samuel Wyllys, then one of the magistrates of the colony. The people appeared all peaceable and orderly. The candles were officiously re-lighted, but the patent was gone, and no discovery could be made of it, or of the person who had conveyed it away.* Though Sir Edmund was thus foiled in his attempt to obtain possession of the charter, he did not hesitate to assume the reins of government,† which he administered in a manner as oppressive in this as in the other colonies. When, on the arrival of the declaration of the prince of Orange at Boston, Andros was deposed and imprisoned, the people of Connecticut resumed their previous form of government, having been interrupted little more than a year and a half.

In the Indian war, in which Philip acted so conspicuous a part, Connecticut had her share of suffering, though it was not so great as that of some of her sister colonies. Hostilities were commenced by the aborigines, on the Connecticut river, in the summer of 1675; and, on the 1st of September, the inhabitants of Hadley were alarmed by the Indians during the time of public worship, and the people thrown into the utmost confusion; but the enemy were repulsed by the valour and good conduct of an aged, venerable man, who, suddenly appearing in the midst of the affrighted inhabitants, put himself at their

* Trumbull's History of Connecticut, p. 371, 372.

† The records of the colony announce the fact in the following terms:—"At a general court at Hartford, October 31st, 1687, his excellency, Sir Edmund Andros, knight, and captain-general and governor of his majesty's territories and dominions in New Eng-

land, by order from his majesty, James II., king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the 31st of October, 1687, took into his hands the government of the colony of Connecticut, it being, by his majesty, annexed to Massachusetts, and other colonies under his excellency's government. FINIS."—Ibid.

head, led them to the onset, and, after the dispersion of the enemy, instantly disappeared. This deliverer of Hadley, then imagined to be an angel, was General Goffe, (one of the judges of Charles I.,) who was at that time concealed in the town.*

But a short time elapsed, before the colonists were again called on to defend their privileges from what they deemed an unjust encroachment. Colonel Fletcher, governor of New York, had been vested with plenary powers to command the militia of Connecticut, and insisted on the exercise of that command. The legislature of Connecticut, deeming that authority to be expressly given to the colony by charter, would not submit to his requisitions; but, desirous of maintaining a good understanding with Governor Fletcher, endeavoured to make terms with him, until his Majesty's pleasure should be further known. All their negotiations were, however, unsuccessful; and, on the 26th of October, he came to Hartford, while the assembly was sitting, and, in his majesty's name, demanded submission; but the refusal was resolutely persisted in. After the requisition had been repeatedly made, with plausible explanations and serious menaces, Fletcher ordered his commission and instructions to be read in audience of the train bands of Hartford, which had assembled upon his order. Captain Wadsworth, the senior officer, who was exercising his soldiers, instantly called out, "Beat the drums!" which, in a moment, overwhelmed every voice. Fletcher commanded silence. No sooner was a second attempt made to read, than Wadsworth vociferated, "Drum, drum! I say." The drummers instantly beat up again, with the greatest possible spirit. "Silence, silence," exclaimed the governor. At the first moment of a pause, Wadsworth called out earnestly, "Drum, drum, I say;" and, turning to his excellency, said, "If I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you in a moment." Colonel Fletcher declined putting Wadsworth to the test, and abandoning the contest, returned with his suite to New York.—It has been already observed, that the history of the American colonies has been decidedly undervalued and neglected; this must have been the case even with the best educated classes of society, or surely, after such specimens of determined independence of spirit as the history of this colony, and of Massachusetts, exhibits, the measures which ulti-

mately led to an entire separation would never have received the sanction of the British senate.

In the year 1700, Yale college was founded. The project had been the subject of conversation for the space of two years, and at length eleven gentlemen, who had been agreed on as trustees, assembled at Branford, and laid the foundation of the college. In the year following, the trustees obtained from the general assembly an act of incorporation, and a grant of 120*l.* annually. It was originally established at Saybrook; and, in 1702, the first degrees were there conferred. Elihu Yale made several donations to the institution, and from him it derives the name it bears. A succession of able instructors has raised it to a high rank among the literary institutions of the country. The history of this college, as well as a description of its extensive buildings, will appear in the topographical department of this work.

The trustees of Yale College, assembled at Guilford, March 17th, 1703, addressed a circular letter to the ministers, proposing to hold a general synod of all the churches in the colony, to give their joint consent to a confession of faith, after the example of the synod in Boston, 1680. This proposal was universally acceptable; and the ministers and churches of the several counties met in voluntary "consociation," and gave their consent to the Westminster and Savoy confessions of faith, and agreed upon certain rules of union in discipline, which were designed to be preparatory to a general synod. Still there was no visible and acknowledged bond of union among them; and the disadvantages attendant upon a want of system were felt to a considerable extent. Under the influence of these considerations, the legislature passed an act, in May, 1708, requiring the ministers and churches to meet by delegation at Saybrook, at the next commencement to be held there, and form an ecclesiastical constitution, which they were directed to present to the legislature at their session at New Haven, the following October, to be considered of, and confirmed by them. In the same act they directed the ministers, and churches of the colony, to meet (the churches by delegation) in the county towns of their respective counties; there to consider and agree upon those rules for the management of ecclesiastical discipline, which they should judge conformable to the word of God, and to appoint two or more of their number as members of

* "Suddenly, and in the midst of the people, there appeared a man of a very venerable aspect, who took the command, arranged and ordered them in the best military manner, and under his direction they repelled and routed the Indians, and the town was saved. He immediately vanished, and the inhabitants could not account for the phenomenon, but by considering that person as an

angel, sent of God for their deliverance."—Stiles, *Hist. Judges*, p. 109. "From New Haven, Whalley and Goffe went to West Rock, a mountain about three hundred feet high, and about two miles and a half from the town, and were for some time concealed in a cave 'on the very top of the rock, about half or three quarters of a mile from the southern extremity.'"—Stiles, p. 72, 76.



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the synod at Saybrook. They also directed the synod to compare the results of these ecclesiastical meetings of the several counties, and out of them to draw a form of ecclesiastical discipline. The expenses of all these meetings were to be defrayed out of the public treasury. The system agreed upon by the synod was presented to the legislature at the time specified; upon which they passed the following act:

* The "Heads of Agreement" afford an authentic statement of the doctrine and discipline of the New England churches; and, as they will most effectually vindicate these societies from misrepresentation, and enable our readers to avoid misconception, we have quoted them at length. The "Platform," and the whole proceedings respecting it, may be found in the fifth book of Mather's *Magnalia*.

"HEADS OF AGREEMENT ASSENTED TO BY THE UNITED MINISTERS, FORMERLY CALLED PRESBYTERIAN AND CONGREGATIONAL.

"I. *Of Churches and Church Members.*—1. We acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ to have one catholic church, or kingdom, comprehending all that are united to him, whether in heaven or earth; and do conceive the whole multitude of visible believers, and their infant seed, (commonly called the catholic visible church,) to belong to Christ's spiritual kingdom in this world; but for the notion of a catholic visible church here, as it signifies its having been collected into any formed society, under a visible human head on earth, whether one person singly, or many collectively, we, with the rest of protestants, unanimously disclaim it. 2. We agree, that particular societies of visible saints, who, under Christ their head, are statedly joined together, for ordinary communion with one another in all the ordinances of Christ, are particular churches, and are to be owned by each other as instituted churches of Christ, though differing in apprehensions and practice in some lesser things. 3. That none shall be admitted as members, in order to communion in all the special ordinances of the gospel, but such persons as are knowing and sound in the fundamental doctrines of the christian religion, without scandal in their lives; and to a judgment regulated by the word of God, are persons of visible holiness and honesty, credibly professing cordial subjection to Jesus Christ. 4. A competent number of such visible saints, as before described, do become the capable subjects of stated communion in all the special ordinances of Christ, upon their mutual declared consent and agreement to walk together therein according to gospel rule. In which declaration, different degrees of explicitness shall no ways hinder such churches from owning each other as instituted churches. 5. Though parochial bounds be not of divine right, yet, for common edification, the members of a particular church ought (as much as conveniently may be) to live near one another. 6. That each particular church hath right to use their own officers; and being furnished with such as are duly qualified and ordained according to the gospel rule, hath authority from Christ for exercising government, and of enjoying all the ordinances of worship within itself. 7. In the administration of church power, it belongs to the pastors and other elders of every particular church, if such there be, to rule and govern, and to the brotherhood to consent, according to the rule of the gospel. 8. That all professors, as before described, are bound in duty, as they have opportunity, to join themselves as fixed members of some particular church; their thus joining being part of their professed subjection to the gospel of Christ, and an instituted means of their establishment and edification, whereby they are under the pastoral care, and, in case of scandalous or offensive walking, may be authoritatively admonished or censured for their recovery, and for vindication of the truth and the church professing it. 9. That a visible professor thus joined to a particular church ought to continue steadfast with the said church, and not forsake the ministry and ordinances there dispensed, without an orderly seeking a recommendation unto another church, which ought to be given, when the case of the person apparently requires it.

"At a general court, holden at New Haven, October, 1708:

"The reverend ministers, delegates from the elders and messengers of this government, met at Saybrook, September 9th, 1708, having presented to this assembly a Confession of Faith, and Heads of Agreement,* and regulations in the administration of church discipline, as unanimously agreed and consented to by the elders and churches in this government; this

"II. *Of the Ministry.*—1. We agree that the ministerial office is instituted by Jesus Christ for the gathering, guiding, edifying, and governing of his church, and to continue to the end of the world. 2. They who are called to this office ought to be endowed with competent learning and ministerial gifts, as also with the grace of God, sound in judgment, not novices in the faith and knowledge of the gospel, without scandal, of holy conversation, and such as devote themselves to the work and service thereof. 3. That, ordinarily, none shall be ordained to the work of this ministry, but such as are called and chosen thereunto by a particular church. 4. That in so great and weighty a matter as the calling and choosing a pastor, we judge it ordinarily requisite, that every such church consult and advise with the pastors of neighbouring congregations. 5. That after such advice, the person consulted about being chosen by the brotherhood of that particular church over which he is to be set, and he accepting, be duly ordained and set apart to his office over them; wherein it is ordinarily requisite, that the pastors of neighbouring congregations concur with the preaching elder or elders, if such there be. 6. That, whereas such ordination is only intended for such as never before had been ordained to the ministerial office; if any judge, that in the case also, of the removal of one formerly ordained to a new station, or pastoral charge, there ought to be a like solemn recommending him and his labours to the grace and blessing of God; no different sentiments, or practice herein, shall be any occasion of contention or breach of communion among us. 7. It is expedient, that they who enter on the work of preaching the gospel, be not only qualified for communion of saints, but also, that, except in cases extraordinary, they give proof of their gifts and fitness for the said work unto the pastors of churches of known abilities to discern and judge of their qualifications, that they may be sent forth with solemn approbation and prayer, which we judge needful, that no doubt may remain concerning their being called unto the work, and for preventing, as much as in us lieth, ignorant and rash intruders.

"III. *Of Censures.*—1. As it cannot be avoided, but that in the purest churches on earth, there will sometimes offences and scandals arise, by reason of hypocrisy and prevailing corruption; so Christ hath made it the duty of every church to reform itself by spiritual remedies appointed by him to be applied in all such cases, viz. admonition and excommunication. 2. Admonition being the rebuking of an offending member in order to conviction, is, in case of private offences, to be performed according to the rule in Matt. xviii. 15, 16, 17, and in case of public offences, openly before the church, as the honour of the gospel, and the nature of the scandal, shall require; and if either of the admonitions take place for the recovery of the fallen person, all further proceedings in a way of censure are thereon to cease, and satisfaction to be declared accordingly. 3. When all due means are used, according to the order of the gospel, for the restoring an offending and scandalous brother, and he, notwithstanding, remains impenitent, the censure of excommunication is to be proceeded unto; wherein the pastor, and other elders, (if there be such,) are to lead and go before the church; and the brotherhood to give their consent in a way of obedience unto Christ, and to the elders, as over them in the Lord. 4. It may sometimes come to pass, that a church member, not otherwise scandalous, may sinfully withdraw, and divide himself from the communion of the church to which he belongeth; in which case, when all due means for the reducing him prove ineffectual, he having thereby cut himself off from that church's communion, the church may justly esteem and declare itself discharged of any further inspection over him.

cernment and sound judgment, who had the best opportunities of knowing the feelings and general state of the people at that period, that bags of gold and silver, and other precious things, might, with safety, have been laid in the streets, and that no man would have converted them to his own use. Theft, wantonness, intemperance, profaneness, sabbath-breaking, and other gross sins, appeared to be put away. The intermissions on the Lord's-day, instead of being spent in worldly conversation and vanity, as had been too usual before, were now spent in religious conversation, in reading and singing the praises of God. At lectures there was not only great attention and seriousness in the house of God, but the conversation out of it was generally on the great concerns of the soul."

There is a circumstance which considerably contributed to accelerate the diffusion of a revival spirit, which must not be overlooked—the visits of the celebrated contemporaries, Wesley and Whitefield, to the American continent, just at this period.* The extraordinary exertions of the latter especially excited and emboldened many faithful ministers of Connecticut, whose labours and pecuniary sacrifices now became greater than they had ever before experienced or imagined they could endure. They not only abounded in active exertions among their own and neighbouring congregations, but preached in all parts of the colony, where their brethren would admit them, and in many places in Massachusetts, and the other colonies. They were very popular, and their labours were generally acceptable to their brethren, and useful to the people. They were not noisy preachers, but grave, sentimental, searching, and pungent. Con-

* Mr. Whitefield landed at Philadelphia the beginning of November, 1739. On his arrival, he was invited to preach in all the churches, and people of all denominations flocked in crowds to hear him. After preaching a few days in Philadelphia, he made a visit to New York, and preached eight times in that place with great applause and effect. Thence he returned to Philadelphia, preaching on the way, both going and returning. From thence he went to Georgia by land, preaching on the way as he proceeded. Numbers followed, some twenty, and some even sixty miles. He preached at Chester, Wilmington, Newcastle, and Whitley-creek. At the last of these places, it was computed that his congregation consisted of not less than ten thousand hearers; and the people seemed almost universally impressed. These reports reaching New England, there was a great desire, both in ministers and people, to see and hear him; and Dr. Coleman and Mr. Cooper, of Boston, sent pressing invitations that he would pay them a visit. Mr. Whitefield, touched with a curiosity to see the descendants of the good old puritans, and their seats of learning, and hoping that he might make some further collections for his favourite object, the orphan-house in Georgia, accepted their invitation. He arrived at Rhode Island on September 14th, 1740. Here a number of principal gentlemen soon waited on him. He preached there three days, twice a day, to deeply affected auditories. He then departed for Boston, where he was met on the road by the governor's son, several of the clergy, and other gentlemen of principal character, who conducted him into the city. His assemblies there were so large, that the most capacious houses could not contain them, and he often

necticut was, however, more remarkably the seat of the work than any part of New England, or of the American colonies. In the years 1740, 1741, and 1742, it had pervaded, in a greater or less degree, every part of the colony. In most of the towns and societies, it was very general and powerful.

It has been estimated, that, during three years, from thirty to forty thousand persons had their minds affected in the decided manner which has been described. It might naturally have been supposed, that, as many of these impressions occurred at a period of extraordinary excitement, they would not have been generally productive of permanently beneficial results. The contrary, however, in a very great majority of instances, appears to have been the fact. "The effects on great numbers," says Dr. Trumbull, "were abiding and most happy; they were the most uniform, exemplary christians, with whom I was ever acquainted. I was born, and had my education, in that part of the town of Hebron in which the work was most prevalent and powerful. They were extraordinary for their constant and serious attention on the public worship; they were prayerful, righteous, peaceable, and charitable; they kept up their religious meetings for prayer, reading, and religious conversation, for many years; they were strict in the religion and government of their families, and I never knew that any one of them was ever guilty of scandal, or fell under discipline. About eight or ten years after the religious revival and reformation, that part of the town was made a distinct society, and it was mentioned to Mr. Lothrop, the pastor elect, as an encouragement to settle with them, that there was

preached on the common. This was the beginning of the most extraordinary revival of religion ever experienced in Boston, or in that part of New England. When Mr. Whitefield left Boston, it was for Northampton. He had read in England the narrative of Mr. Edwards, of the remarkable work of God in that place, in 1735, and had a great desire to see him, and receive the account from his own mouth. On his way, pulpits and houses were every where open to him, and the same happy influence and effects attended his preaching, which had been experienced in other places. When he arrived at Northampton, about the middle of October, he was joyfully received by Mr. Edwards and the people. After leaving their interesting society, he preached in the neighbouring towns to large and deeply affected congregations. On the 23d of October, he reached New Haven. Here he was affectionately received; and, as the general assembly were then sitting, he remained several days, and had the pleasure of seeing numbers daily impressed. After the sabbath he preached at Milford, and prosecuting his journey to New York, and the southern colonies, he preached with his usual popularity and success. Taking leave of Connecticut, he preached at Rye and Kingsbridge, and, on the 30th of October, arrived at New York. Here he remained three days, and then departed, preaching through the southern colonies, as he had done before, but apparently with still greater success. It appears he was the instrument of great good in New England, as well as in the southern colonies. He greatly quickened and animated ministers, as well as private Christians, especially in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

not a drunkard in the whole parish. While I lived in it, I did not know of one prayerless family among his people, nor ever heard of one. Some of those people, who dated their conversion from that period, lived until they were far advanced in life; and after I was settled in the ministry, I became acquainted with them in one place and another. They appeared to be some of the most consistent practical Christians with whom I ever had an acquaintance. Their light shone before men, through a long life, and brightened as they advanced on their way. Some I was called to visit in their last moments in full possession of their rational powers, who appeared perfectly to acquiesce in the will of God, to die in the full assurance of faith, and in perfect triumph over the last enemy."

These proceedings, though so accordant with the principles and spirit of the reformation, the professed model of the Connecticut establishment, did not receive its concurrence. In the midst of such a manifestation of popular feeling, there were some irregularities which did not comport with the discipline, and some doctrinal variations from the creed, of "the Saybrook platform." Every deviation or excess was magnified into importance by the majority of the clergy, who were indisposed to any extraordinary exertion, and who dreaded the infectious zeal spreading among their flocks. Numerous opposers appeared against what they were pleased to term the "new light;" and, as in most similar cases, the opposers of reform were supported by the aristocracy. The baneful effects of establishments and of "consociations," were also plenteously exhibited. A striking instance of the deplorable illiberality of the latter occurred in the case of Mr. Robbins, who, after a variety of vexatious proceedings on the part of the consociation of New Haven county, was deposed from his office of pastor of the church at Branford, for having preached for a dissenting baptist minister at Wallingford, without the permission of the established clergyman of the parish! His own church, however, resolved, "that this society desire the Rev. Mr. Robbins to continue in the ministry among us, notwithstanding his preaching to the Baptists, and what the consociation of New Haven county have done thereon;" thus preferring to be excluded from the consociation, and become dissenters themselves, rather than submit to spiritual tyranny in so gross a form.*

The edicts of the state were still more oppressive

than those of the clergy, and remind us of the paternal decrees of the Emperor Ferdinand II., who, from the "urgings of his tender conscience," and from his "fatherly care" for the salvation of his kingdom of Bohemia, denounced ruin and destruction against all who resisted his spiritual decrees. In May, 1742, the general assembly of Connecticut resolved as follows:—

"1. Be it enacted by the governor, council, and representatives in general court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that if any ordained minister, or any other person licensed as aforesaid, to preach, shall enter into any parish not immediately under his charge, and shall there preach and exhort the people, he shall be denied and excluded the benefit of any law of this colony, made for the support and encouragement of the gospel ministry, except such ordained minister, or licensed person, shall be expressly invited and desired to enter into such parish, and there to preach and exhort the people, by the settled minister, and the major part of the church and society within such parish.

"2. And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any association of ministers shall undertake to examine or license any candidate for the gospel ministry, or assume to themselves the decision of any controversy, or as an association, counsel and advise in any affair that, by the platform, or agreement above mentioned, made at Saybrook, aforesaid, is properly within the province and jurisdiction of another association, then, and in such case, every member that shall be present in such association so licensing, deciding, or counselling, shall be each and every one of them denied and excluded the benefit of any law in this colony, for the encouragement and support of the gospel ministry.

"3. And it is further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if any minister, or ministers, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, shall presume to preach in any parish, not under his immediate care and charge, the minister of the parish where he shall so offend, or the civil authority, or any of the committee of said parish, shall give information thereof in writing, under their hands, to the clerk of the society or parish where such offending minister doth belong, which clerk shall receive such information, and lodge and keep the same on file in his office, and no assistant or justice of the peace in this colony shall sign any warrant for the collecting any minister's rate, without first receiving a certificate from

* Those of our readers who may be desirous of becoming more intimately acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of this colony than our limits will permit, can refer to Trumbull's History of

Connecticut, a very valuable work, to which we are indebted for much of the information comprised in this chapter.

the clerk of the society, or parish, where such rate is to be collected, that no such information as is above mentioned hath been received by him, or lodged in his office.

"4. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if any person whatsoever, that is not a settled or ordained minister, shall go into any parish, without the express desire and invitation of the settled minister of such parish, if any there be, and the major part of the church and congregation within such parish, and publicly teach and exhort the people, he shall, for every such offence, upon complaint made thereof to any assistant or justice of the peace, be bound to his peaceable and good behaviour, until the next county court in that county where the offence shall be committed, by said assistant or justice of the peace, in the penal sum of one hundred pounds lawful money, that he or they will not offend again in the like kind; and the said county court may, if they see meet, further bind the said person or persons, offending as aforesaid, to their peaceable and good behaviour, during the pleasure of the court.

"5. And it is further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if any foreigner, or stranger, that is not an inhabitant of this colony, including as well such persons as have no ecclesiastical character, or license to preach, or such as have received ordination or license to preach, by any association or presbytery, shall presume to preach, teach, or publicly exhort, in any town or society within this colony, without the desire and license of the settled minister, and the major part of the church of such town and society, or at the call and desire of the church and inhabitants of such town and society, provided that it so happen that there be no settled minister there,—that every such preacher, teacher, or exhorter, shall be sent, as a vagrant person, by warrant from any assistant or justice of the peace, from constable to constable, out of the bounds of this colony."

These enactments were afterwards rendered still more severe; and, under their authority, several worthy ministers were arrested and imprisoned. This law was an outrage on every principle of justice, and on the most inherent and valuable rights of the subject. It was a palpable contradiction, and gross violation, of the Connecticut bill of rights. It was equally an invasion of the rights of heaven, and incompatible with the command, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." In obedience to this command, the primitive preachers went every where, preaching the word. They regarded no parochial limits, and when high priests and magistrates forbade

their preaching, they answered, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye; for we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." This law was also contrary to the opinion and practice of all the reformers and puritans. The reformers all preached within the parishes and bishopricks of the Roman catholics, and by this means, under Divine Providence, effected the reformation: It never could have been effected without it. The puritans preached within the parishes of the church of England, and judged it their indispensable duty to preach the gospel whenever and wherever they had an opportunity. They did it zealously and faithfully, though exposed to fines, imprisonment, and loss of living. Even in Connecticut, the Episcopalians were allowed to preach and collect hearers, erect churches, and form ecclesiastical societies, in opposition to the established ministers and churches. The law was therefore partial, inconsistent, and highly persecuting.

Another circumstance, of a character equally illiberal, occurred about the same period as the enactment of these obnoxious laws. Two young men, of the name of Cleveland, were students at Yale College. Their parents had separated, with others, from the ministry of a Mr. Cogswell, at Canterbury, and had attended meetings at a private house. These young gentlemen, while at home during the vacation in September, attended the separate meetings with their parents. One of them, it seems, was a member of the separate church. For this, and their neglect to confess their fault in that respect, they were both expelled from college. The expulsion of these young men made a great clamour in the state, as unprecedented and cruel. It was considered as a severity exceeding the law of college respecting that case. The president and tutors allowed young men of the church of England, and of other denominations, to be in college without renouncing their principles; the treatment of these young men was therefore considered as partial, severe, and unjust. It began to be perceived, by many, that people had a right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and at such times, and in such places, as they pleased; that this was the principle on which the protestants and puritans acted, and the only one on which their separation and conduct could be justified. They discovered, that if christian legislatures and councils had a right to appoint the modes and places of worship, and confine Christians to them, that then the papists, and church of England, had a right to

bind all Christians to worship with them, and the reformers and puritans were totally wrong, and the persecutions raised against them were just. Hence they rejected the constitution, as then understood and acted upon, and the laws as really tyrannical and persecuting.*

This circumstance tended considerably to increase the dissatisfaction which had already evinced itself by several separations from the established church, and these now became more frequent and extensive. The ministers of the separatists were exposed to continual persecution at Canterbury. Some of them were arrested, condemned, and sentenced to be bound in a bond of a hundred pounds not to offend again in the like manner; but as they conceived it was their indispensable duty to exhort and teach the people, and as they determined to teach and exhort when they should have opportunity, they would not give bonds, and so were committed to prison, and kept a long time from their families, and from the worship and communion of their brethren, and endured much

* "The act of the legislature, and the proceedings in consequence of it towards ministers and others, and the procedure at college, were repugnant to the sentiments of Mr. Locke, and all the best writers on toleration. The intolerant spirit of the president and governors of college at that time, will appear from an affair which happened soon after the law was made to prevent disorders, &c. A number of the senior class in college set a subscription on foot for the reprinting of Mr. Locke's essay on toleration, and obtained a considerable number of subscribers, and were about to engage, or had engaged, for the reprinting of it. The president found it out, and reprimanded them for such a piece of conduct, and ordered them to make a public confession for what they had done, or else they should not have their degrees. They all made their confessions but one; he was of age, and a man of considerable property, and had some knowledge of the credit of Mr. Locke's writings, and of that tract in particular, and he would make no confession for his attempts to obtain the reprinting of such a tract. The day before commencement he found his name was not in the catalogue of his class, who were to have their degrees; he waited on the president and corporation to know the reason why his name was not in the catalogue; he was told that he had been in the mischievous business of carrying about subscriptions for the reprinting of Mr. Locke on toleration. He told them he was of age, and had property, and if he could not have his degree, he would appeal to the king in council; that he had an attorney, and would enter it soon. Some time after, a freshman was sent to him, acquainting him that the president and corporation wished to see him. He waited on them, and they treated him with much complaisance, and told him to appear with his class, and take his degree."—Trumbull, vol. ii. p. 183.

† To know well the origin of our early institutions, and those shades of difference which mark different portions of the Union, in regard to our religious and literary establishments; and, also, the cause of certain sectional feelings or prejudices, now less felt than formerly, is a subject of some interest. We profess not to be able, in every case, to give complete satisfaction, but we hope, in the examination of this subject, to show, generally, the origin of our institutions, to develop the character of the first settlers of our country, and to exhibit the causes which have given certain sectional traits to our people.

We praise our ancestors, and deservedly too, for our literary, moral, and religious institutions; but when we examine the subject with accuracy, we shall know what, and how much, to attribute to accident, and what to design. To do this, we must look

hardship in their long confinement. Others were arrested and imprisoned for refusing to pay their minister's rates which were laid upon them, though they had protested against his settlement, and withdrawn themselves wholly from his ministry. Others had their cattle and goods taken and sold at half their value, to pay for the support of the minister of the parish. These violent measures, instead of checking the separation, and conciliating the minds of the people, alienated them more and more from the constitution and standing churches, and confirmed them in their belief that they were right, and actually suffering in the cause of christian liberty.

The persevering opposition of the dissenters, though a circumstance of great annoyance to a large portion of the community, was attended with results, remote indeed, yet highly beneficial. It put to the test the principles on which the Connecticut establishment was founded; its constitution has consequently undergone successive modifications, until it has been rendered far more worthy of a liberal and enlightened state.†

to the parent country, and ascertain, with brevity, the religious, and political state of England previous to the settlement of this country, and see with what motives and feelings our progenitors were induced to leave their native land, where were deposited the ashes of their ancestors, and dissolve all the ties of home and friendship, and emigrate to a wilderness, separated from the mother country by a great ocean.

We go back to the time of Henry VIII., and take a short view of the state of religion from that period to the time of the first settlements in our own country. During this period changes were effected which dissolved the ties by which England was held to the papal See, and created other sects, which equally dissented from the protestant episcopal church of England.

At the commencement of the reign of Henry, the whole Christian world acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, and every crowned head did him homage and received his dominions of him. In fact, all countries were considered the dominions and actual patrimony of his holiness.

Perhaps no prince was ever more devoted to the representative of St. Peter than Henry VIII. The holy father pressed him to his bosom as his most faithful child. Henry wrote a book in vindication of the Pope's supremacy in temporal and spiritual affairs, and in answer to Martin Luther, a monk, who wrote and preached against the sale of indulgences by Leo X. For this act of filial devotion, Henry, in addition to his other splendid titles, received from his holiness that of "defender of the faith," a mark of confidence not before or since bestowed on any monarch. This appendage he bore with peculiar complacency during his reign, and handed it down to his successors.

But that capricious monarch received an affront from the Pope, because he refused to grant him a divorce from his queen, Catharine of Arragon. He openly renounced all subjection to his holiness, and actually declared war against him. He breasted the spiritual thunders of the Vatican, which in former times had shook the most powerful kingdoms, and humbled to the dust the proudest monarchs. Henry seized upon the revenues of the church, which were considered sacred, and converted them to his own use; besides this, he put himself at the head of the English church, without materially affecting any articles of faith or forms of worship.

This was then considered by the Christian world a wicked and blasphemous usurpation; and the life of Henry, as well as many subsequent monarchs of England, would badly fit them to stand at the head of those who minister at the altar of the living God

But the course pursued served in a degree to diminish the amount of general reverence for the Pope, and the head of the British church. Many were led to examine the pretensions of both, and to discard the arrogance of mortals, who should dictate creeds and forms of worship. But at this period, there was universally adopted this principle, by all sects, that uniformity of faith was indispensable to religion. It never entered their minds, that honest men could come to different results upon so momentous and so important a subject. Wickliff, Huss, Jerome of Prague, Luther, and Calvin, and their respective followers, were equally sure of infallibility with the King and the Pope. They seem never to have seriously thought or actually believed, that the great object of the Christian religion was to make mankind lead pure and honest lives, and extend the principles of charity and benevolence, to inculcate forgiveness to enemies, and give a confident hope in the hour of death. Hence we may trace the cruel persecutions inflicted by the dominant sects in succeeding reigns.

Edward, the successor of Henry, is represented to have been a mild and amiable prince, but his reign was short. He died before schemes of ambition and the pomp of power had corrupted his heart or inflamed his passions. He left the throne to Mary, without ameliorating the condition of ecclesiastical affairs. His successor was wholly devoted to the papal See. She threw herself into the arms of his holiness, and laboured to atone for the heresy of her father, by a prodigal use of fire and sword, to produce uniformity in faith and worship, according to the canons of the Romish church. All who perished in these religious conflicts, were believed by their respective sects to have fallen martyrs to the true faith; so that, in every change of power, the lines of party became distinct, and the parties more confirmed in a faith as positive as actual knowledge.

Elizabeth, the successor of Mary, possessing all the masculine virtues, without a moderate share of the qualities which render the woman amiable in private life, was equally tenacious of prerogative as her father, Henry, and exerted her power to stop the progress of popery,—seated herself at the head of the church, and remained undisturbed in this seat during her long, and to the people of England, happy reign. She appears to have been more than half a Papist; but the love of power would not permit her to submit to the supremacy of the Pope. She treated the dissenters with great rigour, and placed them without the pale of law and humanity. The dissenters increased in numbers, in proportion to their persecutions and hardships. But the vigilant energy of the government, and her unyielding nature, made the bravest dissenters timid. Uniformity in religious faith and worship, was with her a grand and unvarying object; but, in many instances, much relaxation was granted to the Papists.

This change from popery to protestantism effected by Henry, and from protestantism to popery by Mary, and protestantism restored by Elizabeth, appeared more the result of human pride, policy, and passion, than the effect of divine wisdom. Contradictory systems always tend to destroy each other; and especially when they have been advocated and enforced by the physical strength of a whole kingdom. When the rights of both contending parties were examined, these several claims weighed, and the balance struck, nothing remained for either, except what was retained by the arm of power. Hence, in England, were many who disregarded the claims of both, and threw off the imposing forms of established worship, and established one of their own. These were principally the followers of Calvin. They intended to institute a pure and spiritual worship, unshackled by the canons and rescripts of human invention; and it seems to be granted by all writers of the day, that the lives of these people were more in conformity with the strict rules of moral duty, than that of any other sect in the kingdom; and from this they assumed the name of Puritans, and were known by that appellation till long after the emigration of a portion of them to this country. But it should be remembered that at this time they were few in number—a weak and inefficient minority. They could hardly be said to have acted themselves from the spontaneous impulse of principle and chastened feeling, for they were continually surrounded by spies and informers, to drag them to imprisonment, scourging, and death. It is impossible that we should discern a complete development of their principles; for, however daring and bold, they must have act-

ed under a partial disguise; undoubtedly much of human passion was enlisted on their side, for it is in our nature, and never has been on neutral ground in long and protracted controversy. However, we must behold them with admiration for their courage, which nothing can overawe, and for their constancy and zeal, which could brave danger, imprisonment, and death. Neal, in his history of the Puritans, gives a detail of the hardships and sufferings of this sect, during the reign of Elizabeth, so cruel, that whatever allowances we make for the times and circumstances attending them, we must see the unrelenting hand of a despot in a prince, where softness and sympathy might have been expected. The accumulated weight of distress heaped upon this class of Christians in England, France, and Germany, form a catalogue of horrors useful only to teach us moderation and forbearance in religious controversies; and that religion is a matter of conscience, and lies between man and his Maker.

James I., the successor of Elizabeth, came to the throne with as high notions of his unlimited power as any of his predecessors. His right to control the faith and consciences of men, was not to be questioned. James was a good natured prince, and valued himself much for learning, and his power of discussion upon all subjects. His object in matters of religion, was complete uniformity in faith and modes of worship, the reasonableness of which he attempted to show by argument. It seems that here he was unsuccessful; but what he wanted in argument and the arts of persuasion, he made up by absolute power; but this argument, enforced by power, did not convince or deter the unyielding Puritans. They held fast their determination to enjoy freedom in religion, and held equally fast the belief, that they were correct in matters of faith and worship; so determined and so confident were they in their principles, that civil liberty, disconnected with religious affairs, was hardly considered. Hence we find a whole congregation, with their minister, Mr. Robinson, in 1607, renounced their country and all its endearments, and settled in Holland, for the sole purpose of enjoying religious freedom. This was a most unequivocal mark of their sincerity, and devotion to their favourite object.

At this period the manners of the Puritans were rigidly austere—their long periods of fasting, and the length of their prayers and devotional exercises, approached, in severity, monkish castigation and corporeal chastisements. Their customs led to a belief, that they were the peculiar favourites of Heaven, and daily had peculiar converse and special tokens of favour from their Maker. But this removal to Holland by this resolute congregation, was by no means suited to their feelings and principles, although they were protected in all their civil and religious rights. The manners of the Dutch were not sufficiently austere. The youth of this congregation were insensibly drawn aside from the narrow path of puritanic discipline and walk in life, by the cold and frigid manners of the Dutch. The observance of the Sabbath was kept with a strictness surpassing the rigidity of the Jewish ceremony. Their fastings approached to starvation. No wonder, then, that the youth, and others who were not thoroughly saturated with enthusiasm, should intermix with the Dutch, and hail with pleasure, and even with gratitude to God, some relaxation from the severe duties of religion. The elders of this church were alarmed at the growing evil, and they resolved on another removal. Their attention was turned to the New World, where they should not be troubled by heretical neighbours, and where the youth would be kept pure from the contagion of loose morals.

This congregation, having obtained permission from James to settle in his territories, and also assurances from him of toleration in religion, determined to encounter the perils of the ocean, the hardships of the wilderness, and the dangers to which they must be exposed from the savage tribes who inhabited the shores of this new world. James was undoubtedly willing to rid his kingdom of subjects, which he could not subdue by confiscations, fines, imprisonment, and death—and indeed, of such as he could not quietly retain in his own kingdom. The public feeling was tired and satiated by frequent spectacles of horror, and the prisons had groaned a long time, by being overcrowded with obstinate and confirmed heretics. James granted them no aid for the voyage, or any facilities for commencing a new settlement. He undoubtedly expected that this wandering people would fall a prey to the hardships and diseases incident to new settlements, or be cut off by the na-

tives, or should any survive, their obstinacy being subdued, and spirits broken, they would relent, and return with humble submission to his royal will, and bring with them a lesson and example to the Puritans in England, which they would learn and imitate; or should they brave and surmount all the difficulties to be expected, and make a permanent settlement in his waste and uncultivated lands, his power would be extended, and the resources of the nation would be increased, without any expense to the crown.

Perhaps no course of discipline could be contrived by the ingenuity of man, so well adapted to prepare the mind and feelings for a great and hazardous project, as was imposed on the first settlers of New England in the mother country. The forty years travel of the children of Israel in the wilderness, directed by Deity himself, was not better suited to them for a forcible entry into the promised land. Frederick the Great never enforced a discipline upon his troops more severe, nor half so salutary, to prepare them for conflict and victory, as was forced upon our progenitors, to fit them to settle in a new world. Our forefathers were familiar with danger and distress in all its forms. They knew the ties of home and of country, and they had experienced the dissolution of them. They had endured poverty, cold, hunger, stripes, and imprisonment, and rose above them, and even death was disrobed of his terrors. Such were the people who landed at Plymouth in the cold of winter, in 1620, and of this character were the settlers generally in New England, firm and resolute in action, and in matters of religion, unyielding, and fully persuaded in the complete rectitude of their own peculiar creed, without a single ray of toleration, or any thing like charity for those who might differ from themselves in opinion. They insisted, with equal force and power, to coerce opinion, and control matters of faith, and produce uniformity in it, as ever were practised by a Catholic or Protestant monarch.

The early writers and historians of our country give us only the details of ecclesiastical affairs, the gathering of churches, dull and uninteresting accounts of ministers, church disturbances, the suppression of heresy, and barbarous and cruel punishments inflicted against it, and various bloody conflicts with the Indians. But enough is told us to lead to a correct knowledge of the nature of the government, and of the spirit of the times. We have often been told, that our first settlers were a race of stern republicans, who came here to enjoy civil and religious freedom. But no opinion is more erroneous. It is true they came here to enjoy their own peculiar system of religious faith and mode of worship, but not to admit or tolerate any other. Our republican feelings, institutions, and habits, which made us free, were purely accidental, and were by no means designed by the first settlers.

In 1629, about three hundred emigrants arrived at Salem from England, where they found a few families under the care of Mr. Endicott. These families undoubtedly were there to attend to the fisheries and carry on a traffic with the natives. Mr. Hutchinson says, in the ten succeeding years, more than twenty-one thousand settlers came to New England. About 1640, emigration ceased, owing to the ascendancy of the puritanic party in England, headed by the famous Oliver Cromwell.

The first General Court in the Province of Massachusetts Bay was held in 1629, on board the ship *Arabella*, moored in Charles River. This court resolved that every elector, or any person eligible to office, should be a member of some regular church. This edict, so often praised, made the government purely ecclesiastical. The power of the church to punish heresy, afterwards so frequently exercised, and also to determine, in all cases, what heresy was, laid prostrate all civil liberty. We shall notice the exercise of this power hereafter in several instances. There can be no question, that nearly all the males of every congregation would become members of the church, and it was in fact a stigma upon a man then, as it would be now, not to possess the rights and privileges of his neighbour. All offices were then elective, and we may presume, that office then had charms, as well as at the present age. Office seekers then had their views to subserve, and the requisite means at hand, as they have at the present day. If long prayers, abstinence, and a piteous whine, were required to obtain an object, they were as readily performed, as professions of love of country and the happiness of the nation are made in the present state of our republic. We may, perhaps, calculate the amount of sincerity in the early professors, as we now may calculate the amount of pa-

triotism of those who make loud and noisy professions of it. In both cases, perhaps, much credit will be given, but the man of experience will not be bound beyond the conclusions formed by the honest dictates of his own mind.

To repel the attacks of the Indians, to acquire their lands, and to guard against the various avenues where heresy might advance and make encroachments upon their religious system, were the only public employments of our ancestors. They were nearly as hostile to the deluded and mistaken heretic, as to the savage, armed with his tomahawk and scalping knife. It is true, that the heretic was first ordered to recant and renounce his wicked and erroneous opinions, but on refusal he was doomed to banishment, and on a return to the province was to suffer death. But with the Indians there was not perpetual war; there were times of peace and a friendly interchange of kind offices between them and the whites, but there was neither truce nor peace with heretics.

In 1634, Roger Williams, who had been a distinguished minister at Plymouth, and afterwards at Salem, was banished the colony for holding many exceptionable tenets. He was enthusiastic in his sentiments, and had in great abhorrence every relic of popery, and any conformity to the protestant episcopal church of England; yet he was no persecutor. His declared opinion was, "that to punish a man for any matters of conscience is persecution." His attachment to this principle, so worthy of an enlightened mind, was fully evinced by his subsequent life and conduct. Mr. Williams went south, without the jurisdiction of the province, and settled in a place, now Providence. He obtained a charter from the crown of a district called Providence Plantations, of which he was a long time governor. Here he displayed all the mild and Christian virtues. His province was the asylum of the oppressed and persecuted of all sects and denominations. Mr. Williams possessed a mind more than a century and a half in advance, in liberality and manly thinking, to his contemporaries in New England. His example is scarcely equalled in brightness at the present day. It is true we have not at present actual persecution in matters of religion or conscience, yet the hollow murmur of heresy too often rolls through the gloomy recesses of the dark, and its labours sometimes are exposed to the light, attended with the fierce and intolerant spirit of ancient times.

The case of Mrs. Hutchinson is worthy of consideration, since it shows more unequivocally the temper of the times, the state of the church, and the important and religious triflings of synods and councils, composed of the civil and religious dignitaries of the colony. Mrs. Ann Hutchinson came to Boston, in 1636. Her husband was a man of good estate, and of much note and esteem among the people. He several times represented the town in General Court. She was a woman of good education, of a lively imagination, and of distinguished zeal and piety. She attracted much attention in Boston, was greatly caressed by Sir Harry Vane, the governor, and treated with marked respect by Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright, two very distinguished ministers of that day. Her house became the resort of religious females, to whom Mrs. H. expounded the Scriptures, and made her remarks upon the sermons recently delivered. She was greatly extolled for learning and an ardent piety. At her lectures, she had an attentive and crowded auditory. Whether her popularity gave the alarm to the ministers of the other sex, who chose rather that women should listen and obey—or that the good lady actually stepped aside from the narrow and mysterious path of prescribed faith, we have not sufficient documentary evidence to determine. But certain it is, that she was charged with heresy, and brought before the governor, deputy governor, and council of assistants, the teachers and elders of the churches, assembled in conclave at Cambridge. A historian of that day says, "the heresy she propagated divided the people, and came near bringing destruction upon church and state." "Fortunately," says he, "by the vigilance and prudence of Governor Winthrop, the evils and mischiefs of her heresy were brought upon herself."

This grave and dignified assembly continued in session at Cambridge for three weeks; and all this time they spent in fervent prayer for divine light and direction, and in interrogatories put to the accused with all the subtlety peculiar to scholastic divinity. Every member of this synod was a grave inquisitor; and what is remarkable in this transaction, is, that a female, unassisted by

counsel, should be able to stand this length of time in presence of this most dignified and learned body, and answer, defend and reply to it, individually and collectively. The council must have been greatly embarrassed; and this is manifest from the long period of its session. But the charge of heresy was a crime hard to defend, and we have no records of a complete acquittal in such a case. At the conclusion, the synod found that Mrs. Hutchinson entertained more than eighty heretical opinions in matters of religion! These opinions she was ordered to recant and renounce, under the penalty of excommunication and banishment from the jurisdiction of the province, and not to return under pain of death! Mrs. Hutchinson did not renounce to the satisfaction of the church, and she left the province according to sentence.

Our grave historian does not inform us how many correct opinions this lady had, but charity would lead us to conclude that she had some. So plain are Christian precepts and Christian doctrine, that it is a matter of surprise, that a person could entertain more than eighty distinct heresies. We have not the curiosity to inquire more particularly into the doctrines or discipline of the church at that time. It is apparent that much, and perhaps the greater part, was mere serious and holy trifling, wherein the heart and understanding had very little to do.

It is manifest from history, that the inquisitorial powers and arbitrary proceedings of the Cambridge synod, were not wholly approved by the people. They must have seen the hand of oppression in the long and protracted inquiry, and cruelty in the sentence pronounced against Mrs. Hutchinson. This may be fairly inferred from the nature of the transaction, unless we suppose the last feeling of sympathy and the generosity natural to man to be wholly extinct. That this council was censured is evident; for at the next general court a law passed rendering it highly penal for any person to censure or comment upon the doings of ministers or magistrates. It was tantamount to saying that ministers and magistrates "could do no wrong."

It was expected that numbers of Mrs. Hutchinson's friends and adherents were on the eve of embarking to this country. This gave alarm to the people, and that they might guard against so great an evil, in 1637 the general court took the matter into hand. They intended to preserve entire the absolute power of the church at the expense of humanity and ordinary justice. The general court passed a severe law against entertaining strangers in their houses, or selling lands to them, or affording aid, as, we now conceive, the common principles of humanity enjoin. By the two laws above mentioned, the right of expressing an opinion of censure, or making any comments upon the doings of ministers or magistrates, and of showing hospitality and kindness to strangers, were wholly taken away and rendered highly penal. It would require a wonderful degree of chymical knowledge in politics and religion, to find a single principle, upon which our republican liberty of any kind could claim growth and residence at this time. For the liberties of our country we must look to other sources than the principles of our ancestors at that day, or till long after the restoration of Charles II. For the government was completely ecclesiastical, and equally arbitrary and despotic as any government in all Christendom.

Our early historians dwelt much upon remarkable providences, and the frowns and favours of God; so that His clear and manifest counsels were open and known to the people. If a heretic should die of a fever, break a limb, be taken captive by the Indians, or killed by them, they would see, in all this, the just anger of Heaven, and deserved punishment and displeasure of God towards them. Should the same pious historians revisit New England, and see the great variety of sects, and not one pursuing the course of the then dominant party, they would think that our Heavenly Father had neglected his business, and ceased from his watchful care; otherwise we should all have been exterminated without distinction, for having violated the primitive and puritanic faith. They might bewail our departure, but if they possessed the kindly feelings of humanity, they would rejoice to see errors corrected, abuses reformed, and the principles of justice and charity widely extended; so that, except in some strongly excited people, shadowed by ignorance and strong and gloomy prepossessions, the different sects live in harmony, without any provocation, unless it be "to provoke one another to love and good works."

Our ancestors separated from all other religious sects by their own acts, and guarding at every corner against heresy, soon became sensible that time would shortly lessen the number of elders and teachers, and many more would be required to supply destitute flocks, daily increasing by natural growth of population, and by emigration. Those who could afford to send their sons to the mother country for an education, would not harbour the thought of exposing them to the heresies of the established church of England; and above all, on their return to the province, these sons would be a medium to communicate doctrines so much detested. There were very few in the province of sufficient wealth to give their sons an education in a distant country. All these circumstances combined, our progenitors looked to their own resources, and resolved to educate their sons at home for the ministry, the only liberal profession of that day, and in fact, all that was great and good in society. For this purpose, a college was established in Cambridge as early as the year 1638, for the sole and express purpose of educating and raising up a learned ministry. Common and public schools were also established, that the youth might be able to read the scriptures and the standard works of puritanic faith and discipline in our churches.

Cotton Mather, who wrote voluminously and reasoned sparingly, if he reasoned at all, states explicitly the object of the founders of our college, and the object of our common and public schools. This writer says nothing upon the principles of civil liberty, nor does he any where advocate the rights of conscience and private judgment in matters of religion. These were unknown in his day, and his writings serve only to show the darkness of the mental atmosphere. Dr. Mather filled a great space in his time, both in church and state—for church included both. In his writings we have specimens of the greatest fanaticism, the most shameless credulity, that ever escaped the lips or pen of mortals. His account of the flying vessel and the Salem witchcraft, and the latter upon his own knowledge, are enough to give a lasting stamp upon his own character, and mark in capitals the spirit of the times. We hope not to offend by our remarks; but we would rather wish that our institutions, so wisely calculated for the happiness of our nation, and as blazing examples to the world, should be traced to their true and legitimate sources. We have so long been in the habit of extolling our brave and venerable forefathers, as if they came pure from the regions of blessedness, pious, devout, and patriotic, that they with political foresight laid the foundation of our republican liberties, that we shall not be disappointed if we do not obtain full credence, when we state, that our liberties, both civil and religious, were accidental, rather than designed. We have no need to call to our aid any thing like a fabulous origin of our race—we have no need of a "*she wolf*" to nurture our ancestors, or to carry off in a tempest the founders of our churches. We have only to follow the march of mind, attended with local circumstances, to account for our freedom and our goodly institutions. We ought to value highly every thing done by our fathers, the fruits of which we daily reap; but by no means ought we to suppose that our ancestors had powers and faculties, or wisdom, superior to those of the present generation—for we must remember, that their whole business was to repel the Indians, and acquire possession of their lands, to preserve uniformity of faith and practice in matters of religion, and to guard with sleepless vigilance against heresy.

It is not the present object to censure with severity the acts of the ecclesiastic government of the colony, and much less to apologize for them. We could not offer any thing to extenuate the cruelty, or even guilt, of punishing four Quakers in Boston, with death, about the year 1660, for heresy. This rigour in discipline has often been passed over, if not with applause, certainly with the plea of necessity—this necessity we could never understand. Dr. Increase Mather, once a promoter of these cruel and bloody proceedings, in time relented, and denounced this intolerant spirit. The colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts obtained no advantages by such proceedings, over Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, where religious persecutions have never been known. Governor Winthrop, in the last days of his life, when urged to sign a warrant, to carry into effect the decrees of spiritual domination, said, "I have done too much of this business already," and refused his signature. When such men as Governor Winthrop and Dr. Increase Mather, in the cool of the evening of life, when

objects of earthly power were in subjection to reason and conscience, gave their decided and unequivocal opinion against cruel coercion in matters of faith and modes of worship, what must we think of those of the present day, who stand their professed apologists, and represent the present, compared with former times, as the period of impiety and irreligion?

We know that our fathers have been praised with the extravagance of eulogy, and we acknowledge that they have strong claims upon us for respect and reverential regard, but we cannot bestow upon them any thing of commendation for piety and love of religion beyond what now belongs to the present age. We would ask the most enthusiastic admirer of the puritans, whether he would now desire to exchange his turn of existence, and spend his life with such a people, or wait and stay with the present generation, till he returned to the dust? We believe that he would not be inclined for a change, and we are confident that the present circumstances of our country are such, that no period since the first settlement of it has been equally propitious to the man of science, the artisan, agriculturist, and merchant. The man of benevolence and charity will hail the present as the holyday of holy affections, compared to any former period. We, in fact, belittle ourselves, as did many of the Patrician families in Rome, by a constant strain of panegyric upon our *venerable forefathers, and pious pilgrims*.

Liberty is natural to man, and we can scarcely find an instance since the creation of Adam, that man has not exercised that liberty when in his power. Our ancestors did this, and were cautious in leaving a single trace of neglect in their course. But they did no more than what has been done in the mother country. The British parliament from the time of King John, when they wrested from him his magna charter, which he nor his successors ever observed, unless in extreme peril, and to avoid a revolution, have seized upon every circumstance to extend the liberty of the subject. Even what the British call their constitution at the present day, is an invasion upon what was once the acknowledged rights of the king. The increase of knowledge, directing physical force, is the origin of modern liberty; and this liberty is more or less extensively enjoyed according to the degree of knowledge and other accompanying circumstances favourable or unfavourable to the attainment of the object. The love of liberty was as great in Britain at the commencement of our revolution as in America, but circumstances in regard to the enjoyment of it were different in these two portions of the world.

We would not here be understood, that Great Britain was then ruled in despotism. The person, property, and reputation of the subject, were as well secured and protected at that period in the realm, as at any subsequent time, in this or any other country. Where these rights are secured by permanent and equal laws, aided by the trial by jury, there must be liberty, let the form of government be what it may. We have, in a great measure, in politics, said what our ancestors often repeated in regard to religion, that none could be genuine, except the one of our own creed. The object of religion is to make men good, and the object of government is to make the governed secure in their rights, promote industry, encourage learning and enterprise, and make the nation contented, safe, and happy. When these objects are attained, the names and forms are of minor consideration. The mind of man has never been able to devise a system of government so well adapted to the feelings, habits, and circumstances of a people, as our own is for us; but we should greatly err, should we suppose that our constitution and form of government were suited, under existing circumstances, to almost any other nation in the world.

From the first landing of our ancestors, in New England, till the year 1692, if we except the rule of Sir Edmund Andros, which lasted about two years, all officers were elective. Plymouth and the Massachusetts colonies were as free in the management of their affairs in the election and support of their rulers, as the Commonwealth is now. The lands were parcelled out in such manner that every one had enough, and few had any to spare. A monopoly was not sought, except by Mason and Gorges, who probably failed in the accomplishment of their wishes, for this very reason. Industry and rigid economy were requisite among the early settlers, to obtain the means of subsistence. Almost every settler had a freehold estate, that he would claim as absolute property—he had no tithes, rents, or service to perform, as the condition of his te-

nure. This raised him to the dignity of a peer of the realm, in all respects, but a seat in the house of lords. He acknowledged himself a loyal subject, but felt no gratitude to the king, for he or his ancestors never received any acts of parental kindness for which they should return any sincere acknowledgments. The story of the wrongs which were suffered at home, and the actual labours and hardships endured here, without aid or assistance, were enough to extinguish all sincere regard for king, queen, lords, and commons; and above all, the abhorrence with which they beheld the religion of the court, amounted to absolute hatred.

But from the influence which the French had with the natives, the common enemies of the whites, by means of the Jesuits, our ancestors could look only to the mother country for aid in case of extremity. This almost continual and common danger operated powerfully to restrain and keep within bounds the common and uniform feelings of the colonists towards the parent country. The great number of people, to whom our ancestors were connected by family and friendship, at home, was another tie which bound them to remember Great Britain with partial affection. Our fathers had much more loyalty upon their lips than was felt in their hearts. Until the arrival of the new charter under William and Mary, excepting the short government of Andros, the colonies exercised all the rights and privileges they could desire, and these continued for a period of more than sixty years. Many of the settlers were born and bred with this free exercise of right; so that they could not be divested of it, without an invasion of their best and dearest privileges. The crown took care to control their commerce, and profit by it. The duties levied on goods in England, exported to the colonies, were acquiesced in without a murmur, and these duties being paid by the consumer, were scarcely felt or thought of here.

Sir William Phipps, the first governor under the charter of William and Mary, arrived here in 1692. By this charter, the governor, deputy governor, and secretary, were appointed by the crown. The judicial department was appointed by the executive, at the head of which was the governor, who represented majesty itself. The people chose their representatives, who, in general court, elected a council, to assist in executive duties. The general court could make no laws to have any force or effect, if the crown should disapprove of them within three years from the time they were enacted. Power was reserved to parliament, to make laws, to regulate our trade, and legislate for us in other cases; and these statutes were to be binding upon us. This charter prohibited any religious test in regard to the elective franchise. By this, an end was put to ecclesiastical tyranny; and from the time the provisions of this charter went into operation, we may date the cry of the decay of religion in our country. We may also, with more truth, state the gradual decay of hypocrisy, and from this period, the commencement of bold and correct reasoning, and the introduction of common law and common sense in courts of justice. By all these our liberties were deeply rooted, had their growth, and have arrived to maturity.

When Governor Phipps came here, he found the colonies distracted with ecclesiastical matters, at the old business of hunting out and punishing heresy, to the almost total neglect of civil affairs. Although the people were deprived of a voice in the choice of some of their rulers, they gained much in other respects. They were freed from ecclesiastical domination, under which republican liberty never has, and probably never will be enjoyed. The one depends on an accurate development of our natural rights, and the methods to make them secure against passion, pride, avarice, and hostile attacks at home, and from our enemies abroad; the other depends wholly upon the credulity of the people, and a complete surrender of private judgment and the reasoning powers to fallible man, inflated with spiritual pride, and armed with physical force.

This charter, framed with so much caution as to restrain the colony in all acts of legislation, unless these acts were conformable to royal will and pleasure, left not a trace of liberty to the subject. The resistance to the measures of Great Britain afterwards made by the colonists, could not be for a violation of any rights secured by this charter. The rights exercised under former charters were expressly taken away by this; but the love and fondness of former rights and privileges were increased by privation, and enkindled into a flame the bosoms of the thinking and intelligent men of our

country. They saw nothing but complete and absolute subjection which awaited them. The habits of the people firmly fixed, and the great increase of population, and a good share of knowledge generally diffused among them, and this knowledge, and those habits, all favourable to resist encroachments upon natural rights, excited the jealousy of Britain, and caused her to adopt measures that could not be borne, and such measures as were successfully resisted.

In practice and in principle, the colony lost nothing, but gained much in the emancipation from religious tyranny. Whatever of liberty had been granted was enjoyed, while practicable, and was never forgotten. The recollection of past privileges remained in their minds, fresh as the existence of perpetual spring. These feelings and habits were not to be controlled by charters, and they afford a lasting example of the complete futility of compacts of a national character, when these compacts are opposed to national habits and feelings. In the great question which separated this country from Britain, our fathers did not confine themselves to the provisions of the charter of William and Mary, but claimed the right of representation in parliament, as a condition upon which a revenue should be raised in this country for the use of the crown. This representation they knew was impracticable; and in regard to the revenue, it had been imposed upon them by exactions at home, and acquiesced in for a long period. In fact, our remonstrances and petitions acknowledged the right of parliament "to regulate our trade," even at the commencement of the American revolution. This undoubtedly meant the imposition of import and export duties. We cannot see any difference in principle, whether these duties were collected in a port of Great Britain, or in Boston.

But the difference of places in the exaction of revenue could not alter the principle on which it was exacted; yet place had a powerful effect upon the minds of the scrutinizing and watchful public. Our leading men knew the power and influence which office has upon the people; they knew that these revenue officers were numerically so many spies upon their liberties; and that by style of living and caresses, these officers would allure some, and by that hauteur and manner, the frequent concomitant of handsome salaries, would deter more to a complete acquiescence to the raising a revenue here. The resistance to the acts of these *exactors* shows a degree of sagacity in meeting the insinuating influence of men of rank, from the highest grade down to the petty place-man, and must command our admiration and applause.

The great Earl of Chatham, Burke, and others, who knew well our character, and who were the reputed advocates of the colonies, never pretended that parliament had invaded chartered rights; but the measures pursued by ministers were inexpedient and impolitic, that they had a direct tendency to exasperate the colonists, and injure the dignity and happiness of the British nation. They recommended measures to soothe our feelings and hold fast our trade, but not to surrender a single principle for which we then contended. Had such measures been adopted and pursued, as recommended by the noble earl, the independence of the colonies would have been retarded for more than half a century. The leaders of our revolutionary struggle claimed rights and privileges granted by former charters, which had been annulled, and reasoned from the impulse of habits, and upon the true principles of civil liberty, and they came to results which gained our complete emancipation. With them independence was the grand object from the first and serious difficulties with the parent country. We presented humble and loyal petitions to king and parliament with one hand, while we held the sword in the other. It is not a matter of astonishment, that these petitions were not graciously received. Had the colonies been sufficiently strong, and their strength sufficiently concentrated, these humble petitions would have never been sent across the Atlantic, nor would the date of Lexington battle have been the first in order of conflict.

If positive resistance was not intended, why were companies of minute men organized through the whole colony? What meant our committees of safety and correspondence? Why were magazines of warlike stores placed in various parts of the country? And for what purpose were the British troops under General Gage so narrowly watched, and their particular movements made known in all parts of the colony, while the troops were closely besieged in Bos-

ton by public opinion? Hancock, Patrick Henry, the Adamses, and other distinguished men of that day, knew too well the pride and power of the British nation, to petition the throne in hope of success under such warlike and daring attitudes. They did what will be done in all countries, where the education, habits, and moral feelings of the people, concur to promote so noble an enterprise.

We have seen that the foundation of Harvard College was laid in the fear of propagating heresy, and receiving any thing from the mother country which could possibly entail upon us so great an evil. It must be confessed, that New England, at the time of founding the college, had many learned men among them. But their learning was chiefly confined to the clergy; and we may here acknowledge, in sincerity, that the clergy have been the main depositories of science here from the first settlement of the country, nearly to the present day; and from this class of men, we have received more light and knowledge than from all others. Our fathers looked well to their own resources, and have seldom been remiss in making the most of them. From this we must attribute the degree of advancement in science and the arts, to which New England has attained beyond most of her neighbours. We find the effect of this in the persevering enterprise of our young men and citizens, who have, with much advantage, incorporated themselves with our sister States. In fact, the common and general good has thereby been greatly increased; an impulse has been communicated, which will be felt for generations yet to come.

Virginia, the oldest state in the Union, settled at the expense of the crown, nurtured for years as an only child, felt not the necessity to look to her own resources. She was always dandled in the lap of complaisance. Her religion was congenial to the mother country, and she drew her nourishment from the breast of parental kindness. She had all the assurance and importance of the child of a rich and indulgent father. She sent her youth to Cambridge and Oxford, in England, to be educated, where they were, in many things well instructed, and where they drank deeply of the prejudices against the puritans. To deride with ability our New England habits and principles, and beat poor *Jonathan* soundly, was the first point in a complete *Virginia* education. He felt the dignity of his church, he remembered with pride the loyalty of his colony, during the *Rump* and the protectorate of Cromwell, he contrasted the manners in religious worship between his own and the colonies of New England; while he repeated his liturgy with the "ore rotundo," he could not but feel a hearty disrelish to the *singsong* manner of the puritans, who distorted their faces, and tortured their language, to resemble nothing which belonged to the protestant episcopal church. These northern peculiarities became his pastime, and to transmit them down to succeeding generations, was a labour of some exertion and much pleasure, but at present exercised with limited success.

In Massachusetts every thing which belonged to the episcopal church was treated as antichristian, and carried the mark of the *beast*. Christmas holidays were forbidden by law. Perhaps no two colonies ever existed with more strongly marked and defined antipathies than the Massachusetts and Virginia. Unlike in education and habits, the one driving from her jurisdiction all puritans, the other equally unbending and stern to all episcopalians, separated by a great extent of country, they scarcely felt for each other according to the dictates of a common humanity.

While a law imposing five shillings fine for observing a Christmas holiday in Massachusetts was in force, Virginia gave full scope to all the festivities usual on such occasions in the mother country. The social and convivial feelings of man could not, with alacrity, forego all pastime, and be resigned to abject sobriety in the form of religion. Our ancestors well knew this, and set apart one day in the year, previous to Christmas, as a day of public thanksgiving and praise to our Heavenly Father, for the mercies and favours of the past year. But in this, there should be no resemblance of an episcopal Christmas. We may here observe, that our puritanic institution answered all the purposes of bringing together family, friends, and connexions, and afforded a multitude of enjoyments of the social kind in the short space of one day, before satiety could degenerate into disgust; and much more conveniently suited to good morals and the condition of the people, than the twelve days of Christmas observed by the episcopal church. There can be no doubt that we varied in our food, and substituted pump-

kin pie in room of the antichristian plumb pudding, and used some exertion that our thanksgiving should not resemble a Christmas dinner. Our pies, and manner of reading, and devotional exercises, now caricatured by our southern neighbours, are sufficient proofs that we were offensive to the southern colonies; and from our own establishments and customs, we cannot suppose that they were our favourites.

Virginia was the great mother and leader in the south. She was proud of her ascendancy in the affections of the court, and took to herself a peculiar complacency in regard to religion. She drove from her colony all dissenters from the protestant episcopal church; and, by this ill timed and cruel policy, built up Maryland to become a rival in trade. In return for her affections for the crown and the church, she obtained extensive credit at home, imported largely the luxuries of Europe, and assumed a style of living, and a grandeur of deportment, far beyond any sister colony. It is hard to retrench when the charms of good living are well known to a people. The expense of educating their sons in England, and by private tutors at home, was no addition to economy or frugal habits among the Virginians. Their expenditures were great beyond ordinary income, so that in time a large European balance of debt had gradually increased, and amounted, according to their own statement, to more than they were then able to pay.

While our southern friends lived in much ease and great splendour, eating the luxuries of Europe, and wearing foreign fabrics, and their sons drinking at the full fountains of science in England, we were looking well to our own resources, avoided a large colony debt, and left individuals unembarrassed in their circumstances. Our sons drank of the wells dug by their fathers, and preserved their identity with their countrymen; and if not so learned, they made a favourable impression upon the public on the side of economy and simplicity of manners. All this was accomplished here from the fear of heresy and hatred of the episcopal church. We cannot trace the origin of our college, and the establishment of our schools, to other sources. This fear and hatred did not exist in Virginia, and there public education was wholly neglected. The college of William and Mary was early established, but has had only a languishing existence. The fact is, the people took no degree of interest in the establishment, and sent most of their sons abroad, or without the colony, to be educated. This must ever be the issue of all literary establishments under the like circumstances.

During this period, our New England colleges were well appreciated by the people, and generously patronized; and have proved sources of great moral and political worth to the public. From them, we have obtained a rank in the literary world beyond our neighbours of the south, and the moral impulse given by them to all classes of people here, are such as distinguish us from our less fortunate neighbours. But we can by no means say, that these effects of education were designed, or even contemplated, by our ancestors—they are, in fact, the production of accident. We can neither believe, that the Virginia policy was so pursued to produce the effects already witnessed. Virginia has never been charged with the want of self-love and self-respect, nor with the want of acute discernment to ascertain her own interest, nor with not bringing forward the measures to promote it. The different results, in regard to education, in both Massachusetts and Virginia, must be attributed to accident, rather than design. Should we say that they were designed, we should claim a compliment for ourselves, of which our fathers never dreamed, and of which Cotton Mather, in his time, never heard, or he would have placed it in his *Magnalia*; and at the same time, we should cast a reproach on Virginia, which she ought not to bear, and which she by no means deserves.

But the pride and aristocracy of Virginia have been equal to that of lords, dukes, and nobles. She could not assume any thing on the score of her resources beyond her sisters, and nothing from her origin and ancestry, which could be subjects of boasting. Many, very many, were descended from mothers "who came to try their luck in Virginia," and were purchased by their sires with tobacco, at prices according to the quality and soundness of the article. The resources of that commonwealth at the present day, and also her industry, hardly keep pace with the other states in the

Union. She has produced men who would do credit to any civilized nation in the world, and one, whom we all acknowledge was emphatically the father of his country; yet, for many years, her influence in the councils of the nation has declined with the decline of party feeling, and her overwhelming influence and power recede in proportion to the test we have made from experience. We could wish to cast a veil over some portion of what has been, but we would by no means attribute any thing to corrupt motives. We must blame ourselves, that we elected many to the office of public servants, who had little knowledge, and less political honesty. These men, without much training, stood on their ground, and kept their ranks filled, in array against their own constituents; and the victory being now won, it is with reluctance that the victors lay aside their weapons. But we hope not to arouse any unpleasant feelings, or blow into a blaze the embers which a long time have been sleeping.

At the commencement of the revolutionary war, the most difficult thing for solution is, that all the colonies united and made common cause against the parent country. As has been already observed, Massachusetts in the east, and Virginia in the south, were the two great and leading colonies. They were not equally oppressed by king and parliament; the one, a favourite of the court, and shared largely of the royal bounty and favour—the other, never a favourite, alienated in affection from oppression at home, and heavy exactions abroad, and both differing in religious forms and creeds, and obnoxious and hateful to each other on that account. How happened it, that they should both coalesce in decided opposition to the mother country? How could men unite in arms, and in their physical energies, when they could not mingle their prayers at the altar of their common God?

The Massachusetts colony was oppressed and cruelly treated, and the measures adopted against her, were unworthy of the British crown and nation. But these oppressions were not dealt out to the colonies generally—some of them had no cause of complaint; but all had cause to fear the weight of the heavy hand laid upon Massachusetts. They undoubtedly viewed the measures of king and parliament, as a rod in *terrorem*. If the oppressed colony had submitted, the restrictions and exactions imposed were so great, that the discontented and aggrieved would have soon left it, and sought a residence in some of the sister colonies, less oppressed and less aggrieved. They would have carried with them a discontented spirit, and a spirit desirous of the enjoyment of political liberty, and would, from the natural propensity of man, have carried this spirit and infused it at the place of migration. The vindictive temper of parliament would have watched with sleepless vigilance every motion of the malcontents, and have visited, in vials of wrath, every symptom of disloyalty and disobedience; so that, sooner or later, each colony might expect a similar course of measures adopted for her, as had been imposed on the colony of Massachusetts. These are such reasonings, as might, we think, have been used with propriety at the epoch of our revolution. They were in some degree familiar with the statesmen of the several colonies, we well know; but that other circumstances strongly operated in the decision of the colonies to meet force with force, and "try the tug of war," is equally well known.

From the character of the people of New England, and their warlike preparations, the other colonies could not doubt her intentions to manfully resist the cruel acts of parliament, and the first rencounter with the veteran soldiers of England, fully justified this anticipation, and taught the haughty Briton a lesson of circumspection, which lasted for more than seven years. For one colony to assist in enslaving the others, would have been subversive of the principles of common justice, and would, at the same time, have been an avowal of sentiments which would have prepared the way for complete slavery with themselves. But, we apprehend, although similar reflections had weight with the Virginians, there was another subject equally weighty, which fixed their resolution to make common cause with New England in resisting the parent country.

The great amount of debt due from the merchants and planters of Virginia, to creditors in England, was more than they were able to pay; and it was expected, that a war with Britain, ending in the independence of the colonies, would fully liquidate and cancel this great amount. Two great and important objects, then, would be attained. This position is greatly strengthened, if not fully con-

firmed, by subsequent facts, which took place in the State of Virginia, and in the halls of Congress. The violent opposition made to the commercial treaty of 1794, between the United States and Great Britain, commonly called Jay's treaty, must lead to the conclusion, that the payment of these debts by the war, was not an insignificant object in the struggle. The most active and strenuous opposers of measures which were adopted to carry into effect that treaty, by which British subjects should find no impediments in collecting the debts of our citizens, were peculiarly caressed, loaded with honours, and overwhelmed in the affections of the people. On the other hand, those in Congress who laboured for its ratification, and struggled hard and successfully to procure the measures necessary to carry this treaty into effect, were loaded with reproach, and Washington himself did not escape without severe censure.

After a lapse of thirty years, we can look back upon transactions, and weigh circumstances and opinions, and find many ingredients which, in the smoke and heat of passion, were wholly obscured. What is called patriotism, is often the result of some sordid self-interest, some unhallowed prejudice or violent hatred, and much sagacity and dispassionate judgment are requisite in forming and giving a correct decision upon public measures in time of great political excitement. It is no certain mark that a man tenderly loves his own family, because he bitterly hates his neighbour. We have several flagrant and well authenticated instances which transpired during the late war with England, and which show that some public men regarded their own private interest more than they did the public good or the laws of the land; and what has been, we again expect under the like circumstances.

In regard to education, Virginia has commenced where Massachusetts began nearly two hundred years ago, by founding a college and using laudable efforts for its encouragement and support; but in one particular, she differs much from us. She has imported largely in teachers from Europe to fill the several seats of instruction in her new college; and in this particular, it is hoped, that the balance of trade will not be against her. But there is something in this importation which shows a want of knowledge of the character of New England men, and of their literary acquirements, or a strong partiality to England, indicative of a return to "her first love;" and that Virginia should prefer gentlemen bred and educated in a monarchical government, to teach republican principles and enforce republican habits, is strange indeed. The time has been, when such an act in New England would have substantiated, in the mind of a Virginian, "a bold and wicked attempt to dissolve our Federal Union, and again put ourselves under the protection and government of the British king."

New England has often been arraigned at the public tribunal, on information of the ancient colony, and charged with crimes and heresies—to all which, New England has pleaded not guilty, and hath put herself upon posterity. New England could not subscribe to the requirements of the south, and the south has been too proud to confess an error, but come to the right about; yet still persists, that she has not changed the line of march. We care not, whether the people discover it, or not; but in a practical point of view, this change of course is of some importance—for we have never considered public men raised to a high degree of sublimation, who could act contrary to their public and openly declared convictions and settled principles.

Climate and productions have, and always will cause, a difference in manners and customs in all countries, as well as the origin of the inhabitants. But as it respects New England, Virginia, and some of the southern states, the lines of distinction which so plainly defined them, are now less vivid and fresh; the original demarcations were imported into both sections nearly at the same time. These limits have continued, and probably will continue for centuries to come. Although the partition wall of separation is broken down, yet the effects of this wall will long remain. We have now no religious test, nor any tribunal, thank God, to punish by banishment, fines, imprisonment, stripes, and death, for heresy; but we have some imaginary lines of distinction, which will be done away in time.

Since many in the south laid a foundation to fame and consequence, by their opposition to Jay's treaty, and by that means have provided well for themselves and families, by a monopoly of honourable and lucrative offices, it would be fair and just to bring

again this subject, as well as many others connected with it, and growing out of it, before the public; for at the public tribunal all public measures must be tested, and have their award of merit or demerit, accordingly as the people are benefitted or injured by such measures. Such a course is due, not only to individuals, but to the nation,—that we look dispassionately upon measures, at the cool of the present time, and take a fair and manly view of the whole. Mr. Jay is not alive, but his worth and worthiness are not questioned by the most fastidious and squeamish politicians, who contribute their effusions to the veriest sinks of the nation. We should look back to the object of our departure, and examine well the course which we have steered, to the motives and skill of our pilots, in order to come to a correct conclusion, whether our voyage, under all circumstances, has been so prosperous as it ought, or might have been, under the direction of dispassionate councils and prudent and firm management. The above subject, and many others, which have agitated and convulsed the public mind, demand investigation. The present generation owe it to posterity and to the world.

The New England people, from the first arrival of the puritans upon our shores, as far as their limited and intolerant principles of religion would admit, have uniformly been republican in habits and in manners. If not so from inclination, and a common feeling, they were republican from circumstances, all being involved in common labour and industry, and from the absolute necessity of situation. Our fathers have left our common schools, and a wholesome law, to perpetuate them in their high standing and purity; our colleges and churches, as lasting monuments of their moral and political excellence. In vain shall we look to other portions of the United States for similar and noble establishments. We would not boast of our principles, habits, and manners, and the amount of general information among the people, but we have a right to make these observations with some self-gratulation. Our fathers, or those of the present day, have not been republican in theory and aristocratic in practice. There has been a harmony in principle and practice, which has emanated from a long and practical observance of the natural rights of man, brought in subserviency to his most substantial good. We choose the dull and slow method of determining differences, wherein the dearest rights of the citizen are concerned, by established laws and legal forms, to the quick and capricious decision of the rifle. In sober and correct thinking, we have without doubt surpassed the south; but in genuine hospitality and cordial reciprocation of kindly feelings, we cannot claim any superiority. But the great and prominent events, which have in appearance divided the north from the south, will in some day be analyzed, and honour will be given to whom honour is due. Posterity will demand a severe investigation, and will not be silenced or satisfied by a few cant phrases and epithets. Some Hume or Robertson will rise up, and place before posterity the deeds of our fathers and our contemporaries, with their proper lights and shades, for the instruction of generations yet to come. The records of our time will afford ample and sufficient materials.

The great contest in our happy republic is for place and power. We cannot think that these can give so many joys, and the satisfactions of a brief hour upon the stage can have so many charms, that every fibre of mind and body should be exerted to attain them. The mind must reach to posterity, and anticipate the solid and lasting honours to be bestowed by after ages for good and upright conduct. Nero and Caligula, in their own time, had their respective eulogists, as well as Aurelius. Upon their characters, public opinion is fixed; the names of the two former have become epithets denoting the worst and most malignant combination of qualities that ever existed in the mind of man. Let not the fortunate aspirant from any section of our country, indulge the thought, that he shall pass on unnoticed by subsequent historians. They will tear off the mask of the hypocrite, and show the deformity and true lineaments of his face. Facts will be faithfully recorded and preserved, and will speak for themselves, when present interest, prejudice, and partiality, will be for ever buried. Perhaps such an historian of the events since the formation of our constitution, need not at present give the result of his labours to the public, since some, and even many, of the great actors are now alive, who took conspicuous parts in many important transactions; but he might with much propriety have in readiness a faithful narrative of all

CHAPTER VI.

RHODE ISLAND.

THE circumstances which originated the settlement of Providence and Rhode Island, have necessarily been recorded in the history of the Massachusetts colony. In the year 1634, Roger Williams being banished, for his too liberal opinions, or for his zeal

important events from the close of the revolutionary war to the close of the administration of President Washington. This period will include a time of great labour and much and complicated difficulty; a period, the events of which, should be well studied, and completely understood, by every freeman of the United States. In this time, the French revolution which convulsed all Europe, and shook to its centre our republic, burst forth like a tempest, threatening general destruction. In this period, our own politicians were fruitful in conjectures as to the results of our own struggle, and the throbs and throes of France. We owe much, and perhaps our national existence, to the cool dispassionate judgment and unbending firmness of the distinguished individual then at the head of our nation. But most of his constitutional advisers, and others, who co-operated with him, in this time of peril, are forgotten; their labours are no longer mentioned with applause, nor a single pulse beats in lively gratitude for the services of the patriotic dead, nor is sincere respect shown for the living.

We boast not of our ancestry, but claim an origin equally respectable as that of any portion of our country. Our public schools and colleges, founded by our ancestors, are so many monuments of our moral and intellectual worth. These monuments we have preserved, beautified, strengthened, and adorned; they will last, and increase in grandeur and utility, till we, as a people, shall be completely changed.

The foregoing observations on the first settlement of our country, were communicated to me by a shrewd and deep thinking New England historian, and we believe will give the reader much information, and great pleasure, though he may not agree with him in all his reasoning.—*American Editor.*

* The spot where Mr. Williams and his companions landed, was within the jurisdiction of the Narraganset Indians.* The sachems of this tribe were Canonicus, and his nephew Miantinomo. The former was an old man, and he probably associated with him his young nephew, as better fitted to sustain the toils and cares of royalty. Their residence is said by Gookin to have been about Narraganset Bay, and on the island of Canonicut.

The first object of Mr. Williams would naturally be, to obtain from the sachems a grant of land for his new colony. He probably visited them, and received a verbal cession of the territory, which, two years afterwards, was formally conveyed to him by a deed. This instrument may properly be quoted here:†

“At Narraganset, the 24th of the first month, commonly called March, the second year of the plantation or planting at Moshassuck, or Providence; Memorandum, that we, Canonicus and Miantinomo, the two chief sachems of Narraganset, having two years since sold unto Roger Williams the lands and meadows upon the two fresh rivers, called Moshassuck and Wanasquatucket, do now, by these presents, establish and confirm the bounds of these lands, from the river and fields of Pawtucket, the great hill of Notaquoncanot, on the northwest, and the town of Mashapaug, on the west.‡

* “Under the general name of Narraganset, were included Narraganset proper, and Coweset. Narraganset proper extended south from what is now called Warwick, to the ocean; Coweset, from Narraganset northerly to the Nipmuck country, which now forms Oxford, (Mass.) and some other adjoining towns. The western boundaries of Narraganset and Coweset cannot be definitely ascertained. Gookin says, the Narraganset jurisdiction extended thirty or forty miles from Seekonk river and Narraganset Bay, including the islands, southwesterly to a place called Wekapage, four or five miles to the eastward of Pawcatuck river; that it included a part of Long Island, Block Island, Coweset, and Niantick, and received tribute from some of the Nipmucks. After some research, I am induced to believe, that the Nianticks occupied the territory now called

in promulgating them, by the general court of Massachusetts, repaired to Seekonk; but being informed by the governor of Plymouth, that that place was within the limits of the colony, he proceeded to Mooshausic, where, in 1636, with those friends who followed him, he began a plantation. He purchased the land of the Indians,* and, in acknowledgment of the kindness of Heaven in affording him a shelter from his perse-

We also, in consideration of the many kindnesses and services he hath continually done for us, both with our friends of Massachusetts, as also at Connecticut, and Apaum, or Plymouth, we do freely give unto him all that land from those rivers reaching to Pawtuxet river; as also the grass and meadows upon the said Pawtuxet river. In witness whereof, we have herenunto set our hands.

The mark (a bow) of CANONICUS.

The mark (an arrow) of MIANTINOMO.

In the presence of

The mark of SOHASH.

The mark of ALSOMUNSI.

“1639. Memorandum. 3d Month, 9th day, this was all again confirmed by Miantinomo. He acknowledged, that he also [illegible]§ and gave up the streams of Pawtucket and Pawtuxet, without limits, we might have for our use of cattle.

Witness hereof,

ROGER WILLIAMS,
BENEDICT ARNOLD.”

The lands thus ceded to Mr. Williams he conveyed to twelve men, who accompanied, or soon joined him, reserving for himself an equal part only. Before we narrate the particulars of this transaction, a few remarks are necessary.

It appears from the tenor of the deed, and from other evidence, that the original sale included only the lands mentioned in the first part of the deed. These are said by the sachems to have been “sold” to Mr. Williams. The grass and meadows on Pawtuxet river are said to be given to him, in consideration of his services.

An interesting question, which occasioned much debate in the early times of the colony, claims consideration here. Were the lands, ceded by the sachems, so conveyed, that they became the property of Roger Williams himself, and might he, with justice and honour, have sold or retained them, as he pleased? An answer to this question will throw light on his subsequent conduct.

The conveyance in the deed is made to him alone. The title, consequently, was vested in him, so far as the instrument went. But this fact does not decide the point. It was a subject of accusation against him, that the conveyance was not made to him and his associates. Did he, then, act on behalf of others, as well as for himself?

If his own solemn and often repeated assertions are worthy of credit, he obtained the lands by his own money and influence, and might have held them as his property.

He argues the case at large, in his letter to the Commissioners, in 1677, to whom he was accused of unfair conduct respecting the lands.

He asserts, in the first place, “It is not true, that I was employed by any, was supplied by any, or desired any to come with me into these parts. My soul’s desire was, to do the natives good, and to that end to learn their language, (which I afterwards printed,) and therefore desired not to be troubled with English company.”

Westerly. If so, then the jurisdiction of the Narragansets extended to the Pawcatuck, and perhaps beyond it.”—Whatcheer, Notes, p. 176.

† This is transcribed from a copy furnished by John Howland, Esq. It differs a little from that contained in Backus, vol. i. p. 89. The orthography is conformed to modern usage.

‡ “The great hill, Notaquoncanot, mentioned as a bound, is three miles west from Weybosset bridge. Mashapaug is about two miles south of the hill.—J. H.”

§ Mr. Backus (vol. i. p. 90) has this reading: “He acknowledged this his act and hand; up the streams,” &c. But the reading in the text is retained, according to Mr. Howland’s copy. The deed was written by Roger Williams, but the memorandum by some other person.

cutors, he called his new abode Providence. Acting in conformity with the wise and liberal principle he had avowed, and previously maintained, he allowed

He adds, that "out of pity, he gave leave to several persons to come along in his company." He makes the same statement in his deed of 1661:—"I desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience. I then considering the condition of divers of my distressed countrymen, I communicated my said purchase unto my loving friends, [whom he names,] who then desired to take shelter here with me."

It seems, then, that his original design was to come alone, probably to dwell among the Indians, and do them good; but he altered his plan, and resolved to establish a refuge for those who might flee from persecution. The project was his own, and worthy of his generous and liberal mind. He certainly was not employed, as an agent to purchase lands for others. He uses another argument: "I mortgaged my house in Salem (worth some hundreds) for supplies to go through, and, therefore, was it a single business."

Having thus shown that he acted for himself, and on his own responsibility, he states, that the lands were procured from the sachems by his influence alone. He enumerates several advantages which he enjoyed in this negotiation: "1. A constant, zealous desire to dive into the natives' language. 2. God was pleased to give me a painful, patient spirit, to lodge with them in their filthy, smoky holes, (even while I lived at Plymouth and Salem,) to gain their tongue. 3. I spared no cost towards them, and in gifts to Ousamequin, yea, and all his, and to Canonicus, and all his, tokens and presents, many years before I came in person to the Narraganset, and when I came, I was welcome to Ousamequin, and to the old prince Canonicus, who was most shy of all English, to his last breath. 4. I was known by all the Wampanoags and the Narragansets to be a public speaker at Plymouth and Salem, and, therefore, with them, held as a sachem. 5. I could debate with them (in a great measure) in their own language. 6. I had the favour and countenance of that noble soul, Mr. Winthrop, whom all Indians respected."

He proceeds to state, respecting Canonicus, that "it was not thousands nor tens of thousands of money could have bought of him an English entrance into this bay."

In the deed, already quoted, he says, "By God's merciful assistance, I was the procurer of the purchase, not by moneys nor payment, the natives being so shy and jealous, that moneys could not do it, but by that language, acquaintance and favour with the natives, and other advantages, which it pleased God to give me; and also bore the charges and venture of all the gratuities, which I gave to the great sachems, and other sachems round about us, and lay engaged for a loving and peaceable neighbourhood with them, to my great charge and travel."

* See above. He adds, "It hath been told me, that I laboured for a licentious and contentious people; that I have foolishly parted with town and colony advantages, by which I might have preserved both town and colony in as good order as any in the country about us." The following letter from his son may be properly quoted here, as confirming the preceding statements:

"To all them that deem themselves purchasers in the town of Providence, if they be real purchasers, I would have them make it appear.

"Gentlemen,

"I thought good in short to present you with these few lines, concerning the bounds of Providence, &c. I have put forth several queries to several men in the township, to be answered; but have not any answer from any of them; and, as I judge, doth not care to have any discourse about it. Therefore, now I speak to you all, desiring your honours will be pleased to consider of the matter, and to answer me to one or two queries; that is, whether you have any thing under my father's hand to prove the bounds of this town afore those twelve men were concerned; or whether my father disposed of any of the township to any other persons since the twelve men were first in power, &c. If my father had disposed or sold his whole township, and they he sold it to, or have it under his hand, prove the sale, although it was but for one penny, God forbid that ever I should open my mouth about it, &c. It is evident, that this township was my father's, and it is held in his name against all unjust clamours, &c. Can you find such another now alive, or in this age?

entire freedom of conscience to all who came within his borders, and set the first practical example of the perfect equality of all religious sects in the same poli-

These facts prove, that the lands were granted to Mr. Williams, as a personal favour, as an expression of gratitude on the part of the sachems, and as a remuneration for presents which they had been receiving from him for several years. Mr. Williams, then, was entitled to make the assertion, which is contained in his touching letter to the town of Providence, in 1654: "I have been blamed for parting with Moshassuck, and afterwards Pawtuxet, (which were mine own, as truly as any man's coat upon his back,) without reserving to myself a foot of land, or an inch of voice, more than to my servants and strangers."

Mr. Williams was thus the legal proprietor of the lands which were ceded to him, and he might have remained so, if he had pleased. He had a clear title from the Indians, and he had, a few years later certainly, sufficient influence with the rulers in England, to obtain a recognition of his rights, and a confirmation of his authority. He might, doubtless, have been, like William Penn, the proprietary of his colony, and might have exercised a control over its government. He would, we may easily believe, have exercised his authority as wisely and beneficially as the great legislator of Pennsylvania. The peace of his settlement and his own comfort would, perhaps, have been promoted, if he had retained this power awhile, instead of committing it to the whole company of settlers, among whom, from the nature of the colony, as a refuge for "all sorts of consciences," some heterogeneous and discordant tempers might be expected to find admission. That he was blamed for this conduct, we know from his letter to the town of Providence, already quoted;* and as that letter was written soon after his return from England, we may infer, that the censure came from leading men there.

But he chose to found his colony on pure democratic principles; as a commonwealth, where all civil power should be exercised by the people alone, and where God should be the only ruler over the conscience.

We will now relate the facts respecting his division of the lands among his associates.

The persons who accompanied him, at his first landing, were William Harris, John Smith, Joshua Verin, Thomas Angell, and Francis Wickes. Several others joined him at various times, previously to October 8, 1638, on which day Mr. Williams executed an instrument, of the following tenor:†

"Providence, 8th of the 8th month, 1638, (so called.)

"Memorandum, that I, Roger Williams, having formerly purchased of Canonicus and Miantinomo, this our situation, or plantation, of New Providence,‡ viz. the two fresh rivers, Wanasquatucket and Moshassuck, and the grounds and meadows thereupon;

He gave away his lands and other estate, to them that he thought were most in want, until he gave away all, so that he had nothing to help himself, so that he being not in a way to get for his supply, and being ancient, it must needs pinch somewhere. I do not desire to say what I have done for both father and mother. I judge they wanted nothing that was convenient for ancient people, &c. What my father gave, I believe he had a good intent in it, and thought God would provide for his family. He never gave me but about three acres of land, and but a little afore he deceased. It looked hard, that out of so much at his disposing, that I should have so little, and he so little. For the rest, &c. I did not think to be so large; so referring your honours to those queries you have among you,

"Your friend and neighbour,

"DANIEL WILLIAMS.

"Providence, Aug. 24, 1810.

"If a covetous man had that opportunity as he had, most of this town would have been his tenants, I believe. D. W."

† The first deed was "written in a strait of time and haste," as he alleged, and contained only the initials of the names of the grantees. He was censured for this by some of them, as if he had done it for some sinister design! They urged him to give them another deed, which he finally did, on the 22d of December, 1666, when the document in the text was written, retaining the original date.

‡ The name, *New Providence*, appears in a few documents written by Mr. Williams himself, and by others, but it was soon discontinued. The

tical community. Nor was his benevolence confined to his civilized brethren; he laboured to enlighten, improve, and conciliate the savages; he learned their

in consideration of thirty pounds received from the inhabitants of said place, do freely and fully pass, grant, and make over equal right and power of enjoying and disposing of the same grounds and lands, unto my loving friends and neighbours, Stukely Westcott, William Arnold, Thomas James, Robert Cole, John Greene, John Throckmorton, William Harris, William Carpenter, Thomas Olney, Francis Weston, Richard Waterman, Ezekiel Holliman, and such others as the major part of us shall admit into the same fellowship of vote with us:—As also I do freely make and pass over equal right and power of enjoying and disposing of the lands and grounds reaching from the aforesaid rivers unto the great river Pawtuxet, with the grass and meadows thereupon, which was so lately given and granted by the aforesaid sachems to me. Witness my hand,

“ROGER WILLIAMS.”

On the 20th of December, 1661, the following deed was executed. It is inserted here, because it is an interesting document, and it throws much light on the transactions which we are considering.

“Be it known unto all men by these presents, that I, Roger Williams, of the town of Providence, in the Narraganset Bay, in New England, having, in the year one thousand six hundred thirty-four, and in the year one thousand six hundred thirty-five, had several treaties with Canonicus and Miantinomo, the two chief sachems of the Narraganset, and in the end purchased of them the lands and meadows upon the two fresh rivers called Moshassuck and Wanasquatucket, the two sachems having, by a deed, under their hands, two years after the sale thereof, established and confirmed the bounds of these lands from the rivers and fields of Pawtucket, the great hill of Notaguoncanot on the north-west, and the town of Mashapaug on the west, notwithstanding I had the frequent promise of Miantinomo, my kind friend, that it should not be land that I should want about these bounds mentioned, provided that I satisfied the Indians there inhabiting. I having made covenant of peaceable neighbourhood with all the sachems and natives round about us, and having, of a sense of God’s merciful Providence unto me in my distress, called the place Providence, I desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience. I then considering the condition of divers of my distressed countrymen, I communicated my said purchase unto my loving friends, John Throckmorton, William Arnold, William Harris, Stukely Westcott, John Greene, Senior, Thomas Olney, Senior, Richard Waterman, and others, who then desired to take shelter here-with me, and in succession unto so many others as we should receive into the fellowship and society of enjoying and disposing of the said purchase; and besides the first that were admitted, our town records declare, that afterwards we received Chad Brown, William Field, Thomas Harris, Senior, William Wickenden, Robert Williams, Gregory Dexter, and others, as our town book declares; and whereas, by God’s merciful assistance, I was the procurer of the purchase, not by moneys nor payment, the natives being so shy and jealous that moneys could not do it, but by that language, acquaintance, and favour with the natives, and other advantages, which it pleased God to give me, and also bore the charges and venture of all the gratuities, which I gave to the great sachems and other sachems and natives round about us, and lay engaged for a loving and peaceable neighbourhood with them, to my great charge and travel; it was therefore thought fit by some loving

language, travelled among them, and gained the entire confidence of their chiefs; and had often the happiness, by his influence over them, of saving from

friends, that I should receive some loving consideration and gratuity, and it was agreed between us, that every person, that should be admitted into the fellowship of enjoying land and disposing of the purchase, should pay thirty shillings unto the public stock; and first, about thirty pounds should be paid unto myself, by thirty shillings a person, as they were admitted; this sum I received, and in love to my friends, and with respect to a town and place of succour for the distressed, as aforesaid, I do acknowledge the said sum and payment as full satisfaction; and whereas in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-seven,* so called, I delivered the deed subscribed by the two aforesaid chief sachems, so much thereof as concerneth the aforementioned lands, from myself and from my heirs, unto the whole number of the purchasers, with all my power, right and title therein, reserving only unto myself one single share equal unto any of the rest of that number; I now again, in a more formal way, under my hand and seal, confirm my former resignation of that deed of the lands aforesaid, and bind myself, my heirs, my executors, my administrators and assigns, never to molest any of the said persons already received, or hereafter to be received into the society of purchasers, as aforesaid; but that they, their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, shall at all times quietly and peaceably enjoy the premises and every part thereof, and I do further by these presents bind myself, my heirs, my executors, my administrators and assigns, never to lay any claim, nor cause any claim to be laid, to any of the lands aforementioned, or unto any part or parcel thereof, more than unto my own single share, by virtue or pretence of any former bargain, sale or mortgage whatsoever, or jointures, thirds or entails made by me, the said Roger Williams, or of any other person, either for, by, through or under me. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the twentieth day of December, in the present year one thousand six hundred sixty-one.

“ROGER WILLIAMS, (Seal.†)”

“Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of us, Thomas Smith, Joseph Carpenter. Memorandum, the words, of the purchase, were interlined before these presents were sealed. I, Mary Williams, wife unto Roger Williams, do assent unto the premises. Witness my hand, this twentieth day of December, in this present year one thousand six hundred sixty-one.

The mark of (M. W.) MARY WILLIAMS.‡

“Acknowledged and subscribed before me,

“WILLIAM FIELD, Assistant.

“Enrolled, April the 6th, 1662, pr. me,

“THOMAS OLNEY, Junr., Town Clerk.”

From this document, it appears, that the twelve person to whom the lands, on the Moshassuck and Wanasquatucket rivers, were conveyed by Mr. Williams, did not pay him any part of the thirty pounds, which he received; but that the sum of thirty shillings was exacted of every person who was afterwards admitted, to form a common stock. From this stock, thirty pounds were paid to Mr. Williams, for the reasons mentioned in the instrument last quoted.

For the lands on the Pawtuxet river, however, Mr. Williams received twelve-thirteenths of twenty pounds, from the twelve persons named in the deed of October 8, 1638. On the same day, the following instrument was executed:—

“It is agreed, this day abovesaid, that all the meadow grounds at Pawtuxet, bounding upon the fresh river, on both sides, are to be

the purchasers. This deed was dated March 24, the last day of 1637, old style.

† An anchor, reclining.

‡ We are surprised at the form of this signature. That Mrs. Williams could not write, would be incredible, if it were not rendered certain that she could write, by a reference to her letters, in a public document at Providence. It is probable, that she wrote the initials, believing them to be sufficient; and some person added the words, *the mark of*, and wrote the name at length.

origin of the epithet *New* may have been, a desire to distinguish the town from the island of Providence, one of the Bahama islands, on which a plantation was begun in 1629. Holmes’s *Annals*, vol. i. p. 201. This island has since received the name of New Providence. The town of Roger Williams was entitled to the precedence.

* This seems to be loosely expressed. Mr. Williams could not mean that he delivered the deed to the grantees in 1637, for several of the persons named did not arrive in Providence till after April, 1638. (Backus, vol. i. p. 92.) His own deed of cession is dated Oct. 8, 1638. He probably meant, that he delivered the deed, signed by the sachems in 1637, to

injury the inhabitants of the very colony which had proclaimed him an outlaw, and driven him into the wilderness.*

Two or three years after this, the antinomian con-

impropriated unto those thirteen persons, being now incorporated together in our town of Providence, viz.: Ezekiel Holliman, Francis Weston, Roger Williams, Thomas Olney, Robert Cole, William Carpenter, William Harris, John Throckmorton, Richard Waterman, John Greene, Thomas James, William Arnold, Stukely Westcott; and to be equally divided among them, and every one to pay an equal proportion to raise up the sum of twenty pounds for the same; and if it shall come to pass, that some, or any one, of these thirteen persons aforesaid, do not pay or give satisfaction of his or their equal proportion of the aforesaid sum of twenty pounds, by this day eight weeks, which will be the 17th day of the 10th month next ensuing, then they or he shall leave their or his proportion of meadow grounds unto the rest of those thirteen persons, to be at their disposing, who shall make up the whole sum of twenty pounds, which is to be paid to Roger Williams."

This money was punctually paid on the 3d of December following, and was acknowledged as follows:—

"According to former agreement, I received of the neighbours abovesaid the full sum of 18*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* Per me,

ROGER WILLIAMS."

He thus retained an equal share in the lands on the Pawtuxet river, which were very valuable to the new settlers, on account of the natural meadows along its banks. These lands were afterwards the occasion of a protracted contention.

From the facts which we have stated, it appears, that Mr. Williams generously admitted the first twelve proprietors of the Providence purchase to an equal share with himself, without exacting from them any remuneration. The thirty pounds which he received were paid by succeeding settlers, at the rate of thirty shillings each. But this sum of thirty pounds was not paid to him, as an equivalent for the land. It was, as he calls it, a "loving gratuity," and was intended to remunerate him for the presents which he had given to the Indians, and for the expenses which he had incurred in procuring the lands. But he affirmed, that all which he received was far less than he expended.* The same may be said respecting the money paid for the Pawtuxet lands.

The conduct of Mr. Williams, in these transactions, must be acknowledged to have been highly honourable, disinterested, and liberal. He held the title to the whole territory, and he might, apparently, have amassed wealth and gratified ambition, by retaining the control of the town, and selling the lands, to be held of him as the proprietor. But he renounced all plans of power and emolument; he placed himself on an equality with the other settlers, and surrendered the territory to the whole body of freemen, among whom he claimed no other influence than that which sprung from his personal character. The sum which he received was not even a remuneration for his actual expenses in procuring the territory.

It does not diminish this praise, that the settlers were obliged to satisfy the claims of many individual Indians. The grant from the sachems might, perhaps, have been considered as a full title; but the justice and humanity of Roger Williams and his friends, led them to make compensation to the natives who occupied the territory. The whole sum paid to Mr. Williams and to the Indians, for Providence and Pawtuxet, was stated by William Harris, in 1677, to have been one hundred and sixty pounds.—Knowles's *Memoir of Roger Williams*.

* "He died in April, 1683, at the age of eighty-four years. He seems in the early part of his residence in this country to have been governed in some respects by a blind zeal; but his memory is deserving of lasting honour for the correctness of his opinions respecting liberty of conscience, and for the generous toleration which he established. So superior was he to the meanness of revenge, and such was his magnanimity, that he exerted all his in-

* He found "Indian gifts" very costly. He was under the necessity of making frequent presents. He says, that he let the Indians have his shallop and pinnace at command, transporting fifty at a time, and lodging fifty at his house; that he never denied them any thing lawful; that when

troversy, as it has been called, arose in Massachusetts, and Mrs. Hutchinson, Mr. Coddington, and others, were also banished from that colony.† These persons, with the assistance of Roger Williams, in

fluence with the Indians in favour of Massachusetts, and ever evinced the greatest friendship for the colony from which he had been driven. For some of its principal men he preserved the highest affection, and maintained a correspondence with them. In his controversial writings, especially with Mr. Cotton respecting toleration, he shows himself a master of argument. His talents were of a superior order. In the religious doctrines which he embraced, he seems to have been remarkably consistent. The Scriptures he read in the originals. Though his writings and his conduct in the latter periods of his life evince that he was under the influence of the Christian spirit, yet his mind was so shrouded in doubt and uncertainty, that he lived in the neglect of the ordinances of the gospel. He did not contend, like the quakers, that they were superseded, but found himself incapable of determining to what church it was his duty to unite himself. He would pray and preach with all who would hear him, of whatever denomination. If his conscience had been enlightened, one would suppose, it must have reproved him for not partaking of the sacrament also with different sects. His first baptism he appears to have renounced, not so much because he was dissatisfied with the time or the mode of its administration, as because it was received in the church of England, which he deemed anti-christian. He published a *Key to the Language of America*, or, *A Help to the Tongue of the New England Indians*, 8vo. 1643, which has been lately reprinted in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society; *An Answer to Mr. Cotton's Letter, concerning the Power of the Magistrate in matters of Religion*; *The Bloody Tenet of Persecution for the cause of Conscience*, 1644; *The Bloody Tenet yet more Bloody by Mr. Cotton's endeavour to wash it White in the Blood of the Lamb, &c.*, to which is added, *A Letter to Mr. Endicot*, 4to. 1652; *The Hireling Ministry none of Christ's*, or, *A Discourse on the Propagation of the Gospel of Christ Jesus*; *Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health*, and their Preservatives, London, 1652; *George Fox digged out of his Burrows*, 1676, which was written against Fox and Burrowes, and gives an account of his dispute with the Quakers. An answer to it was published in 1678, entitled, *A New England Fire-Brand Quenched*. An interesting letter of Mr. Williams to Major Mason is preserved in the collections of the Historical Society."—Allen's *Biography*, p. 608, 609.

† "Lastly, Samuel Gorton, and his eleven followers, descending the Narraganset Bay on the west side, settled on Warwick Neck. This flourishing abode of heresy and toleration soon inflamed the religious or official zeal of Governor Winthrop, and a Captain Cook, with an armed party of treble Gorton's number, was despatched with strict orders to bring the heretics to Boston, dead or alive. At the head of this crusade in miniature, marched a holy man, with strict injunctions to keep his soldiers regularly to their prayers, and to explain to Gorton and his deluded followers the whole enormity of their errors before they put them to death. What these errors were, it is immaterial to relate; suffice it to say, they had reference to the most abstruse and speculative doctrines, and were wholly immaterial to christian piety and a good life. Gorton persisted sturdily in the argument against the nuncio of Winthrop, and thinking he had the best of it, refused to acknowledge himself convinced. Cook accordingly gave the word for the onset, and they were made prisoners, and conveyed to Boston. The women and children were dispersed in the woods, and as it was at a time when the ground was covered with snow, several of them actually perished. The rest of these helpless fugitives, after sustaining incredible hardships, were protected, clothed, and hospitably entertained—by savages."—Johnson's *Life of Greene*. "Being brought before the court at Boston, the charge exhibited against them was in the following words:—'Upon much examination, and serious

he established a trading house at Narraganset, Canonius had freely what he desired; and when the old chief was about to die, he sent for Mr. Williams, and "desired to be buried in my cloth, of free gift."

March, 1638, purchased of the Indians, the island of Aquetnee, since called Rhode Island. The settlers at Providence and Rhode Island, were, at first, distinct communities, and had separate governments. Both formed civil compacts for themselves. The inhabitants of Providence, and "all new comers," at first promised "to submit themselves in active and passive obedience to all such orders and agreements as should be made for the public good of the body, in an orderly way, by major consent of the inhabitants." At Rhode Island, the settlers, to the number of eighteen, subscribed to the following civil compact: "We, whose names are underwritten, do hereby solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a body politic; and as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives, and estates, unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, and to all those perfect and absolute laws of his, given in his holy word of truth, to be judged and guided thereby." In 1640, being about forty in number, they combined in a plan of government, as best suited to promote peace and order in their circumstances. William Coddington, was chosen a judge, to do justice and judgment, and to preserve the peace. In March, 1641, at a general court of election, it was unanimously declared, that the government was a democracy, or popular government, and that the power was in the body of the freemen, orderly assembled, or the major part of them, to make or constitute just laws, by which they should be regulated, and to depute from among them such ministers as should see them faithfully executed. It was at the same time ordered, that none should be accounted delinquent for doctrine, provided it be not directly repugnant to the established government and laws.*

When the New England colonies, in 1643, formed the celebrated confederacy, Rhode Island applied to be admitted into the union. Plymouth objected, on the ground that the settlements were within her boundaries. The commissioners decided that Rhode Island might enjoy all the advantages of the confede-

consideration of your writings, with your answers about them, we do charge you to be a blasphemous enemy of the true religion of our Lord Jesus Christ and his holy ordinances, and also of civil authority among the people of God, and particularly in this jurisdiction. Their writings were produced in evidence against them; and they explained them in such a manner, that the governor, Mr. Winthrop, said he could agree with them in their answer, though he could not in their writings; but Mr. Dudley stood up, much moved, and said he would never consent to it while he lived, that they were one with them in those answers. The governor then asked Gorton what faith was? He answered, in the words of the apostle, that "faith is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen;" the governor told him that was true, but he could say more of faith than that. He desired to be excused, and Mr. Bradstreet, prudently enough, excepted to such questions, unless he was free to speak to them; and thereupon they

racy, if she would submit to the jurisdiction of Plymouth; this she resolutely declined, proudly preferring independence to all the benefits of dependent union.

In the year 1644, Roger Williams was deputed to England to obtain of the commissioners of plantations, appointed by Parliament, a new charter. These commissioners granted to the inhabitants of the towns of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, residing in a tract of country, called by the name of Narraganset Bay, bordering northward and north-east on the patent of the Massachusetts, east and south-east on Plymouth patent, south on the ocean, and west and north-west on the country of the Indians, called Narragansets, the whole tract extending about twenty-five English miles unto the Pequod river and country, "a free and absolute charter of incorporation, to be known by the name of the Incorporation of Providence plantations in the Narragansets Bay, in New England, with full power and authority to rule themselves, and such others as shall inhabit in any part of the said tract of land, by such a form of civil government, as by voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of them, they shall find most suitable to their estate and condition; and for that end, to make and ordain such civil laws and constitutions, and to inflict such punishments upon transgressors; and for the execution thereof, so to place and displace officers of justice, as they, or the greatest part of them, should, by free consent, agree thereto;" with a proviso, that the laws, constitutions, and punishments, for the civil government of the plantation, be conformable to the laws of England, so far as the nature and constitution of the place would admit. A court of commissioners, consisting of six persons from each of the towns, was invested with legislative authority, but all acts passed by these commissioners were subject to be repealed by a majority of the freemen assembled in town meetings called for that purpose. A president and four assistants were chosen annually, to be conservators of the peace, with civil powers, and by special commission they were judges of the courts, assisted by

were dismissed and remanded to prison. Their sentences were cruel. Gorton was ordered to be confined to Charles-town, there to be kept at work, and to wear such bolts and irons as might hinder his escape; and if he broke his confinement, or by speech or writing published or maintained any of the blasphemous abominable heresies wherewith he had been charged by the general court, or should reproach or reprove the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ in these united colonies, or the civil government, &c., that upon conviction thereof, upon trial by jury, he should suffer death. The rest were confined to different towns, one in a town, and upon the same conditions with Gorton; their cattle were seized and ordered to be sold, and the charge of fetching them, and the expense attending the trial and imprisonment, to be paid out of the proceeds, and the overplus to be reserved for their future maintenance during their confinement."—Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 120—122

* Pitkin, vol. i. p. 47.

two wardens or justices of the peace in the towns in which the courts were held. Each town elected a council of six persons to manage their own affairs. This council was also a town court, for the trial of causes of inferior magnitude, with a right of appeal to the court of president and assistants. This form of government continued, with little interruption, until a charter was obtained from Charles II. in 1663.

The town of Newport was situated on one of the best harbours in America, and its inhabitants soon engaged in commerce. Their commercial transactions were deemed of so much importance in 1647, as to require laws suited to commercial men and seamen. At this early period, therefore, it was ordered at the court of election, "that the sea laws, otherwise called the laws of Oleron, should be in force among us, for the benefit of seamen, (upon the island,) and the chief officers in the town should have power to summon the court for the case or cases prescribed.*

Upon the application of the inhabitants, in 1663, Charles II. granted a charter to Rhode Island and Providence plantations. The supreme or legislative power was to be exercised by an assembly, which was to consist of the governor, of ten assistants, and of representatives from the several towns, all to be chosen by the freemen. The first meeting of the general assembly, under the new charter, was on the 1st of March, when the government was organized. Among a great variety of ordinances which were enacted by the legislature of this colony, one was for declaring the privileges of his majesty's subjects. It enacted, "that no freeman shall be imprisoned, or deprived of his freehold, or condemned, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the colony; that no tax shall be imposed or required of the colonists, but by the act of the general assembly; that all men of competent estates, and of civil conversation, (Roman Catholics only excepted,†) shall be admitted freemen, or may choose or be chosen colonial officers." In 1665, the general assembly enacted a law, authorizing the seizure of the estates of quakers, who refused to bear arms in defence of the colony; but being generally condemned by the people, it was never carried into execution.

The commissioners sent by Charles II. to inspect

the affairs of the New England colonies, were received at Rhode Island with more deference than in the neighbouring colony of Massachusetts, arising, probably, partly from their religious sentiments, and partly from a sense of their comparative want of strength to cope with royal power. Their conduct received the warmest approbation of their monarch; and he assured them, that he should never be unmindful of their dutiful behaviour, which, he observed, was set off with the more lustre by the contrary deportment of Massachusetts, as if, by its refractoriness, it had designed to recommend and heighten their merits.‡ The general strain of the government of Rhode Island and Providence was conciliatory, though independent, and seems to have given satisfaction to Charles II. during the remainder of his reign.

On the accession of James II. to the British crown, the assembly of Rhode Island immediately transmitted an address, acknowledging themselves his loyal subjects, professing obedience to his power, and begging protection for their chartered rights. Their supplications, however, could not protect them from the effects of those plans of reformation for New England which were now resolved on. Articles of high misdemeanour were exhibited against them before the lords of the committee of colonies, accusing them of breaches of their charter, and of opposition to the acts of navigation. These charges were referred, in July, 1685, to Sawyer, attorney-general, with orders forthwith to issue a writ of *quo warranto* against their patent; and formal notice of the legal process was soon afterwards communicated to the governor and company. But, without much hesitation, they resolved that they would not stand suit with their king. It was ordered by the committee of colonies, that Sir Edmund Andros, the governor of Massachusetts, should demand the surrender of their charter, and govern them as other colonies of New England, the king assuring them of his protection, and of his determination to extend no other rule of administration over them, than over the neighbouring plantations. In December, 1686, Andros, agreeably to his orders, dissolved the government of Rhode Island, broke its seal, admitted five of its inhabitants into his legislative council, and assumed the administration in

* Pitkin, vol. i. p. 49.

† "The authenticity of the clause, 'Roman Catholics only excepted,' has been disputed; and strictures have been made upon Chalmers, as maintaining 'that the toleration of Roger Williams did not extend to Roman Catholics,' and upon the author of *American Annals*, as having 'repeated this charge.' That clause was an integral part of the ordinance, as recited by Chalmers, and the omission of it would have been censurable. It has since been affirmed, on very respectable authority, that the act in question is

not to be found in the records of Rhode Island. In copying the ordinance, the supposed implication of Mr. Williams was not adverted to; it was merely a transcript of an article in our history. Whatever may have been the legislation of 1664, Roger Williams has a just claim to the honour of establishing, at the foundation of his colony, 'a free, full, and absolute liberty of conscience.'—*American Annals*, vol. i. p. 336, 337.

‡ See the King's Letter, in *New England Papers*, vol. iii.

the place of that which he had thus annihilated. When the revolution put an end to his power, Rhode Island and Providence resumed their charter, on the ground that an act which was extorted by terror might be justly recalled when restraint no longer remained. All the officers who had been displaced three years before were now restored.

The benevolence, justice, and pacific policy of Williams, secured to the colony an almost total exemption from Indian hostility. Its prosperity was proportionate to these favourable circumstances, and the population rapidly increased; in 1730, the number of inhabitants was 18,000; and in 1761, it had augmented to 40,000.

Brown University was founded at Warren, in 1764. On the petition of a number of respectable persons, a charter for founding a seminary of learning was granted by the general assembly of the colony; the incorporation took place in the name of the "trustees, or fellows of the College or University in the English colony of Rhode Island and Providence plantations." The president must be a Baptist, but professors and other officers of instruction are not limited to any denomination of Christians. The charter, in the spirit of the other institutions of that colony, declares, "All the members of this institution shall forever enjoy full, free, absolute, and uninterrupted liberty of conscience; and the places of professors, tutors, and all other officers, the president excepted, shall be free and open for all denominations of protestants." In 1770, the college was removed to Providence, where, by the generous donation of individuals, principally of the town of Providence, a large and elegant building was erected for the accommodation of the students.

CHAPTER VII.

NEW YORK.

THE history of the middle ages renders it very apparent that many of the ideas which were entertained by the governments of Europe on the subject of title to property, both private and national, have been very incorrect. This was especially the case with respect to the claim to proprietorship, supposed to be conferred by *discovery*, a doctrine which gave rise to many, by no means bloodless, disputes. Had the simple idea of priority of *occupation* been deemed the just ground of national or individual claims to colonial possessions, little difficulty would have arisen, though it would have been subversive of many of the lofty imaginations of regal or aristocratic ambition.

This principle would have been just to the natives, who, as far as their occupancy extended, were the only parties who could convey a just title to the newcomers to the American continent. What would have been the indignation of British pride, had some adventurous Indian sachem *discovered*, and granted to his faithful followers, some of the extensive and thinly inhabited wastes which Britain exhibited in the reigns of James or Charles? Yet, what other title could Charles urge to the territories of the brave king Philip, that the latter could not, had he visited the coast of England, have retorted on the former?

The absurdity of the principle of a legitimate title being conferred by discovery only, was nowhere more clearly evinced, than in the transactions of the colony of New York. In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman employed by the East India Company of Holland, set sail from the Texel for the discovery of a north-west passage to India. Not succeeding in the object of his voyage, he entered the bay of Chesapeake, where he found the infant settlement of the English. He afterwards proceeded to Long Island, and sailed up the river Manhattan, on whose banks the chief fruits of his enterprise were destined to grow. It has been affirmed, that he sold his right to this territory to the Dutch; but the assertion is as unsupported by proof as it is improbable; he could convey to them no right which the voyage did not vest, by a much better title, in themselves. Several voyages were afterwards made from Holland to the river Manhattan, which subsequently received the name of the able navigator, by whom it had been introduced to the acquaintance of the Dutch. The favourable report of Hudson having been confirmed by other voyagers, a body of Dutch merchants embraced the resolution of establishing a trading settlement; and the States-General promoted the enterprise by granting them a patent for the exclusive trade of Hudson's river. They erected a fort near Albany, which they named Fort Orange, and a few trading-houses on the island of New York, then called by the Indians, Manhattan.

If the Dutch settlers made proper arrangements with the natives, they had certainly now a right to be considered as the legitimate occupiers of the soil; and no other European nation was entitled to dispute their possession. The British monarch, however, was of a different opinion, as were his representatives in America—pretending to found their claim on the discovery of the Cabots in the previous century, a claim which has found an advocate in so sensible a writer as Chalmers; and the title of the Hollanders is denied, because "the sovereign of

France, in 1603, and the king of England, in 1606, had declared their intention to appropriate the same region, which their subjects immediately planted.* Why the intention of the French or English was a better title than the occupation of the Dutch, or what definition is to be allotted to the term *region*, when no European had a settlement within one hundred miles of the Dutch, Mr. Chalmers has left his readers to guess; and if they exercise their rational faculties correctly, they will be far from countenancing his opinion.

It was not long before the Dutch experienced the injurious effects of the unjust principle to which we have alluded. In the very first year of their settlement, Captain Argal, who had proceeded from Virginia to drive the French from their settlements on the bay of Fundy, visited, on his return, the Dutch on Hudson's river. Claiming the country for his sovereign, he demanded their acknowledgment of his authority; and being few in number, they prudently submitted, without attempting to resist. In the year following, however, a new governor having arrived at the fort with an additional complement of settlers, the claim of the English to the stipulated dependence was forthwith defied, and the payment of tribute imposed by Argal resisted. For the better protection of their independence, the colonists now erected another fort on the south-west point of Long

* Annals, p. 568.

† New Netherland, born republican, might have been nurtured in free principles, made the healthy and vigorous representative of the parent republic, and the depository for transmission to posterity of that liberty which was to expire at home. The infant colony, might, at least, have been saved from the contamination which rendered profession a mockery in practice. The West Indian Company were amply remunerated for all expenses and care which they bestowed; and if magnanimity in policy had prevailed over the unstatesman-like maxims of gain and loss, they might have added to their renown, the celebrity of founding the first republic in the new world. But actuated by different views, and calculating the progressive profits of trade only, they now determined, if we may judge from the amount of their last transshipment, to carry to a fuller extent the commercial strength and spirit of the colony.

Since their brilliant commencement, they suffered within the last two years reverses and misfortunes from the pirates, the Dunkirk free-booters, and the public enemy. But in 1627, the capture of thirty of the enemy's ships, under the batteries of St. Salvador, by Admiral Peter Pietersen Heyn, after an unequal conflict on his

* *Seawan* was the name of Indian money, of which there were two kinds; *wompam* (which signifies *white*) and *suckauhook*, (*sucki* signifying *black*.) *Wompam* or *wompampeague*, or simply *peague*, was, though improperly, also understood among the Dutch and English, as expressive of the generic denomination. *Wompam*, or white money, was made of the stem or stock of the *meteahook* or *periwinkle*: *suckauhook*, or black money, was manufactured from the inside of the shell of the *quahaug*, (*venus mercenaria*.) a round thick shell-fish, that buried itself but a little way in the sand, and was generally found lying on it in deep water, and gathered by rakes, or by diving after it. The Indians broke off about half an inch of a purple colour of the inside, and converted it into beads. These, before the introduction of awls and thread, were bored with sharp stones, and strung upon sinews of beasts, and when interwoven to the breadth of the hand, more or less, were called a belt of *seawan* or *wom-*

Island. They continued for a series of years, in unmolested tranquillity, to mature their settlement, enlarge their numbers, and by the exercise of their national virtues of patience and industry, to subdue the first difficulties and hardships of an infant colony.

In 1621, the Dutch republic, desirous of establishing a colony in America on a firm basis, granted to the Dutch West India Company, an extensive territory on both sides of the Hudson, and entitled it New Netherlands. The boundaries were not accurately defined, but were considered by the company as including Connecticut river at the north, and Delaware river at the south. Under the management of this company, the settlement was soon both consolidated and extended. The city of New Amsterdam, afterwards called New York, was built on York Island, then known by the name of Manhattan; and at the distance of a hundred and fifty miles higher up the Hudson, were laid the foundations of the city of Albany. In 1623, they erected a fort on the Delaware, which they called Nassau; and ten years afterwards another on the Connecticut, which they called Good Hope. Near the former, the Swedes had a settlement; and from the interfering claims of the two nations, quarrels arose between the settlers, which, in a few years, terminated in the subjugation of the Swedes.†

If the policy of the Dutch in extending their set-

part, in which skill was seconded by the most obstinate heroism, gave renewed vigour to the company. These prizes were richly laden with sugar, tobacco, cotton, and some gold and silver.

Sugar, linens, cloths, and stuffs of various fabric, formed a part of the imports into New Netherland. Its trade was with the natives, who, as far as from Quebec and Tadousac, brought furs to Fort Orange. But to this chief mart of the province, the five nations introduced the greatest supplies. Fort Amsterdam was still the head-quarters, where ships rendezvoused, and whence smaller vessels coasted the country from New-port-May to the Flat Corner, (*De Vlack-hoeck*; the Dutch name for Cape Malabar.) But the above mentioned articles were unnecessary in the fur-trade, excepting cloth of a dark colour, suitable to the melancholy temperament of the Indians, who rejected fabrics in which the least whiteness in their texture was discoverable. Cloth of this description, hoes, hatchets, awls, beads, and other trinkets, looking glasses, Dutch trumpets in which the natives delighted, fire-arms, which originated a mischievous traffic with the Mohawks, were the articles for the Indian trade. The circulating medium was *seawan*.* This was manufactured particularly by the Indians of *Seawan-hacky*, (Long

pam. A black bead, the size of a straw, about one third of an inch long, bored longitudinally, and well polished, was the gold of the Indians, and always esteemed of twice the value of the white; but either species was considered by them of much more value than European coin. An Indian chief, to whom the value of a six-dollar was explained by the first clergyman of Renselaerwyck, laughed exceedingly to think the Dutch set so high a price upon a piece of iron, as he termed it. Three beads of black, and six of white, were equivalent, among the English, to a penny, and among the Dutch, to a stuyver. But with the latter, the equivalent number sometimes varied from three and six, to four and eight. One of Governor Minuit's successors fixed, by placard, the price of the "good splendid *seawan* of Manhattan," at four for a stuyver. A string of this money one fathom long, varied in price from five shillings, among the New Englanders. (after the Dutch gave them a knowledge of it,) to four guilders

lements so far eastward as Connecticut was to supply a defective title by extent and priority of occupation, it completely failed; and they at length discovered, that the early extent of their occupation only

Island,) and of this, as well as the first mentioned articles, the New Netherlanders had on hand a surplus quantity. It is obvious, therefore, that for the purpose of vending these wares, a favourite policy of Governor Minuit was to ascertain a new market. His trading vessels had visited *Anchor-bay* and *Sloop-bay*, situate on each side of *Red-Island*, (*Roode Eylandt*, corrupted into Rhode Island,) ascended the river, (Taunton,) flowing into the bay of Nassau, (Narragansett,) and trafficked at *Sawaans* or *Puckanokick*, where *Massasoweat*, the friend of the Plymouth people, held dominion. From him and other Indians the latter had often heard of the Dutch, and from the same source the Dutch had no doubt received intelligence of the English. But during the six years which had elapsed since the settlement of Plymouth, there had not been the least intercourse with New Netherland. This negative relation would have continued, if the commercial policy which has been suggested, had not now induced Governor Minuit to seek out New Plymouth, as the market which was most convenient to intercourse, most congenial in temper and circumstances, and, therefore, preferable to Virginia or Canada, for the purpose of establishing a treaty of commerce and amity. The people of Plymouth had a trading house at Manomet, (north side of Cape Cod,) but, comparatively unambitious, their commerce, fortifications, and strength of men, were, as was acknowledged by them, far inferior to those of New Netherland. Confined in their operations to the vicinity of the barren and lonely spot on which they had been cast, their little trade was indispensable, and they were aggrieved that the Dutch had encroached upon this trade, almost to their very doors. Having no transatlantic commerce, they, this year, (1627,) sent an agent to England and Holland, to make arrangements for such supplies as their wants or commerce demanded.

Such was the relative situation of the two colonies, when in March, Governor Minuit caused a deputation to the Governor and Council of Plymouth, with two letters, written in Dutch and French, dated at "Manhata, in Fort Amsterdam, March 9th, 1627," (N. S.) signed "Isaac de Razier, Secretary." The Dutch governor and council congratulated the people of Plymouth on the success of their praise-worthy undertaking, proffered their "good will and service in all friendly correspondency and good neighbourhood," invited a reciprocity of amicable feeling, suggested for this purpose, among other things, "the propinquity of their native countries, and their long continued friendship"—and concluded by desiring "to fall into a way of some commerce and trade"—offering "any of their goods that might be serviceable," and declaring that they should feel themselves bound to accommodate and help "their Plymouth neighbours with any wares that they should be pleased to deal for."*

The answer of Governor Bradford and Council was as follows:—

(one dollar sixty-six and a half cents,) among the Dutch. The process of trade was this: the Dutch and English sold for seawan, their knives, combs, scissors, needles, awls, looking-glasses, hatchets, hoes, guns, black cloth, and other articles of the Indian traffic, and with the seawan bought the furs, corn, and venison, from the Indians on the seaboard, who also, with their shell money, bought such articles from Indians residing in the interior of the country. Thus by this circulating medium, a brisk commerce was carried on, not only between the white people and the Indians, but between different tribes among the latter. For the seawan was not only their money, but it was an ornament to their persons. It distinguished the rich from the poor, the proud from the humble. It was the tribute paid by the vanquished to those, the five nations for instance, who had exacted contribution. In the form of a belt, it was sent with all public messages, and preserved as a record of all public transactions between nations. If a message was sent without the belt, it was considered an empty word, unworthy of remembrance. If the belt was returned, it was a rejection of the offer or proffer accompanying it. If accepted, it was a confirmation, and strengthened friendships or effaced injuries. The belt, with appropriate figures worked in it, was also the record of

served to bring their rights the sooner into collision with the pretensions of neighbours more powerful than themselves. These disagreeable results, however, were not experienced till after the lapse of

"To the Honourable and Worshipful the Director and Council of New Netherland, our very loving and worthy friends and Christian neighbours.

"The Governor and Council of Plymouth, in New England, wish your Honours and Worships all happiness and prosperity in this life, and eternal rest and glory with Christ Jesus our Lord, in the world to come.

"We have received your letters wherein appeareth your good will and friendship towards us, but is expressed with over high titles, and more than belongs to us, or than is meet for us to receive: but for your good will and congratulation of our prosperity in this small beginning of our poor colony, we are much bound unto you, and with many thanks do acknowledge the same, taking it both for a great honour done unto us, and for a certain testimony of your love and good neighbourhood. Now these are further to give your Honours, Worships, and Wisdoms, to understand, that it is to us no small joy to hear, that it hath pleased God to move his Majesty's heart, not only to confirm that ancient amity, alliance, and friendship, and other contracts formerly made and ratified by his predecessors of famous memory, but hath himself, (as you say,) and we likewise have been informed, strengthened the same with a new union, the better to resist the pride of that common enemy, the Spaniards, from whose cruelty the Lord keep us both, and our native countries. Now for as much as this is sufficient to unite us together in love and good neighbourhood in all our dealings, yet are many of us further tied by the good and courteous entreaty which we have found in your country, having lived there many years with freedom and good content, as many of our friends do to this day, for which we are bound to be thankful, and our children after us, and shall never forget the same, but shall heartily desire your good and prosperity as our own for ever. Likewise, for your friendly proposition and offer to accommodate and help us with any commodities or merchandise which you have, and we want, either for beaver, otters, or other wares, is to us very acceptable, and we doubt not but in short time we may have profitable commerce and trade together. But you may please to understand that we are but one particular colony or plantation in this land, there being divers others besides, unto whom it hath pleased those Honourable Lords of his Majesty's Council for New England, to grant the like commission, and ample privileges to them, (as to us,) for their better profit and subsistence, namely, to expulse or make prize of any, either strangers or other English, which shall attempt either to trade or plant within their limits, (without their special license and commission,) which extends to forty degrees: yet, for our parts, we shall not go about to molest or trouble you in any thing, but continue all good neighbourhood and correspondence as far as we may; only we desire that you would forbear to trade with the natives in this bay, and the river of Narragansett and Sowames,

domestic transactions. The confederation of the five nations was thus recorded. The cockle shells had indeed more virtue amongst Indians, than pearls, gold, and silver, had among Europeans. Seawan was the seal of a contract—the oath of fidelity. It satisfied murders and all other injuries, purchased peace, and entered into the religious as well as civil ceremonies of the natives. A string of seawan was delivered by the orator in public council, at the close of every distinct proposition made to others, as a ratification of the truth and sincerity of what he said; and the white and black strings of seawan were tied by the pagan priest around the neck of the white dog suspended to a pole, and offered as a sacrifice to *T'halonghyawaagon*, the upholder of the skies, the god of the five nations.

* Extract from a manuscript history of Plymouth, communicated by Hon. Francis Baylies, of Massachusetts. Prince's New England Annals, p. 172. Morton's New England Memorial, p. 91. Gov. Bradford's Letter Book, III. Mass. Historical Collections, p. 51. Hutchinson, II. App.

"To which (says Morton, secretary of Plymouth) the governor and council of Plymouth returned answerable courteous acceptance of their loving propositions, respecting their good neighbourhood in general, and particularly for commerce."

several years of uninterrupted peace, during the administration of Wouter Van Twiller, the first governor appointed by the West India Company. It was near the close of his administration, that the

which is, as it were, at our doors. The which, if you do, we think also no other English will go about any way to trouble or hinder you; which otherwise are resolved to solicit his Majesty for redress, if otherwise they cannot help themselves.

"May it please you further to understand, that for this year we are fully supplied with all necessities, both for clothing and other things; but it may so fall out, that hereafter we shall deal with you, if your rates be reasonable: and therefore, when your people come again, we desire to know how you will take beaver by the pound, and otters by the skin, and how you will deal per cent. for other commodities, and what you can furnish us with; as likewise what commodities from us may be acceptable to you, as tobacco, fish, corn, or other things, and what prices you will give.

"Thus hoping that you will pardon and excuse us for our rude and imperfect writing in your language, and take it in good part, because, for want of use, we cannot so well express that we understand, nor happily understand every thing so fully as we should: and so we humbly pray the Lord, for his mercy's sake, that he will take both us and our native countries, into his holy protection and defence. Amen.

"By the Governor and Council, your Honours' and Worships' very good friends and neighbours."

In August, Governor Minuit and council sent another deputy, and in reply, insisted upon their right to trade to the places which Governor Bradford and council had interdicted, that, "as the English claimed authority under the King of England, so we, the Dutch, derive ours from the states of Holland, and will defend it." The letter was in other respects very friendly, and, as if to preclude any interruption to the harmony of their projected intercourse, the messenger was charged with a present of "a rundlet of sugar and two Holland cheeses," for which many thanks were returned in the answer by Governor Bradford: he also requested that a deputy might be sent to confer respecting their future trade and commerce, and with the most friendly zeal cautioned the Dutch to avoid the Virginia ships or fishing vessels, which might make prize of them, as they had a few years previously, of a French colony that had intruded within their limits; apprised them of the patents of Queen Elizabeth, and advised them to solicit the States General, to negotiate with England for an amicable understanding upon the subject. Governor Bradford communicated copies of the correspondence to the council for New England, and to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, requesting advice. But now, as if apprehensive lest the contemplated intimacy with the New Netherlanders, might give plausibility to their local pretensions, he wrote again to Governor Minuit in October, that he should suspend a decision on the question of trade, till the Plymouth agent should return from England and Holland,

* In the language of a contemporary of Gov. Minuit and Gov. Bradford:—"If any tax me for wasting paper with recording these small matters, such may consider, that small things in the beginning of natural or politic bodies, are as remarkable as greater, in bodies full grown." Thomas Dudley, the first deputy governor of Massachusetts, in an epistle to "my very good lady, the Lady Bridget Countess of Lincoln," dated Boston, 1631, and published in "Massachusetts, or the first Planters," &c. Boston, 1696, p. 22.

† Addressed to "Monsieur Monseigneur, William Bradford, governor in Nieu Plemeuen.

"After the wishing of all good unto you, this serves to let you understand that we have received your (acceptable) letters, dated the 14th of last month, by John Jacobson of Wiring, who besides, by word of mouth, hath reported unto us your kind and friendly entertainment of him: for which cause (by the good liking and approbation of the director and council) I am resolved to come myself in friendship to visit you, that we may by word of mouth friendly communicate of things together; as also to report unto you the good will and favour that the Honourable Lords of the authorized West Indian Company bear towards you; and to show our willingness of your good accommodation, have brought with me some cloth of three sorts and colours, and a chest of white sugar, as also some

English colonists extended their settlements beyond the boundaries of Massachusetts into the territory of Connecticut. He was succeeded in the following year by William Kieft, a man more fitted to encounter

whither he had been sent to make arrangements, before it was ascertained that supplies could be obtained from the Dutch. He again advised them to adjust their title to a settlement "in these parts," lest in these "stirring evil times," it should become a source of contention.

But before the reception of the last letter, Secretary Razier, actuated by the prior communication of Governor Bradford, resolved, with the approbation of the Governor and Council, to be himself the bearer of an embassy to Plymouth. In the bark *Nassau*, freighted with a few articles for traffic, manned with a retinue of soldiers and trumpeters, conformable to the fashion of the day, and proportional to the dignity of his station, this second officer of the government, departed on an embassy, which was as important in the primitive affairs of New Netherland and New Plymouth, as any of the magnificent embassies of the old world were to full-grown kingdoms.*

The reader's fancy will follow the bark through the east river, (*Oost rivier*, called also *Helle Gadt rivier*.) into the great bay of the island of shells, (Long Island Sound,) and as it boldly swept over the bay, or cautiously glided along its shores, skirted by thousands of wigwams, he will picture the wild and joyful gesticulations of the Indians, as they gazed upon the fantastic arrangements of the little vessel, or listened to the deep notes of the trumpeters.

Arrived in safety at Manomet, (north side of Cape Cod,) the secretary despatched to Governor Bradford a letter,† announcing his arrival, specifying the articles that comprised his cargo, and requesting some mode of conveyance to Plymouth. His request was granted. A boat was sent to *Manonscuset*, (on the south side of Cape Cod,) and Razier, "honourably attended by a noise of trumpeters," was ushered into fort Plymouth. Here he was kindly entertained several days. The meeting was not merely one of commercial speculation and heartless formality. It was the first meeting, in the solitude of the new world, of the friendly colonists of two allied European nations. It was the joyful meeting of kindred as well as friends, for the wives and little ones of some of the pilgrims had also their birth-place in Holland. Though the rigid simplicity of puritan costume and manners, the simple salutation, for instance, of goodman and goody, were in direct opposition to the high-sounding titles, formal stateliness, and warlike decorations of the Dutch, yet the very spirit of amity consecrated the intercourse upon this novel occasion.

When the Dutch departed, they were accompanied to Manomet by the Plymouth people, by whom articles of their merchandise were purchased, particularly the *seawan*, which was then introduced into New England, and became the medium of profitable trade with the Eastern Indians.‡ Such was the harmony of the first communication between the two colonies, that the Dutch offered

seawan, &c. not doubting but, if any of them may be serviceable unto you, we shall agree well enough about the prices thereof. Also, John Jacobson aforesaid, hath told me that he came to you over land in six hours, but I have not gone so far this three or four years, wherefore I fear my feet will fail me; so I am constrained to entreat you to afford me the easiest means, that I may, with least weariness, come to congratulate with you: so leaving other things to the report of the bearer, shall here-with end; remembering my hearty salutations to yourself and friends, &c. From aboard the bark *Nassau*, the 4th of October, 1627, before Frenchman's point.

"Your affectionate friend, ISAAC DE RAZIER."

‡ Dr. Chalmers (*Political Annals*) says that Razier brought peltry and purchased corn. Hence it is inferred the Dutch had made little progress in agriculture. The conclusion is true, though the premises are not. It is doubtful whether Plymouth raised corn enough for domestic consumption. "But whatever were the honey in the mouth of that beast of trade, there was a deadly sting in the tail. For it is said they first brought our people to the knowledge of *wampampeag*; and the acquaintance therewith occasioned the Indians of these parts to learn the skill to make it, by which, as by the exchange of money, they purchased store of artillery, both from the English, Dutch, and French, which hath proved a fatal ba-

with spirit, than to stem with prudence, the troubles which now began to assail the possessions of the Dutch. Numberless causes of dispute were continually occurring between New Netherlands and the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven. The English charged the Dutch with disturbing, kidnapping, and plundering their traders; with enticing servants to rob and desert their masters; and with selling arms and ammunition to the natives. Yet, notwithstanding their mutual disagreements, the Dutch and English colonists never suffered themselves to forget entirely either the forms of courtesy, or the more substantial rights of humanity; and when,

their assistance against the French, if needed; urged their friends to abandon the barren spot on which fate had cast them, and remove to the fertile banks of the *Fresh River*, (*Versche Rivier*—the Connecticut.) The adoption of this advice might have perpetuated their good feeling, which, though afterwards supplanted by contention and bitterness, was for years the foundation of repeated intercourse and profitable commerce. The Dutch frequently went to Manomet, exchanged their linens and stuffs for tobacco, which trade was extremely advantageous to the people of Plymouth, until the Virginians found out the Dutch colony, and drove them from this market by underselling them in tobacco.

The West Indian Company also enjoyed immediately the salutary fruits of this commercial interchange, for the year after it commenced, (viz. 1628,) Governor Minuit, without the necessity of any fresh imports that year, exported to the Amsterdam department more furs than at any other prior period.

The earnestness of Governor Bradford and his council, in advising the Dutch to clear up their right to settle in the land, evinces the light in which the former viewed that right, and their ignorance of any previous remonstrance upon the subject. It has, however, been affirmed that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the patentees of the New England charter of 1620, had remonstrated, in 1624, to King James, against the occupation of the Hudson, and that the States General, by their ambassador, disclaimed it, as merely a private undertaking of their West Indian Company.* It might admit inquiry whether the English charter, in its constructive application, embraced that river; for though it extended nominally to the fortieth degree, it contained an exception in favour of the possession of any Christian prince or state. The Hollanders in 1620 had the possession. The policy of King James, not, perhaps, very liberal on this subject, was pacific, and he probably preferred that the river should be settled upon by the Dutch rather than by the Spaniards or French, both of whom claimed the country. He was, if we credit English statements, aware that the Dutch had begun a settlement, and, perhaps, he caused the proviso in the great charter, as a tacit acquiescence. If therefore the remonstrance was made, no efficient interposition was obtained, nor was any regard paid to it by the West Indian Company: their measures with respect to New Netherland were not to be overawed by remonstrance, or varied by conflicting title, but proportioned to the success of their arms, consequently to the amplitude of their resources, and the adaptation of the province to a lucrative invest-

ment of capital. This year they achieved a victory over the enemy, so decisive, so complete, so unexampled in the magnitude of its trophies and advantages, as not only to enrich the members of the company, but tend directly to the establishment of permanent colonization in New Netherland. In September (1628) Admiral and General Peter Pieterse Heyn captured in the bay of Mautanzas a fleet of twenty vessels laden with silver, gold, and other precious articles, valued at more than twelve millions of guilders.† This was the famous Spanish silver fleet. The company during this and the preceding year took one hundred and four prizes from the Spaniards and Portuguese. Profit had augmented to fifty per cent. The treasure now poured upon the bosom of the society was so intoxicating, that the States General found it necessary to interpose some rules of government over foreign conquests, not leaving them to the arbitrary whim and caprice of the conquerors or naval commanders, and on the other hand found it not very difficult to persuade the company, to their own ruin ultimately, to turn their operations expressly for the advantage of the republic, and commence a "prince-like, instead of merchant-like war." But at this particular crisis, the interposition of their high mightinesses, for the benefit of transmarine conquests and colonies, accompanied by a decree, authorizing the different departments of the company to appoint a council of nine persons, who should be entrusted with the management of the whole, was the foundation of the appointment of commissioners over the affairs of New Netherland, and of the adoption by the college of XIX. of a charter of *Liber- ties, and exemptions for patroons, masters, and private individuals, who should plant colonies in New Netherland, or import thither any neat cattle.* These privileges and exemptions were adopted in the spring of 1629, and recorded in the book of resolutions of the department of XIX.‡

A knowledge of the provisions of this charter is not only necessary for understanding perfectly the civil basis on which the colony of New Netherland was erected, but the charter merits attention as an object of curious political speculation. It discloses the peculiar notions of an armed mercantile society with regard to colonization. While it secured the right of the Indians to the soil, and enjoined schools and churches, it scattered the seeds of servitude, slavery, and aristocracy. While it gave to freemen as much land as they could cultivate, and exempted colonists from taxation for ten years, it fettered agriculture, by restricting commerce and prohibiting manufactures.—Moulton's History of New York.

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† 5,000,000 dollars. De Laet (History West India Co. book V.) says 11,509,524 guilders, exclusive of musk, ambergris, bezoar, and other precious articles in great quantity, besides the cargoes of two galleons and one small prize.

‡ Lambrechtseu says they are to be found in the Notules of that department, March 10, 1629, (old style;) but in a deed from Gov. Kieft to ex-Governor Van Twiller, in 1638, of a tobacco plantation at Sapokanickan, (Greenwich, in the city of New York,) the date of the grant of the liberties and exemptions is cited to have been the 7th of June, 1629. Perhaps, as they were not published till 1630, they underwent modifications after they were first adopted, previously to their being finally confirmed as a charter.

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of the war was supposed to exceed four hundred. In 1646, a severe battle was fought on that part of Horseneck called Strickland's Plain. The Dutch were victorious; on both sides great numbers were slain; and for a century afterwards the graves of the dead were distinctly visible.

Kieft was succeeded, in the following year, by Peter Stuyvesant, a brave old officer, and one of the most magnanimous spirits of the republican service of Holland. By his prudence and vigour, he appears to have succeeded in restoring peace with the Indians, and preserving it uninterrupted during the whole of his administration. In 1650, he met the commissioners of the New England colonies at Hartford, where, after much altercation, a line of partition between their respective territories was fixed by mutual agreement. Long Island was divided between them; the Dutch retained the lands which they occupied in Connecticut, surrendering their claim to the residue.

In the Delaware territory, Stuyvesant resolutely defended the claims of his countrymen against the invasions both of the English and the Swedes. In 1651, the Dutch built Fort Casimir, now called New-castle, on Delaware. The Swedes claiming the country formally protested against this proceeding. Risingh, the governor, under the disguise of friendship, came before the fortress, and landed thirty men, who were entertained by the commandant as friends; but he had no sooner discovered the weakness of the garrison, than he made himself master of it; and compelled several of the people to swear allegiance to Christiana, queen of Sweden. Stuyvesant was not of a disposition to submit tamely to such an outrage, or to content himself with a simple recapture of the fort. He determined to invade and subdue the whole Swedish settlement. But no sooner did they find themselves about to be attacked by this determined warrior, and perceived that their forts failed to intimidate the enemy, than they peaceably surrendered them, together with the whole of their establishments. Thus, unassisted by the parent state, fell the only colony that Sweden has ever possessed.

During nearly ten years of peace, Stuyvesant used diligent exertion in extending and consolidating the colony of New Netherlands; all his labours were, however, doomed to prove unavailing to the advantage of his country. Charles II. had now ascended the British throne; and although he had received, during his exile, more courtesy from the Dutch than from any other nation, he had conceived a peculiar aversion towards the people of Holland; and did not hesitate to use every means to provoke the resentment

of the States-General: among others, he asserted his claim to the province of New Netherlands; and, without any attempt at negotiation with the States, he executed a charter, conveying to the Duke of York the whole territory, from the eastern shore of the Delaware, to the western bank of the Connecticut. This grant took no more notice of the existing possession of the Dutch, than it showed respect to the recent charter of Connecticut, which, whether from design or ignorance, it tacitly, but entirely superseded. No sooner did the Duke of York obtain this grant, than he conveyed to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret all that portion now constituting the province of New Jersey.

It was manifest that this grant would require a military force to carry it into effect. While the Dutch, notwithstanding the intimations they received from Stuyvesant, continued unsuspecting or incredulous, an armament, under the command of Colonel Nichols, who was also appointed governor of the province he was about to conquer, was prepared and despatched. After touching at Boston, the fleet sailed to Hudson river, and took a position before the capital of New Netherlands. Stuyvesant resolved to make a gallant defence, but his sentiments did not pervade the minds of the inhabitants, who, apprehending all resistance to the disciplined forces, and powerful artillery of the invaders, utterly hopeless, the most valorous and faithful satisfied themselves with the resolution not to remain the subjects of their tyrannical conqueror, but could not perceive the propriety of aggravating their distress by exposing their persons and habitations to the certainty of capture by storm, and the extremity of military violence.

Colonel Nichols lost no time in sending a summons to surrender the fortress, towns, and the whole territory, to the king of England, as his lawful right, which had been intruded on and usurped by the Dutch. As the reply of Stuyvesant gives what may be considered an authentic account of the grounds of the claims of the Dutch, a part of it is presented to the reader:

"MY LORDS,

"Your first letter, unsigned, of the 20—31 August, together with that of this day, signed according to form, being the 1st of September, have been safely delivered into our hands by your deputies, unto which we shall say, that the rights of his majesty of England, unto any part of America hereabout, amongst the rest, unto the colonies of Virginia, Maryland, or others in New England, whether disputable or not, is that which, for the present, we have no design to debate upon. But that his majesty hath an indisputable right to all lands in the north parts of America.

is that, which the kings of France and Spain will disallow, as we absolutely do, by virtue of a commission given to me, by my lords, the high and mighty States-General, to be governor-general over New Holland, the Isles of Curacao, Bonaire, Aruba, with their appurtenances and dependencies, bearing date the 26th of July, 1646. As also by virtue of a grant and commission, given by my said lords, the high and mighty States-General, to the West India Company, in the year 1621, with as much power, and as authentic, as his said majesty of England hath given, or can give, to any colony in America, as more fully appears by the patent and commission of the said lords the States-General, by them signed, registered, and sealed with their great seal, which were shewed to your deputies, Colonel George Carteret, Captain Robert Needham, Captain Edward Groves, and Mr. Thomas Delavall, by which commission and patent, together, (to deal frankly with you,) and by divers letters, signed and sealed by our said lords the States-General, directed to several persons, both English and Dutch, inhabiting the towns and villages on Long Island, (which, without doubt, have been produced before you, by those inhabitants,) by which they are declared and acknowledged to be their subjects, with express command, that they continue faithful unto them, under penalty of incurring their utmost displeasure, which makes it appear more clear than the sun at noon-day, that your first foundation (viz. that the right and title of his majesty of Great Britain to these parts of America is unquestionable) is absolutely to be denied. Moreover, it is without dispute, and acknowledged by the world, that our predecessors, by virtue of the commission and patent of the said lords the States-General, have, without control and peaceably, (the contrary never coming to our knowledge,) enjoyed Fort Orange about forty-eight or fifty years, the Mannhattans about forty-one or forty-two years, the South River forty years, and the Fresh Water River about thirty-six years. Touching the second subject of your letter, viz. 'His majesty hath commanded me, in his name, to require a surrender of all such forts, towns, or places of strength, which now are possessed by the Dutch under your command;' we shall answer, that we are so confident of the discretion and equity of his majesty of Great Britain, that in case his majesty were informed of the truth, which is, that the Dutch came not into these provinces by any violence, but by virtue of commissions from my lords the States-General,—first of all in the years 1614, 1615, and 1616, up the North River, near Fort Orange, where, to hinder the invasions and massacres commonly committed by the savages, they built a little

fort, and after, in the year 1622, and even to this present time, by virtue of commission and grant to the governors of the West India Company; and, moreover, in the year 1656, a grant to the honourable the burgomasters of Amsterdam, of the South River, inso much that, by virtue of the abovesaid commissions from the high and mighty States-General, given to the persons interested as aforesaid, and others, these provinces have been governed, and consequently enjoyed; as also in regard of their first discovery, uninterrupted possession, and purchase of the lands of the princes, natives of the country, and other private persons, though Gentiles,—we make no doubt, that if his said majesty of Great Britain were well informed of these passages, he would be too judicious to grant such an order, principally in a time when there is so straight a friendship and confederacy between our said lords and superiors, to trouble us in the demanding and summons of the places and fortresses which were put into our hands, with order to maintain them, in the name of the said lords the States-General, as was made appear to your deputies, under the names and seal of the said high and mighty States-General, dated the 28th of July, 1646. Besides what had been mentioned, there is little probability, that his said majesty of England. (in regard the articles of peace are printed, and were recommended to us to observe seriously and exactly, by a letter written to us by our said lords the States-General, and to cause them to be observed religiously in this country,) would give order touching so dangerous a design, being also so apparent, that none other than my said lords the States-General have any right to these provinces, and consequently ought to command and maintain their subjects; and in their absence, we, the governor-general, are obliged to maintain their rights, and to repel and take revenge of all threatenings, unjust attempts, or any force whatsoever, that shall be committed against their faithful subjects and inhabitants, it being a very considerable thing to affront so mighty a state, although it were not against an ally and confederate. Consequently, if his said majesty (as it is fit) were well informed of all that could be spoken upon this subject, he would not approve of what expressions were mentioned in your letter."

The reasoning of Stuyvesant, as might have been anticipated, did not produce any effect on his opponents, who made immediate preparations for the reduction of the fort. These prompt measures induced the governor to make another attempt at negotiation; but Colonel Nichols replied, that he could treat on no subject but that of surrender. Unsup

ported as was Stuyvesant by his countrymen, he felt compelled to agree to a treaty of capitulation, which was concluded on the most favourable terms to the inhabitants; and, to gratify the punctilious feelings of Stuyvesant, an article was introduced, that the English and Dutch limits in America should be settled by the court of England and the States-General. On the 27th of August, 1664, the commissioners on behalf of both parties, met at the governor's farm, and signed the articles of capitulation.

The first article of the treaty declared, "That the States-General, or the West India Company, shall freely enjoy all farms and houses (except such as are in the forts;) and that within six months they shall have free liberty to transport all such arms and munition, as now belong to them, or else they shall be paid for them." The third, that "All people shall still continue free denizens, and shall enjoy their lands, houses, goods, wheresoever, they are within this country, and dispose of them as they please." The sixth, that "Any people may freely come from the Netherlands, and plant in this colony, and that Dutch vessels may freely come hither, and any of the Dutch may freely return home, or send any sort

f merchandise home, in vessels of their own country." The last of these conditions was manifestly in direct opposition to the navigation acts, and conferred a privilege it was not in the power of the crown to ratify, and which was consequently of very short duration. Favourable as were these conditions, it was not till two days after their signature by the commissioners, that the governor could be induced to add his ratification.

Immediately after its subjugation, New Amsterdam received the name of New York; the appellation was also extended to the whole province. Fort Orange, which capitulated before the close of the month, took the name of Albany. During his abode in that neighbourhood, Carteret, who had been despatched to reduce Fort Orange, had interviews with the chiefs of the Indians of the Five Nations, and entered into a treaty of friendship with them, the beneficial effects of which long continued to be realized by the colonists. Sir Robert Car was equally successful in the south, the garrison of the Delaware surrendering on the 1st of October, on which day the whole of the New Netherlands became subject to the British crown; and by an act of flagrant injustice, the States-General ceased to exercise any authority over the North American continent. All the early writers agree in describing New Amsterdam as a

handsome well-built town. Indeed, the various provisions that were introduced into the articles of surrender, to guard the comforts of the inhabitants from invasion, attest the orderly and plentiful state which these colonists had attained. No account has been preserved of the total population of the province and its dependencies; but the metropolis, at this time, seems to have contained about three thousand persons.* Few of the inhabitants thought proper to remove out of the country. Even Governor Stuyvesant himself continued to hold his estate, and died there. "Justice obliges me to declare," says Smith, "that for loyalty, and a pure attachment to the Protestant religion, the descendants of the Dutch planters are perhaps exceeded by none of his majesty's subjects."†

Nichols immediately assumed the command of the territory he had conquered, as deputy governor for the duke of York; and without delay proceeded to reduce the affairs of the state to one uniform constitution and policy. In imitation of what had been previously established by the Dutch, he erected a court of assize, composed of the governor, the council, and the justices of the peace, which was invested with every power in the colony, legislative, executive, and judicial. The only liberal institution that he was allowed to introduce was trial by jury; and to this admirable check on judicial proceedings all causes and controversies were subjected. The court having collected into one code the ancient customs, with such improvements as the change of circumstances rendered necessary, still regarding the laws of England as supreme, these ordinances were transmitted to England, and confirmed by the duke of York the following year. A dispute having arisen between the inhabitants of Jamaica on Long Island respecting Indian deeds, it was ordered, that no purchase from the Indians should be deemed valid without the governor's license, executed in his presence. Several of the English methods of government were gradually introduced into the province; and on the 12th of June, the inhabitants of New York were incorporated under a mayor, five aldermen, and a sheriff.

When the intelligence of the declaration of war against Holland reached New York, the governor naturally anticipated an attempt on the part of the Dutch to regain their territory of the New Netherlands, and proceeded to adopt measures calculated to insure a vigorous and successful defence. The inhabitants felt the pressure of the assessments made by the court of assize to furnish the requisite pecuni-

* Grahame, vol. ii. p. 225.

† History of New York, p. 23.

ary supplies the more keenly; since their trade, which had been almost exclusively carried on by Dutch shipping, was now nearly annihilated. In these circumstances, Governor Nichols nobly sacrificed the greater part of his fortune to supply the public exigencies. Happily, however, the States-General, made no attempt to repossess themselves of New York during this war; and at the peace of Breda it was ceded to England, in exchange for Surinam, by a general stipulation, that each of the two nations should retain what its arms had acquired since the commencement of hostilities. It was by this treaty also that Acadie was ceded to France, which had acted as the ally of Holland during the war, and was the only party that reaped advantage from it.

Early in the following year, Colonel Nichols found himself compelled, from the pecuniary sacrifices he had made, to resign his appointment. He was both respected and beloved by the people over whose interests he had presided. The benefit of his exertions devolved on his successor, Colonel Lovelace, during whose administration the colony enjoyed nearly six years of content and prosperity, the only memorable occurrence being the unfortunate event that brought it to a close. During the second war with Holland, a small squadron was despatched to destroy the commerce of the English colonies; and having performed this service with great effect, they were induced to attempt a more important enterprise. Repairing with secrecy to New York, they had the good fortune to arrive at the metropolis while Lovelace was at a distance, and the command was exercised by Colonel Manning, who sent down a messenger, and treacherously made terms with the enemy. The Dutch sailed up the harbour, landed their men, and took possession of the fort and city without firing or receiving a shot. Captain Anthony Colve was appointed governor, but he retained the authority for a few months only; peace being concluded the next year, the country was restored to the English by the treaty of Westminster. On this pacification, the duke of York, to remove all doubt respecting his property in America, took out a new patent from the king. This grant recited and confirmed the former. It empowered the duke to govern the inhabitants by such ordinances as he or his assigns should establish, and to administer justice according to the laws of England, allowing an appeal to the king in council. It prohibited trade thither without his permission. It

allowed the provincials to import merchandises, but required them "to pay customs according to the laws of the realm." Under the authority of this charter the duke ruled New York until his accession to the throne of England. He now commissioned Major Edmund Andros to be governor of all his territories from the western bank of the Connecticut to the farther shore of the Delaware. In October, the Dutch resigned their authority to Andros, who immediately received the submission of the inhabitants.

The administration of Andros and of his successor, Anthony Brockholst, are not distinguished by any remarkable event. In 1682, Colonel Thomas Dongan was appointed governor. During his government the inhabitants of New York first participated in the legislative power. The council, the court of assize, and the corporation of New York, having concurred in soliciting their royal patentee to permit the people to possess some share in the government, the duke had informed the deputy governor of the province that he intended to establish the same form of government as the other plantations enjoyed; "particularly in the choosing of an assembly," and Governor Dongan was accordingly instructed to call an assembly of the province. It was to consist of a council composed of ten members, and a house of representatives chosen by the people, composed of eighteen members; but its laws were to be of no force without the ratification of the proprietary. Orders were issued to the sheriffs, to summon the freeholders for choosing representatives to meet the governor in assembly on the 17th of October. A session of the assembly was held, pursuant to the summons, and several important laws were passed. One of the acts of this assembly, passed on the 30th of October, is entitled, "The Charter of Liberties, and Privileges granted by his royal highness to the Inhabitants of New York and its dependencies." Another session was held the following year, but it is believed there was no other previous to the revolution of 1688.*

The interior of New York was originally inhabited by a confederacy, which consisted at first of five, and afterwards of six, nations of Indians. This confederacy was formed for mutual defence against the Algonquins, a powerful Canadian nation, and displayed much of the wisdom and sagacity which mark the institutions of a civilized people. By their

* Collections of New York Historical Society, vol. iii. p. 347, 352. "It has been alleged, and it is not improbable, that the duke, upon becoming king, refused to confirm the privileges he had before granted, and determined to govern the province by his absolute

power. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that in the new commission, or orders to Governor Dongan, the authority respecting the assembly was omitted, or revoked."—Holmes's American Annals, vol. i. p. 410.

union they had become formidable to the surrounding tribes. Being the allies of the English, the French were alarmed at their successes, and became jealous of their power. In the year 1684, De la Barre, the governor of Canada, marched to attack them, with an army of seventeen hundred men. His troops suffered so much from hardships, famine, and sickness, that he was compelled to ask peace of those whom he had come to exterminate. He invited the chiefs of the five nations to meet him at his camp, and those of three of them accepted the invitation. Standing in a circle, formed by the chiefs and his own officers, he addressed a speech to Garrangula, of the Onondago tribe, in which he accused the confederates of conducting the English to the trading grounds of the French, and threatened them with war and extermination if they did not alter their behaviour. Garrangula, knowing the distresses of the French troops, heard these threats with contempt. After walking five or six times round the circle, he addressed De la Barre in the following bold language, calling him Yonnondio, and the English governor, Corlear :

"Hear, Yonnondio, I do not sleep; I have my eyes open, and the sun which enlightens me, discovers to me a great captain, at the head of a company of soldiers, who speaks as if he was dreaming. He says that he only came to smoke the great pipe of peace with the Onondagas. But Garrangula says, that he sees the contrary; that it was to knock them on the head, if sickness had not weakened the arms of the French. We carried the English to our lakes, to trade there with the Utawawas, and Quatoghies, as the Adirondacs brought the French to our castles, to carry on a trade which the English say is theirs. We are born free; we neither depend on Yonnondio nor Corlear. We may go where we please, and buy and sell what we please. If your allies are your slaves, use them as such; command them to receive no other but your people. Hear, Yonnondio! what I say is the voice of all the Five Nations. When they buried the hatchet at Cadaracui, in the middle of the fort, they planted the tree of peace in the same place, to be there carefully preserved, that instead of a retreat for soldiers, the fort might be a rendezvous for merchants. Take care that the many soldiers who appear there do not choke the tree of peace, and prevent it from covering your country and ours with its branches. I assure you that our warriors shall dance under its leaves, and will never dig up the hatchet to cut it down, till their brother Yonnondio or Corlear shall invade the country which the Great Spirit has given to our ancestors."

De la Barre was mortified and enraged at this bold reply; but, submitting to necessity, he concluded a treaty of peace, and returned to Montreal. His successor, De Nonville, led a larger army against the confederates; but fell into an ambuscade, and was defeated. These wars within the limits of the colony kept Colonel Dongan actively employed, and served to perpetuate the enmity of the Indians against the French, and their attachment to the English.

James II. having ascended the throne, determined to superadd New York and the Jerseys to the jurisdiction of the four colonies of New England; a new commission was passed in March, appointing Sir Edmund Andros captain-general and vice-admiral over the whole. The constitution established on this occasion was a legislative and executive governor and council, who were appointed by the king, without the concurrence of the people. The royal order to Governor Dongan to deliver up the seal of the province to his excellency Sir E. Andros, was read in the provincial council on the 28th of July, and ordered to be entered among the records of the province of New York. His rule was, however, of very brief duration. In the following year, the welcome intelligence of the accession of William and Mary to the British throne was joyfully received at New York, and the inhabitants waited with anxiety for orders to proclaim them; but while the principal officers and magistrates were assembled to consult for the public safety, Jacob Leisler, a captain of the militia, seized the fort, and held it for the prince of Orange. William and Mary were proclaimed there in June; and the province was for some time ruled by a committee of safety, at the head of which was Leisler. He was destitute of many of the qualifications necessary to conduct a difficult enterprise, but possessed the esteem and confidence of many of the officers, and of the people. His sudden elevation excited the envy of those magistrates and citizens who had declined to join him in proclaiming King William. Unable to raise a party against him in the city, they retired to Albany, where their exertions were successful. To diminish their influence, and to allay the jealousy of others, Leisler invited several of the principal citizens to unite with him in administering the government, a trust which had been confided to him alone by the militia. In a few months, however, a letter arrived from the ministry in England, directed "to such as, for the time being, take care for administering the laws of the province," and conferring authority to perform all the duties of lieutenant-governor. Leisler considered this letter addressed to himself, assumed the authority conferred,



A DIFFERENT VIEW OF THE MOUNTAIN SCENERY

appointed his council, and issued commissions in his own name. Before these disturbances, Colonel Dongan had resigned his office, and embarked for England. Lieutenant-governor Nicholson, unable to contend with Leisler, absconded in the night.

The people of Albany, led by Bayard, Courtlandt, formerly mayor of New York, and Livingston, acknowledged King William, but refused to submit to Leisler. Milborne was sent with a body of troops to enforce obedience, but, finding them united, he returned without attempting it. The next spring, going with a stronger force, he succeeded. Abandoning the fort to their rival, the leaders of the party took refuge in the neighbouring colonies; and Leisler, with vindictive rashness, proceeded to confiscate their estates. This arbitrary and unjust measure so exasperated the sufferers, that they long retained the most violent animosity against Leisler and his adherents.

In this state of contention the colonists of New York continued nearly two years, and the miseries of a foreign aggression were soon added to those of internal discord. War had been declared between France and England; and De Nonville had been replaced in the governorship of Canada by Count Frontignac, a veteran officer, whose skilful and energetic measures, aided by a large re-enforcement, soon raised the affairs of the French from the brink of ruin, and enabled them to act on the offensive. Frontignac was indefatigable in his efforts to gain over the Five Nations, who had made two attacks upon Montreal, and murdered a great number of inhabitants. He held a great council with them at Onondaga; and, as they seemed to be somewhat inclined to peace, he resolved to give their favourable disposition no time for change, and, at the same time, to inspirit his own drooping countrymen, by finding them immediate employment against the English colonies. On the 19th of January, a party of about two hundred French, and some Cahnuga Indians, set out, in a deep snow, for Schenectady; they arrived on the 8th of February, at eleven o'clock at night; and the first intimation the inhabitants had of their design, was conveyed in the noise of their own bursting doors. The village was burnt, sixty persons were butchered, twenty-seven suffered the worse fate of captivity, the rest made their way naked through the snow towards Albany, where some arrived in extreme distress, while many perished in the attempt. A party of young men, and some Mohawk Indians, set out from the latter place, pursued the enemy, and killed or captured twenty-five.

To avenge these barbarities, and others perpetra-

ted in New England, a combined expedition against Canada was projected. An army, raised in New York and Connecticut, proceeded as far as the head of Lake Champlain, whence, finding no boats prepared, they were obliged to return. Sir William Phipps, with a fleet of more than thirty vessels, sailed from Boston into the St. Lawrence, and, landing a body of troops, made an attack by land and water upon Quebec; but the return of the army to New York allowing the whole force of the enemy to repair to the assistance of the garrison, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise. Leisler, transported with rage when he was informed of the retreat, caused Winthrop, who commanded the New England forces, to be arrested, but was instantly compelled, by universal indignation, to release him. It was to the misconduct or incapacity of Leisler and Milborne, (the latter of whom, as commissary-general, had made no adequate provision for the enterprise,) that the failure of this expedition was attributed.

The messenger whom Leisler had despatched to convey his assurances of devoted loyalty to King William, had been most graciously received, and admitted to the honour of kissing his majesty's hand. But the latter lieutenant-governor, Nicholson, on his arrival in England, found means to induce the king not to recognise expressly the authority of Leisler, and so early as August, 1689, the government of New York was confided to Colonel Sloughter; though this officer being engaged in affairs of more immediate interest at home, did not arrive at New York till two years afterwards. Leisler felt himself so neglected by being thus superseded, and was so intoxicated with power, that he determined to retain it, and although twice summoned, refused to surrender the fort; he, however, sent two persons to confer with the governor, who, declaring them rebels, arrested and confined them. Alarmed by this measure, Leisler attempted to escape, but was apprehended with many of his adherents, and brought to trial. In vain did they plead their zeal for King William. In vain did Leisler insist that the letter from England authorized him to administer the government. They had lately resisted a governor with a regular commission, and this governor, and a subservient court, were resolved upon their conviction. Leisler and Milborne were both condemned to death for high treason. Sloughter was, however, unwilling to sacrifice two men, who, though they had sometimes erred, had served his master with zeal; but at length he yielded to the urgent persuasions of their enemies, and signed the warrant for their execution, which was speedily car-

ried into effect. On application to the king, their estates, which had been confiscated, were restored to their heirs.

Sloughter's administration was terminated by his sudden death in July, 1691. It had been turbulent and ineffective; the only portion of his government which appears to have been beneficial, was a conference which he held with the chiefs of the Five Nations, who had manifested some disposition to enter into a treaty with the French; but in consequence of Sloughter's explanations and persuasions, they expressed themselves willing to "brighten their ancient belt of friendship," and renew their offensive and defensive league with the English.

To put their friendship to the test, and to confirm it by calling it into exercise, Major Schuyler, who possessed great influence with the Indian chiefs, undertook, at the close of this year, an expedition against Montreal. The attempt did not succeed as to the principal object of attack, but the spirit of hostility was so intensely aroused in the Indians of the Five Nations, that they continued to wage war on the French during the winter, though the colonial troops had retired. Count Frontignac was so exasperated with their continued assaults, that he condemned to a death, accompanied by all the torments French ingenuity could devise, two Mohawk captives, whom the fate of war had thrown into his power. "Shortly before the execution, some Frenchman, less inhuman than his governor, threw a knife into the prison, and one of the Mohawks immediately despatched himself with it: the other, expressing contempt at his companion's mean evasion from glory, walked to the stake, singing in his death-chant that he was a Mohawk warrior, that all the power of man could not extort an indecent expression of suffering from his lips, and that it was ample consolation to him to reflect that he had made many Frenchmen suffer the same pangs that he must now himself undergo. When attached to the stake, he looked round on his executioners, their instruments of torture, and the assembled multitude of spectators, with all the complacency

of heroic fortitude; and, after enduring for some hours, with composed mien and triumphant language, a series of barbarities too atrocious and disgusting to be recited, his sufferings were terminated by the interposition of a French lady, who prevailed with the governor to order that mortal blow, to which human cruelty has given the name of *coup de grace*, or stroke of favour."*

Colonel Fletcher was appointed to succeed Sloughter, as governor of New York. He was active and energetic, but of sordid disposition and violent temper. One of his first exploits, the assertion of his claim to command the militia of Connecticut, and the reception given him by Captain Wadsworth, has already been related in the history of that colony. It was a fortunate circumstance that he yielded to the superior information and advice of Major Schuyler in all affairs relating to the Indians, who were thus kept from embracing the offers of peace which were continually presented them by Count Frontignac.

It had been the favourite object of all the governors of New York to assimilate the language and religion of the inhabitants, and to remove, as much as possible, the more striking indications of the Dutch origin of the colony. No one pursued this object with more zeal than Fletcher, who was bigotedly attached to the church of England. In two successive sessions he introduced the subject to the attention of the assembly; but the members, being generally in favour of the church of Holland, to his great mortification, disregarded his recommendations. The matter being again laid before them in a subsequent session, they passed a bill providing for the settlement, in certain parishes, of ministers of the gospel, to be chosen by the people. The council added an amendment, giving to the governor the power of approval or rejection; but the house refused to concur in the amendment, at which Fletcher was so much enraged, that he commanded them instantly to attend him, and addressing them in an angry speech, prorogued them to the next year.†

The remainder of Fletcher's administration was

* Grahame, vol. ii. p. 279. Smith, p. 78, 79.

† This speech is at once a specimen of Colonel Fletcher, and of colonial government; it is therefore inserted at length. "Gentlemen,—There is also a bill for settling a ministry in this city, and some other countries of the government. In that very thing you have shown a great deal of stiffness. You take upon you, as if you were dictators. I sent down to you an amendment of three or four words in that bill, which, though very immaterial, yet was positively denied. I must tell you, it seems very unmannerly. There never was an amendment yet desired by the council board, but what was rejected. It is the sign of a stubborn ill temper, and this I have also passed. But, gentlemen, I must take leave to tell you, if you seem to understand by these words, that none can serve without your collation or establishment, you are far mistaken. For I

have the power of collating or suspending any minister in my government, by their majesties' letters patent; and whilst I stay in the government, I will take care that neither heresy, sedition, schism, or rebellion, be preached among you, nor vice and profanity encouraged. It is my endeavour to lead a virtuous and pious life amongst you, and to give a good example: I wish you all to do the same. You ought to consider, that you have but a third share in the legislative power of the government; and ought not to take all upon you, nor be so peremptory. You ought to let the council have a share. They are in the nature of the house of lords, or upper house; but you seem to take the whole power in your hands, and set up for every thing. You have set a long time to little purpose, and have been a great charge to the country. Ten shillings a day is a large allowance, and you punctually exact it. You have been

not signalized by any occurrence worthy of record. The war between the French and the Five Nations sometimes languished by the address of Frontignac's negotiations, but was oftener kindled into additional rage and destruction by his enterprise and activity; and as their hostilities were prolonged, the French and the Indians seemed to be inspired with a mutual emulation of cruelty in victory, no less than of prowess in battle. The prisoners on both sides were made to expire in horrible tortures.* "On one occasion, when Frontignac succeeded in capturing a Mohawk fort, it was found deserted of all its inhabitants except a sachem in extreme old age, who sat with the composure of an ancient Roman in the capitol, and saluted his civilized compeer in age and infirmity with dignified courtesy and venerable address. Every hand was instantly raised to wound and deface his time-stricken frame; and while French and Indian knives were plunged into his body, he recommended to his Indian enemies rather to burn him with fire, that he might teach their French allies how to suffer like men."†

In 1697, the peace of Ryswick, which was concluded between Great Britain and France, gave security and repose to the colonies. The next year, the earl of Bellamont was appointed governor. He was particularly desirous of clearing the American seas of the pirates with which they had for some time been grievously infested. The government, however, declining to furnish an adequate naval force, the earl engaged with others in a private undertaking against them. Among the associates were Lord Chancellor Summers and the duke of Shrewsbury; the king himself, too, held a tenth share. The company, having procured a vessel of war, gave the command to Captain Kidd, and despatched him on a cruise against the pirates. He had been but a short time at sea, when he made a new contract with his crew, and, on the Atlantic and Indian oceans, became himself a daring and successful pirate. Three years afterwards he returned, burned his ship, and, with a strange infatuation, appeared in public at Boston. The earl

always forward enough to pull down the fees of other ministers in the government. Why did you not think it expedient to correct your own to a more moderate allowance? Gentlemen, I shall say no more at present, but that you do withdraw to your private affairs in the county. I do prorogue you to the 10th of January next, and you are hereby prorogued to the 10th day of January next ensuing."—Smith, p. 84, 85.

* We shall give but one instance out of many. "The prisoner being first made fast to a stake, so as to have room to move round it, a Frenchman began the horrid tragedy, by broiling the flesh of the prisoner's legs, from his toes to his knees, with the red-hot barrel of a gun. His example was followed by an Utawawa, who, being desirous to outdo the French in their refined cruelty, split a furrow from the prisoner's shoulder to his garter, and filling it with gunpowder, set fire to it. This gave him exquisite pain, and

of Bellamont wrote to the secretary of state, desiring that Kidd might be sent for, and a man-of-war was despatched upon this service; but being driven back by a storm, a general suspicion prevailed in England, that there was collusion between the ministry and the adventurers, who were thought unwilling to produce Kidd, lest he might discover that the chancellor and the other associates were confederates in the piracy. So powerful was this feeling, that a motion was made in the house of commons, that all who were concerned in the adventure might be deprived of their employments; but it was rejected by a great majority, and all subsequent attempts to implicate the unfortunate shareholders, only proved more satisfactorily their entire innocence of any participation either in the designs or the profits of Captain Kidd; although their imprudence in selecting a person whose previous character was very indifferent, was evident and undeniable. Ultimately Kidd was conveyed to England, where he was tried and executed.

The state in which Lord Bellamont found the government at New York was thus emphatically described by him in his first address to the assembly: "I cannot but observe to you, what a legacy my predecessor has left me, and what difficulties to struggle with; a divided people, an empty purse, a few miserable, naked, half-starved soldiers, not half the number the king allowed pay for; the fortifications, and even the governor's house, very much out of repair; and, in a word, the whole government out of frame." After this introduction, he puts them in mind that the revenue was near expiring. "It would be hard," he adds, "if I that come among you with an honest mind, and a resolution to be just to your interest, should meet with greater difficulties, in the discharge of his majesty's service, than those that have gone before me. I will take care there shall be no misapplication of the public money. I will pocket none of it myself, nor shall there be any embezzlement by others; but exact accounts shall be given you, when, and as often, as you shall require."‡

The abuses and corruption of the late governor,

raised excessive laughter in his tormentors. When they found his throat so much parched that he was no longer able to gratify their ears with his howling, they gave him water, to enable him to continue their pleasure longer. But at last his strength failing, an Utawawa flayed off his scalp, and threw burning hot coals on his skull. They then untied him, and bid him run for his life. He began to run, tumbling like a drunken man. They shut up the way to the east, and made him run westward, the country, as they think, of departed miserable souls. He had still force left to throw stones, till they put an end to his misery by knocking him on the head. After this every one cut a slice from his body, to conclude the tragedy with a feast."—Smith, p. 88.

† Grahame, vol. iii: p. 287.

‡ Smith's History of New York, p. 93, 94.

however, were by no means the most severe disorders which marred the peace of the colony; the increasing animosity of two numerous factions, consisting of the friends and the enemies of the unfortunate Leisler, were a still greater evil. Their mutual antipathy was roused by the occurrence of fresh opportunities to indulge it, and the public business of the province was seriously impeded. The character and manners of Lord Bellamont were adapted to compose these dissensions, although his just displeasure against the conduct of his predecessor extended itself to every person who had held office along with him, and in this class were comprehended the principal adversaries of Leisler. The assembly now consisted chiefly of the friends of Leisler, and they voted the sum of 1000*l.* to be paid to his son, to be levied immediately on the province, as a compensation for the damage he had sustained by the violent proceedings against his father.

The administration of Lord Bellamont, which was proceeding with a degree of integrity and wisdom calculated to excite hopes of very beneficial results to the colony, was terminated by his sudden demise, in March, 1701. In the appointment of a successor, that principle appears to have been acted upon, which has been so extensively injurious to the prosperity and to the loyalty of British colonies: the convenience of the ministry at home, and not the welfare of the state, induced them to send into honourable and gainful exile, the grandson of the celebrated earl of Clarendon. Possessing not one of the virtues of his ancestor, Lord Cornbury was mean, profligate, and unprincipled; a burden to his friends at home, they procured for him an appointment beyond the reach of his creditors. He declared himself an anti-Leislerian, and, by his influence, the first assembly that he summoned was composed principally of men of that party. They provided liberally for his expenses; yet several sums of money raised for public purposes, being entrusted to him as governor, were chiefly appropriated to his own use. His extravagance and oppression exposed him to the reprehensions of the house of assembly. A committee of grievances was appointed, and the resolutions proposed by them were adopted by the assembly. Although this took place at the beginning of the session, the haughty governor was so subdued by the opposition against him, and so dispirited through indigence, that he not only omitted to justify himself, but to show even an impotent resentment; for, after all the censures of the house, he tamely thanked them for passing a bill to discharge him from a small debt. Among the resolutions adopted by the assembly is one too remarkably indicative

of the tendency to independence which existed even at this period, to suffer it to pass unnoticed. It declares, "That the imposing and levying of any monies upon her majesty's subjects of this colony, under any pretence or colour whatsoever, without consent in general assembly, is a grievance, and a violation of the people's property;" an open avowal of the sentiment which subsequently occasioned the revolution.

The profligate and indecent manners of the governor rendered him universally odious. It was not uncommon for him to dress himself in a woman's habit, and then to patrol the fort in which he resided. Such freaks of low humour exposed him to the universal contempt of the people, while their indignation was kindled by his despotic rule, and injustice, not only to the public, but even to his private creditors; for he left some of the lowest tradesmen in his employment unsatisfied in their just demands.* In 1708, the assemblies of New York and of New Jersey, of which colony he was also governor, complained to the queen of his misconduct. She removed him from office; he was soon after arrested by his creditors, and remained in custody until the death of his father, when he returned to England and took his seat—where pauperism and crime were no disqualification for the highest honours and the most important duties—in the house of lords. Lord Lovelace, who had been appointed to succeed Lord Cornbury in the spring of 1708, did not arrive till the middle of December. The oppressive character of the preceding administration had rendered the people very desirous of a change, and the new governor was received with every demonstration of respect, and indeed with universal joy. His lordship informed them, in his speech at the opening of the session of the assembly, "that he had brought with him large supplies of soldiers and stores of war, as well as presents for the Indians," than which nothing could be more agreeable to the people. Although the assembly, in their answer, heartily congratulated his lordship on his arrival, and thanked the queen for her care of the province, yet they sufficiently intimated their disinclination to raise the revenue which the governor had requested. Lord Cornbury's conduct had rendered them utterly averse to a permanent support for the future, and yet they were unwilling to quarrel with the new governor. The project of providing annually for the support of government, however, as it rendered the governor and all the other servants of the crown dependent upon the assembly, would, doubtless, have produced a rupture between the several branches of

* Smith's History of New York, p. 207.

the legislature, but the very day on which the vote passed the house, his lordship died of a disorder contracted at his first arrival. His lady continued to reside at New York long after his death, soliciting for the sum voted to her husband, but nothing was allowed till several years had transpired.

When General Hunter, who had been appointed to succeed Lord Lovelace, arrived in the colony, he brought with him nearly three thousand Germans, some of whom settled in New York, and some in Pennsylvania. During the disgraceful administration of Lord Cornbury, the assembly had obtained from Queen Anne permission, in cases of special appropriations, to appoint their own treasurer. They now passed a bill, confiding to this officer the disbursement of certain sums appropriated for ordinary purposes. The council proposed an amendment. The house denied the right of that body to amend a money bill. Both continuing obstinate, the governor prorogued them, and at their next session dissolved them.

In the year 1709, expensive preparations were made for an attack upon the French settlements in Canada; but the promised assistance not arriving from England, the enterprise was abandoned. In 1711, however, the project was resumed; and a fleet sailed up the St. Lawrence to attack Quebec, while an army of four thousand men, raised by New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, marched to invade Canada, by the route of lake Champlain. The fleet, shattered by a storm, was compelled to return; and the army, informed of the disasters of the fleet, retired without accomplishing the object proposed.

To defray the expenses of this expedition, the newly elected assembly passed several bills, which the council persisted in amending. Between these two bodies another contest ensued. The representatives, deriving their authority from the people, considered themselves bound to watch over the expenditure of the money. The council, deriving their authority from the same source as the governor, were desirous of increasing his influence by giving him the management of the revenue. During this and a subsequent session both continued inflexible. The governor, provoked at the persevering determination of the representatives, again dissolved the assembly. At the ensuing election, which was warmly contested, most of the members chosen were opposed to the governor. This assembly was dissolved by the death of the queen. The next met a similar fate from the governor soon after it met, a majority of the representatives being known to be unfriendly to his views. At length, however, the people became weary of con-

tending; and most of the members chosen at the succeeding election were favourable to the governor, and, for several years, the utmost harmony existed between the different branches of the legislature.

General Hunter quitted the province in 1719, and his authority devolved on Peter Schuyler, the oldest member of the council. The next year, William Burnet, son of the celebrated bishop of that name, was appointed governor. "He was," says Smith, "a man of sense and polite breeding, a well-read scholar, sprightly, and of a social disposition. Being devoted to his books, he abstained from all those excesses into which his pleasurable relish would otherwise have plunged him. He studied the art of recommending himself to the people, had nothing of the moroseness of a scholar, was gay and condescending, affected no pomp, but visited every family of reputation, and often diverted himself in free converse with the ladies, by whom he was very much admired. No governor before him did so much business in chancery. The office of chancellor was his delight. He made a tolerable figure in the exercise of it, though he was no lawyer, and had a foible very unsuitable for a judge, I mean, his resolving too speedily, for he used to say of himself, 'I act first, and think afterwards.'" Mr. Burnet's long acquaintance with his predecessor in office gave him an excellent opportunity, before his arrival, to obtain correct information respecting those by whom he was now surrounded; and as the late governor recommended all his old friends to the favour of his successor, he made few changes among them.

Of all the governors of New York, none had more just views of Indian affairs, and of the dangers arising from the vicinity of the French, than Burnet. Turning his attention towards the wilderness, he perceived that the French, in order to connect their settlements in Canada and Louisiana, to secure to themselves the Indian trade, and to confine the English to the sea coast, were busily employed in erecting a chain of forts from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. He endeavoured to defeat their design, by building a trading-house, and afterwards a fort, at Oswego, on Lake Ontario. But the French had the command of more abundant resources, and applied them to the accomplishment of their object with great activity and zeal. They launched two vessels upon that lake; and, going farther into the wilderness, erected a fort at Niagara, commanding the entrance into it; they had previously erected Fort Frontenac, commanding the outlet. The Jesuit

Charlevoix does no more than justice to Mr. Burnet, in declaring that he left no stone unturned to defeat the French at Niagara. Besides supplanting his favourite trade at Oswego, these operations tended to the defection of the Five Nations; and, in case of a rupture, exposed the frontiers of the southern colonies to the ravages of the French and their allies. Mr. Burnet, upon whom these considerations made the deepest impression, laid the matter before the house, remonstrated against the proceedings to Longuiel, in Canada, wrote to the ministry in England, who complained of them to the French court, and met the confederates at Albany, endeavouring to convince them of the danger they themselves would be in from an aspiring, ambitious neighbour. He spoke first about the affair privately to the sachems, and afterwards, in the public conference, informed them of all the encroachments which the French had made upon their fathers, and the ill-usage they had met with, according to La Potherie's account, published with the privilege of the French king, at Paris, in 1722. He then reminded them of the kind treatment they had received from the English, who constantly fed and clothed them, and never attempted any act of hostility to their prejudice. This speech was extremely well drawn, the thoughts being conceived in strong figures, particularly expressive and agreeable to the Indians. The governor required an explicit declaration of their sentiments concerning the French transactions at Niagara, and their answer was truly categorical. "We speak now in the name of all the Six Nations, and come to you howling. This is the reason why we howl, that the governor of Canada encroaches on our land, and builds thereon." After which they entreated him to write to the king for succour. Mr. Burnet embraced this favourable opportunity to procure from them a deed, surrendering their country to his majesty, to be protected for their use, and confirming their grant in 1701, concerning which there was only an entry in the books of the secretary for Indian affairs.

It was an unfortunate circumstance, which tended to prevent the execution of Mr. Burnet's vigorous designs, that the electors of the colony had become dissatisfied at the length of time which had elapsed since they had been called on to exercise their functions. The assembly elected in 1716 had been on such good terms with the governor, that he continued its existence during the long period of eleven years. In the year 1727, however, the clamours of the people induced him to dissolve it; and, as might be expected, that which next met, was composed almost exclusively of his opponents. The court of chancery,

in which he presided, had become exceedingly unpopular. It had been instituted by an ordinance of the governor and council, without the concurrence of the assembly, and some of the decisions had given great offence to powerful individuals. The house passed resolutions, declaring it "a manifest oppression and grievance," and intimating that its decrees were void. Mr. Burnet no sooner heard of these votes, than he called the members before him, and dissolved the assembly. They occasioned, however, an ordinance in the spring following, as well to remedy sundry abuses in the practice in chancery, as to reduce the fees of that court, "which, on account of the popular clamours, were so much diminished," says Smith, "that the wheels of the chancery have ever since rusted upon their axles, the practice being contemned by all gentlemen of eminence in the profession."

Mr. Burnet was soon after appointed governor of Massachusetts, and was succeeded at New York by Colonel Montgomery, who devoted himself so much to his ease that he has left nothing else to distinguish his brief rule. Upon his death, in 1731, the supreme authority devolved upon Rip Van Dam, the senior member of the council. Under his inefficient administration, the French were permitted to erect a fort at Crown Point, within the acknowledged boundaries of New York, from which parties of savages were often secretly despatched to destroy the English settlements.

In August, 1732, Van Dam was superseded by William Cosby. Having been the advocate in parliament of the American colonies, he was at first popular, but he soon lost the affection and confidence of the people. One of his most unpopular acts was the prosecution of Zenger, the printer of a newspaper, for publishing an article derogatory to the dignity of his majesty's government, bringing him to trial, after a severe imprisonment of thirty-five weeks from the printing of the offensive articles. Andrew Hamilton, an eminent lawyer of Philadelphia, though aged and infirm, learning the distress of the prisoner, and the importance of the trial, went to New York to plead Zenger's cause, which he did so effectually, that the jury brought in the prisoner not guilty. The common council of the city of New York, for this noble and successful service, presented Mr. Hamilton the freedom of their corporation in a gold box.

Governor Cosby was succeeded, in 1736, by George Clark. During his administration, the contest which had ended, twenty years before, in the victory gained by Governor Hunter over the house

of representatives, was revived. The colony being in debt, the house voted to raise the sum of 6000*l.*; but, in order to prevent its misapplication, declared that it should be applied to the payment of certain specified debts. Offended by this vote, Clark immediately dissolved the assembly. At the election which ensued, the popular party was triumphant. In their second session, the house voted an address to the lieutenant-governor, in which, after stating some of the vital principles of free government, and referring to recent misapplications of money, they say, "We therefore beg leave to be plain with your honour, and hope you will not take it amiss when we tell you, that you are not to expect that we will either raise sums unfit to be raised, or put what we shall raise into the power of a governor to misapply, if we can prevent it; nor shall we make up any other deficiencies than what we conceive are fit and just to be paid; nor continue what support or revenue we shall raise for any longer time than one year; nor do we think it convenient to do even that, until such laws are passed as we conceive necessary for the safety of the inhabitants of this colony, who have reposed a trust in us for that only purpose, and which we are sure you will think it reasonable we should act agreeably to; and, by the grace of God, we shall endeavour not to deceive them." With men so resolute in maintaining their rights, Clark wisely declined to contend; and promised his cordial co-operation in all measures calculated to promote the prosperity of the colony. Harmony did not, however, long continue. Clark, in his speech at the opening of the next session, declared that unless the revenue was granted for as long a time as it had been granted by former assemblies, his duty to his majesty forbade him from assenting to any act for continuing the excise, or for paying the colonial bills of credit. The house unanimously resolved, that it would not pass any bill for the grant of money, unless assurance should be given that the excise should be continued and the bills of credit redeemed. The lieutenant-governor immediately ordered the members to attend him. He told them that "their proceedings were presumptuous, daring, and unprecedented, that he could not look upon them without astonishment, nor with honour suffer the house to sit any longer;" and he accordingly dissolved it. In April, 1740, the assembly again met. It had now risen to importance in the colony; and the adherence of the representatives, to their determination, not to grant the revenue for more than one year, made annual meetings of the assembly necessary. Their attachment to liberty was construed by the lieutenant-

governor into a desire for independence: in a speech delivered in 1741, he alludes to "a jealousy which for some years had obtained in England, that the plantations were not without thoughts of throwing off their dependence on the crown."

George Clinton superseded Clark in the government of the colony in 1743. Like most of his predecessors he was welcomed with joy; and one of his earliest measures confirmed the favourable accounts which had preceded him, of his talents and liberality. To manifest his confidence in the people, he assented to a bill limiting the duration of the present and all succeeding assemblies. The house evinced its gratitude by adopting the measures he recommended for the defence of the province against the French, who were then at war with England. In 1745, the savages in alliance with France made frequent invasions of the English territories; and their hostilities were continued, with little intermission, till the war which terminated the French dominion in Canada.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, the whole colony of New York contained scarcely one hundred thousand inhabitants,* not half the number which the city of New York alone can now boast. That the population would have been much more numerous at this time, had not the inhabitants been so continually exposed to the irruptions of the French and their Indian allies, is evident from its rapid increase when those unfavourable circumstances ceased to exist. The consideration of this period belongs, however, to another department of the work.

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW JERSEY.

THE rival settlements of the Swedes and the Dutch in New Jersey have been referred to in the preceding chapter. It was not till the year 1640, that any attempt to colonize this portion of the continent was made by the English, and then they were successfully resisted. The Swedes built a fort on the spot from which the English had been driven; and thus acquiring the command of the river, claimed and exercised authority over all vessels that entered it, even those of the Dutch, their late associates. They continued in possession of the country on both sides of the Delaware until 1655, when the governor of the New Netherlands, as has already been related, con-

* Smith's History of New York, p. 207.

quered all their posts, and transported most of the Swedes to Europe. The Dutch, consequently, possessed themselves of the whole territory of New Jersey, New York, and Delaware.

The settlements in New Jersey shared the fate of those on the Hudson, when, in the year 1664, they were captured by the English, under Colonel Nichols. In the same year, the duke of York conveyed that portion of his grant lying between Hudson and Delaware rivers to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. This tract was called **NEW JERSEY**, in compliment to Sir George, who had been Governor of the island of Jersey, and had held it for the king in his contest with the parliament. The two proprietors formed a constitution for the colony, securing equal privileges and liberty of conscience to all, and appointed Philip Carteret governor, to whom, on his arrival in 1665, Nichols reluctantly surrendered the government. Carteret fixed the seat of government at Elizabeth Town, purchased land of the Indians, and sent agents into New England to invite settlers from that quarter. Recommended by the salubrity of its climate, in addition to many other advantages,* it is not surprising that New Jersey was soon considered a very desirable residence. The proprietaries, still buoyed up with the hope of revenue from their province, used every exertion to circulate the intelligence of its advantages, both in Europe and America, and vessels from England were freighted with settlers and stores to reinforce the numbers and supply the necessities of the colony. But the period to which they had looked for the fulfilment of their hopes only demonstrated their fallacy. The first demand of the quit-rents excited general disgust among the colonists, who refused to acknowledge the title of the proprietaries, and, in opposition to it, set up titles which they had obtained for themselves from the Indians. For two years the governor maintained an ineffectual struggle to enforce the claims of the proprietaries, till at length the popular discontent broke forth in an insurrection; and he was compelled to return to England, stripped of his functions, which the colonists forthwith conferred on a natural son of Sir George Carteret, by whom their pretensions had been abetted. It was impossible for the proprietaries to impute blame to their governor, or to hesitate to replace him. This measure, however, was retarded by the unexpected events of the following year, when New York for a short period reverted to the dominion of Holland, and New Jersey was re-united to the province of New Netherlands.

* Chalmers says, "It was in those days accounted by men of peculiar dispositions as worthy of the name of paradise, because it

When the treaty of London re-established the authority of England in New Jersey, the duke of York appointed Andros his lieutenant over his territories, extending from the western bank of the Connecticut to the farther shore of the Delaware, because he deemed his former grant of New Jersey annulled by the conquest. Andros took possession of his charge in November, 1674; confirming the late proceedings of the Dutch, because the law of nations had already declared them in force, and continuing the taxes imposed by the conquerors, because they supported his power. Lord Berkeley, dissatisfied with an estate which brought him neither profit nor honour, assigned his pretensions to William Penn and his three associates, who, perceiving the disadvantage of a joint proprietorship, divided the province with Carteret; and thus the country became partitioned into East and West Jersey. The former was released in July, 1676, by the assignees of Lord Berkeley, to Carteret, and he in return conveyed to them the latter, the government of which the duke retained as a dependency of New York, while that of the first was resigned to Carteret. These arrangements created a confusion of jurisdiction, and an uncertainty of property, which long distracted the people, and at length ended in the annihilation of the rule of the proprietors.

Philip Carteret returned to East Jersey in the beginning of 1675, and was now kindly received by the inhabitants, because they had felt the rigours of conquest, which had not been softened by Andros. Having postponed the payment of quit-rents to a future day, and published new concessions with regard to the tenure of lands, tranquillity was perfectly restored. Desirous to promote the commercial interests of the colony, because he perceived its neighbour growing great and rich by trade, Carteret began, in 1676, to clear out vessels from East Jersey; but he was steadily opposed by Andros, who claimed jurisdiction over the Jerseys, insisting that conquest by the Dutch divested the proprietors of all their rights. He forcibly seized, transported to New York, and there imprisoned, those magistrates who refused to acknowledge his authority. He imposed a duty upon all goods imported, and upon the property of all who came to settle in the country.

The inhabitants made repeated and energetic complaints of this injustice to the duke of York; and at length, wearied with their continual importunity, this prince consented to refer the matter to commissioners, who ultimately agreed to adhere to the opinion of Sir William Jones.

had no lawyers, or physicians, or parsons."—Political Annals, p. 616.

The document containing the arguments in support of the views of the colonists, was drawn up by the celebrated William Penn and others, chiefly quakers, and is a fine specimen of the combined mildness and firmness in the pursuit of liberty, which characterize the proceedings of that sect and their associates. "To all prudent men," says the remonstrance, "the government of any place is more inviting than the soil. For what is good land without good laws? the better the worse. And if we could not assure people of an easy, and free, and safe government, both with respect to their spiritual and worldly property,—that is, an uninterrupted liberty of conscience, and an inviolable possession of their civil rights and freedoms, by a just and wise government,—a mere wilderness would be no encouragement; for it were a madness to leave a free, good, and improved country, to plant in a wilderness, and there adventure many thousands of pounds to give an absolute title to another person to tax us at will and pleasure. We humbly say, that we have lost none of our liberty by leaving our country; that the duty imposed upon us is without precedent or parallel; that, had we foreseen it, we should have preferred any other plantation in America. Besides, there is no limit to this power: since we are, by this precedent, taxed without any law, and thereby excluded from our English right of assenting to taxes, what security have we of any thing we possess? We can call nothing our own, but are tenants at will, not only for the soil, but for our personal estates. Such conduct has destroyed governments, but never raised one to any true greatness."

The commissioners pronounced their judgment, in conformity with the opinion of Sir W. Jones, "that as the grant to Berkeley and Carteret had reserved no profit or jurisdiction, the legality of the taxes could not be defended." In consequence of this adjudication, the duke resigned all his claims on West Jersey, and confirmed the province itself in the amplest terms to its new proprietaries; and soon after granted a similar release in favour of the representatives of Sir George Carteret in East Jersey. The whole of New Jersey thus rose to the rank of an almost independent state, maintaining only a federal connexion with the British crown.

The accession of numerous companies of settlers now rapidly promoted the population and prosperity of West Jersey. In the year 1681, the first representative assembly was held; and during its session

were enacted the "Fundamental Constitutions," and other laws for the preservation of property, and the punishment of criminals.

Frequent disputes arising between the proprietary government of East Jersey and the colonists, the trustees of Sir George Carteret, apprehending they should derive little emolument from retaining the government under their control, offered their rights in the province for sale, and accepted the proposals of William Penn, to whom, and his associates, East Jersey was conveyed.* Among the new proprietors was the author of the well-known "Apology;" and his colleagues, by a unanimous vote, conferred on him the office of governor for life, with the extraordinary permission to appoint a deputy instead of his residing at the scene of his authority.

The number of proprietors, and the frequent transfers and subdivisions of shares, introduced such confusion in titles to land, and such uncertainty as to the rights of government, that, for twenty years afterwards, both Jerseys were frequently in a state of disturbance and disorder. In 1702, the proprietors, weary of contending with each other, and with the people, surrendered the right of government to the crown. Queen Anne reunited the two divisions, and appointed Lord Cornbury governor over the provinces of New Jersey and New York. From the period of his appointment till his deprivation of office, the history of New Jersey consists of little else than a detail of his contests with the colonial assemblies; and exhibits the resolution with which they opposed his arbitrary conduct, his partial distribution of justice, and his fraudulent misapplication of the public money. After repeated complaints, the queen yielded to the universal indignation; and he was superseded, in 1709, by Lord Lovelace.

These provinces continued, for several years, to be ruled by the same governor, but each chose a separate assembly. In 1738, the inhabitants, by petition to the king, desired that they might, in future, have a separate governor; and their request was granted.

The distance of New Jersey from Canada, the source of most of the Indian wars which afflicted the northern colonies, gave it a complete exemption from those direful calamities, while the Indian tribes in the neighbourhood, which were far from numerous, were almost always willing to cultivate a friendly relation with the Europeans. The gravity, simplicity, and courtesy of quaker manners, seem to have been particularly acceptable to these savages; and,

* Though Penn thus became a proprietary of East Jersey, his connexion both with its concerns, and with those of West Jersey, was henceforward almost merely nominal. He had now acquired

for himself the province of Pennsylvania, which occupied all his interest, and diverted his attention from New Jersey."—Graham's vol. ii. p. 350.

added to the careful observation of the principles of equity in the proceedings of the colonists, established an amicable intercourse, to the manifest advantage both of themselves and of the natives.

CHAPTER IX.

PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE.

DURING a considerable period the colony of Delaware was attached to that of Pennsylvania, without even a separate assembly; and after it acquired that privilege, it remained for some time longer under the same governor: its history requires, therefore, to be blended with that of Pennsylvania, although it was settled at a much earlier period.

It does not appear that the date of the first European plantation on South River, or the Delaware, can now be ascertained with any precision; some authorities, however, assert, that a Swedish colony settled at Cape Henlopen as early as the year 1627; although Chalmers is of opinion that, "though various Europeans may have trafficked in Delaware, their plantations had not yet embellished her margin, probably in the year 1632." Shortly after that time, however, it is evident that a Swedish factory existed near the confluence of the Delaware on the eastern bank; for we find a governor of the Dutch colony of New Netherlands making a remonstrance on the subject, in which he declares "that the whole South River had been in the Dutch possession many years, above and below beset with forts, and sealed with their blood."* The Swedes, however, did not regard either the assertions or threats of their rivals, but continued their operations, which, through the limited extent of their means, did not extend beyond the purchase of some comparatively small tracts of land of the Indians. Being frequently molested by the Dutch, who claimed a right to the country, they built forts at Christina, Lewiston, and Tinicum. The last was their seat of government, and there John Printz, their governor, erected a mansion, which he named after himself.

The Dutch, jealous of the progress of the Swedes, in the year 1651 built a fort at New Castle. Printz considering this place to be within the territories of his government, formally protested against the proceeding. Risingh, his successor, made a visit under the guise of friendship, to the commander of the fort, and being accompanied by thirty men, treacherously

took possession of it while enjoying his hospitality. Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor of New York, was not of a temper to permit an injury, thus committed, to pass unavenged. Accompanied by an armament, a part of which was furnished for the occasion by the city of Amsterdam, in Holland, he, in 1655, returned the visit of the Swedes. He first reduced the fort at New Castle; then that at Christina creek, where Risingh commanded; and afterwards the others. Some of the Swedes, on taking the oath of allegiance to Holland, were permitted to remain; the rest were sent to Europe. The settlements on the Delaware continued under the control of the Dutch, until 1664, when the New Netherlands were conquered by the English. They were considered as a part of New York, till, in the year 1682, William Penn purchased of the duke of York the town of New Castle, and the country twelve miles around it; and, by a subsequent purchase, obtained the land lying upon the Delaware, and between New Castle and Cape Henlopen. These tracts, which constitute the present state of Delaware, were called the "Territories," and were, for twenty years, governed as a part of Pennsylvania.

The colony which forms the chief subject of this chapter, was founded, in the year 1681, by the celebrated William Penn. A slight sketch of the early history of this remarkable man, will enable the reader more justly to appreciate his subsequent exertions. He was the son of Sir William Penn, a British admiral, who, under the protectorate of Cromwell, effected the conquest of the important island of Jamaica, and annexed it to the British empire. After the restoration of Charles II. he enjoyed high favour at court, and naturally entertained ambitious hopes of the advancement of his son, whom he had entered as a gentleman commoner at Oxford. He was, however, doomed to experience a bitter disappointment. Young Penn imbibed a strong predilection for quaker sentiments, which he had heard extolled by some itinerating member of that society. He espoused the cause with so much warmth, that, with several others, he was expelled the university. His father, having in vain endeavoured to prevail upon him to abandon his principles, at length devised a method of sapping what he could not overthrow; and for this purpose, sent his son to travel, with some young men of quality, in France. Quakerism and Christianity were checked alike, for a time, in the mind of Penn; but after his return, having repaired to Ireland to inspect an estate that belonged to his father, he met with the same itinerant preacher who had impressed his mind so powerfully ten years before. His quaker senti-

* Smith's History of New York, p. 4.

ments were now revived with increased zeal, and quickly produced a public and resolute expression of his attachment to the tenets of that sect. He could not even be persuaded to take off his hat in the presence of the king, or of his parent. For this inflexibility he was abandoned and denounced by his father. He then commenced itinerant preacher, and gained many proselytes. Though sometimes imprisoned, he still persevered; and such was his integrity and patience, that his father became reconciled to him. In 1668, he published a book, entitled, *The Sandy Foundation Shaken*, for which he was imprisoned seven months. In 1670, he was apprehended for preaching in the street, and was tried at the Old Bailey, where he pleaded his own cause with the magnanimity of a hero. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty. On the death of his father he received a plentiful estate, but he continued to preach, to write, and to be imprisoned as before; and it was chiefly owing to his exertions, in conjunction with those of Barclay and Keith, that the fraternity of the Friends was formed into order.

The attention of Penn to colonization was attracted by his connexion with New Jersey, which has been referred to in a former chapter. While he was engaged in the government of that territory, he received information of the country situate to the westward of the Delaware, which induced in his mind the desire of acquiring an estate in that quarter. He therefore presented a petition to Charles II., urging his claim for a debt incurred by the crown to his father, and soliciting a grant of land to the northward of Maryland, and westward of the Delaware. After a conference with the duke of York and Lord Baltimore, to ascertain that the grant would not interfere with any prior claims of theirs, a charter, making conveyance of that territory, was signed and sealed by the king. It constituted William Penn and his heirs true and absolute proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania, saving to the crown their allegiance and the sovereignty. It gave him, his heirs, and their deputies, power to make laws, by advice of the freemen, and to erect courts of justice for the execution of those laws, provided they be not repugnant to the laws of England.*

The charter being thus obtained, Penn invited purchasers by public advertisement. Many single persons, and some families, chiefly of the denomination of quakers, were induced to think of a removal; and a number of merchants and others, forming themselves into a company, purchased twenty thousand acres of this land, which was sold at the rate of twenty pounds for every thousand acres. In May he despatched Markham, a relative, with a few associates, to take possession of the newly granted territory; and in the autumn three ships, with a considerable number of emigrants, sailed for the same destination. The philanthropic proprietor sent a letter to the Indians, informing them that "the great God had been pleased to make him concerned in their part of the world, and that the king of the country where he lived, had given him a great province therein; but that he did not desire to enjoy it without their consent; that he was a man of peace, and that the people whom he sent were of the same disposition; and if any difference should happen between them, it might be adjusted by an equal number of men chosen on both sides." The position selected by these emigrants for their abode, was immediately above the confluence of the Schuylkill and the Delaware.

In the following April, Penn published "the frame of government for Pennsylvania." The chief intention of this famous charter was declared to be, "for the support of power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power. For, liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery." In prosecution of these salutary objects, the chief aim of the proprietary was to establish the supreme power, legislative and executive, upon proper principles. The assembly, therefore, was directed to consist at first of the whole of the freemen, afterwards of two hundred, but never to exceed five. A provincial council was established, consisting of seventy-two members, to be chosen by the freemen; of these counsellors there was to be an annual succession of twenty-four new ones, the same number annually going out; and the governor was to preside, invested with a treble vote. Thus composed, the council was not only invested with the whole executive powers, but, as in the Carolinian con-

* The following account of the origin of the name Pennsylvania, given by its founder, in a letter dated January 5, 1681, is curious and interesting. "This day," says Penn, "after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes, in council, my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of Pennsylvania—a name the king would give it in honour of my father. I chose New Wales, being a billy country; and when the secretary, a Welshman, refused to call it New Wales, I proposed Sylvania, and they added Penn to it; though I much opposed it, and went to the king to have it

struck out. He said 'twas past, and he would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the under-secretary to vary the name; for I feared it should be looked on as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the king to my father, as it really was. Thou mayest communicate my grant to my friends, and expect shortly my proposals. 'Tis a dear and just thing, and my God, that has given it me through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it be well laid at first."

stitutions, with the authority of preparing such bills as ought to be presented to the assembly. As a supplement to the frame of government, a body of laws, agreed upon in England by the adventurers, was published in May, which was intended as a great charter;* and Chalmers allows that "it does great honour to their wisdom as statesmen, to their morals as men, to their spirit as colonists."[†]

Of all the evidences of superior wisdom, none can be more decisive than entertaining ideas of moral truth, or devising plans of practical utility, which, though rejected in the times in which the individual lives, receive the sanction of future ages. This is eminently the case with Bacon and with Locke; and that it is no less so with the founder of Pennsylvania, the almost universal approbation of the principles on which his penal code was formed, fully attests. That system of laws justly claims for him the praise of original excellence and enlightened humanity: its regulations have been productive of lasting benefit to mankind. Only two capital crimes, treason and murder, were recognised by this code; and, in all other cases, the reformation of the offender was esteemed a duty not less imperative than the punishment of the offence. To this end it was enacted, that all prisons should be workhouses, where offenders might be reclaimed, by discipline and instruction, to habits of industry and morality, and political benefit deduced from the performance of Christian duty. The institutions that resulted from this benevolent enterprise, in legislation, have reflected honour on Pennsylvania, and diffused their advantages extensively in America and

Europe. It is deeply to be regretted, however, that no civilized nation has been more slow in its mitigation of the cruel and bloody character of a penal code derived from a barbarous age, than our own.

To prevent all future pretence of claim to the province by the duke of York, or his heirs, Penn obtained of the duke his deed of release for it; and, as an additional territory, he procured of him also his right and interest in that tract of land, which was at first called the territories of Pennsylvania, afterwards, "The three lower counties on Delaware."

Having completed these arrangements by the month of August, Penn embarked for America, accompanied by a considerable number of passengers, chiefly of his own religious sentiments. He landed at New Castle on the 24th of October; and the very next day the people were summoned to the court house, where, after possession of the country had been legally given him, he made a speech to the magistrates and the people, acquainting them with the design of his coming, and the nature and end of the government he came to establish; assuring them of liberty of conscience and civil freedom, and recommending them to live in sobriety and peace. He then proceeded to Upland, afterwards called Chester, and there called an assembly on the 4th of December. This assembly passed an act of union, annexing the three lower counties to the province;‡ and an act of settlement, in reference to the frame of government. The Dutch, Swedes, and other foreigners, were then naturalized; and all laws agreed on in England were passed in form. He selected the site, and marked out the plan, of an ex-

* "Among other regulations propounded in it, it was declared, that the character of freemen of the province should belong to all purchasers or renters of a hundred acres of land; to all servants or bondsmen who, at the expiring of their engagements, should cultivate the quota of land (fifty acres) allotted to them by law, and to all artificers and other inhabitants or residents who should pay scot and lot to the government; that no public tax should be levied from the people 'but by a law for that purpose made,' and that whoever should collect or pay taxes not so sanctioned, should be held a public enemy of the province, and a betrayer of its liberties; 'that all prisons shall be workhouses;' that a thief should restore twice the value of his theft, and, in default of other means adequate to such restitution, should work as a bondsman in prison for the benefit of the party injured; that the lands, as well as the personal property, of a debtor, should be responsible for his obligations, except in the case of his having lawful children, for whose use two thirds of the landed estate were appointed to be reserved; that all factors and correspondents in the province wronging their employers, should, in addition to complete restitution, pay a surplus amounting to a third of the sum they had unjustly detained; that all dramatic entertainments, games of hazard, sports of cruelty, and whatever else might contribute to promote ferocity of temper or habits of dissipation and irreligion, should be discouraged and punished; and 'that all children within this province, of the age of twelve years, shall be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want.' This regulation, so congenial to primitive quaker sentiment, and to republican spirit and simpli-

city, was admirably calculated not less to promote fellow feeling than to secure independence. It contributed to preserve a sense of the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original destination to labour; and while it tended thus to abate the pride and insolence of wealth, it operated no less beneficially to remedy the decay of fortune, peculiarly incident to wealthy settlers in a country where the dearth of all kinds of labour rendered idleness a much more expensive condition than in Europe. It was further declared, that no persons should be permitted to hold any office, or to exercise the functions of freemen, but 'such as profess faith in Jesus Christ, and are not convicted of ill fame, or unsober and dishonest conversation;' and that all persons acknowledging the one almighty and eternal God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and professing to be conscientiously engaged to live peaceably and justly in society, should be wholly exempted from molestation for their more particular opinions and practices, and should never at any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious place, ministry, or worship whatever."—Grahame, vol. ii. p. 402—404.

† Political Annals, p. 642.

‡ Until this union with Pennsylvania, these counties, from the year 1667, had been holden as an appendage to the government of New York. Encyclop. Brit. vol. v. p. 719. The want of the royal authority for this act, with the operation of other causes, produced difficulties, which afterwards rendered this union void; and the three lower counties had a separate assembly, though under the same governor. Belknap, Biog. vol. ii. p. 412. Franklin, p. 16.

tensive city, to which he gave the name of Philadelphia, or the city of love. Before the end of the year it contained eighty dwellings.

The colonies in general merit little praise for their wisdom and discretion in their conduct with the Indians. They were too prone to look on the wild man as an inferior being, and set themselves up as lords over his rights and property, without remembering that they were intruders on his soil, or condescending to meet him, even in the land of his fathers, on equal and amicable terms. But the memorable interview of Penn with the Indians, on the banks of the Delaware, exhibited a different scene;* the even scales of justice, and the mild persuasion of Christian love, were the powerful engines with which he swayed the barbarian mind, and taught the savage to confide in the sincerity of the white man; and the first page in the annals of Pennsylvania is one of the brightest in the history of mankind, recording an event not more to the credit of the wise and benevolent legislator through whose agency it happened, than honourable to humanity itself. At a spot which is now the site of one of the suburbs of Philadelphia, the Indian sachems, at the head of their assembled warriors, awaited in arms the approach of the quaker deputation. Penn, distinguished from his followers only by a sash of blue silk, and holding in his hand a roll of parchment that contained the confirmation of the treaty, arrived, at the head of an unarmed train, carrying various articles of merchandise, which, on their approach to the sachems, were spread on the ground. He addressed the natives through an interpreter, assuring them of his friendly and peaceable intentions; and certainly the absence of all warlike weapons was a better attestation of his sincerity than a thousand oaths. The conditions of the proposed purchase were then read; and he delivered to the sachems not only the stipulated price, but a handsome present of the merchandise which he had spread before them. He concluded by presenting the parchment to the sachems, and requesting that they would carefully preserve it for three generations. The Indians cordially acceded to his propositions, and solemnly pledged themselves to live in

love with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon should endure.†

The prudence with which Penn conducted himself was strictly consistent with a sincere attachment to his own opinions. He evidently appreciated more correctly the rights of his fellow-men than his northern neighbours, the puritan colonists. He believed, and acted on the belief, that the Indians had as much right to hold the peculiarities of their creed, as he had to hold his own religious tenets; and he never gave them unnecessary offence by treating their sentiments with bitterness, or, what is more keenly felt, by contempt.‡ This prudent conduct, together with a still more extraordinary reliance upon the protection of Providence in refusing to maintain any armed force, although surrounded with the warlike aborigines, was attended by a no less singular exemption from evils arising to every other European colony without exception, from the neighbourhood of the Indian tribes. Whatever animosity the Indians might conceive against the European neighbours of the Pennsylvanians, or even against Pennsylvanian colonists who did not belong to the quaker society, they never failed to discriminate the followers of Penn, as persons whom it was impossible for them to include within the pale of legitimate hostility. This unique and interesting fact has, doubtless, availed more than all arguments in support of the alleged immorality of all kinds of resistance which can result in the deprivation of human life.

Irrespective of the peculiar talents and character of the founder, none of the colonies commenced under such favourable auspices as that of Pennsylvania. The experience of half a century had disclosed the evils to be avoided, and pointed out the course to be pursued. The soil being fertile, the climate temperate, and the game abundant, the first emigrants escaped most of the calamities which afflicted the more northern and southern provinces, and the increase of population exceeded all former example.

A second assembly was held at Philadelphia, in March, 1683. During this session, Penn created a second frame of government, to which he readily

* Tradition tells us, that the treaty of 1682 was held at Shackamaxon, under the wide-spread branches of the great elm-tree which grew near the margin of the Delaware, and which was prostrated during a storm in the year 1810. The trunk measured twenty-four feet in circumference, and its age was ascertained to be two hundred and eighty-three years, having been a hundred and fifty-five years old at the time of the treaty. This tree Mr. West has introduced into his celebrated picture representing the treaty. The first deed of the Indians is dated June 23, 1683.—*Memoirs of Pennsylvania Historical Society*, vol. i. pp. 65, 82, 96, 97.

† Penn's letter, containing an account of the climate, products,

and native inhabitants of the country, though too long to insert in this work, will well repay the perusal of the curious. It is to be found in *Proud's History of Pennsylvania*, vol. ii. ch. 5.

‡ "The following adventure, indicative of his extreme caution of giving offence, was communicated by Penn himself to Oldmixon. He was visiting an Indian sachem, and had retired for the night when a young woman, the sachem's daughter, approaching his bed lay down beside him. Penn was much shocked; but, unwilling to offend by rejecting an intended compliment, he lay still without taking any notice of her, till she thought proper to return to her own couch. Vol. i. p. 398, second edition. *A New England pa*

procured the assent of the assembly. This frame diminished the number of the council and assembly, and was in other respects different from the first. It was ordained, "that, to prevent lawsuits, three arbitrators, to be called peace-makers, should be chosen by the county courts, to hear and determine small differences between man and man; that children should be taught some useful trade, to the end that none might be idle, that the poor might work to live, and the rich if they should become poor; that factors wronging their employers should make satisfaction, and one third over; that every thing which excites the people to rudeness, cruelty, and irreligion, should be discouraged, and severely punished;* that no one, acknowledging one God, and living peaceably in society, should be molested for his opinions or his practice, or compelled to frequent or maintain any ministry whatever." This assembly also established various salutary regulations. Abrogating the common law with regard to the descent of land, which had been introduced by the charter, it enacted, "that the estate of the intestate shall be disposed of, one third of the personal property absolutely, and one third of the lands during life, to the widow, two thirds of both among the children, the eldest son having a double share." However consonant it might have been to feudal principles to give the lands of the feudary undiminished to him who was first able to defend them, this policy was extremely unsuitable to colonists who had a wilderness to cultivate; evidently, by giving property to every one, the exertions of all were invigorated. By the promulgation of such laws, the growing prosperity of the province was promoted; and to their salutary influence must be attributed the qualities of diligence, order, and economy, for which the Pennsylvanians are so justly celebrated. Within four years from the date of the grant to Penn, the province contained twenty settlements, and Philadelphia two thousand inhabitants.

Having received information from his agent that his presence was necessary in England, Penn departed from America in August, 1684, leaving his province in profound peace, under the administration of five commissioners chosen from the provincial council. The unfortunate James II. ascended the throne soon after Penn's arrival. "As he has," said Penn, "been my friend, and my father's friend, I feel bound in justice to be a friend to him." He adhered to him

while seated on the throne; and for two years after he was expelled from his kingdom, the government of the province was administered in his name. By this display of attachment to the exiled monarch, he incurred the displeasure of William III. On vague suspicion and unfounded charges, he was four times imprisoned. The king took the government of Pennsylvania into his own hands; and Colonel Fletcher was appointed governor of this province, as well as of New York. On the arrival of Colonel Fletcher at Philadelphia, the persons in the administration appear to have surrendered the government to him, without any notice or order to them, either from the crown or the proprietary. By the severest scrutiny, however, it was rendered apparent, that Penn had not suffered personal gratitude to lead him to any serious dereliction of duty, and he consequently regained the good opinion of King William; and being permitted to resume and exercise his rights, he appointed William Markham to be his deputy-governor.

In the year 1696, the assembly having presented a remonstrance to Governor Markham, complaining of the breach of their chartered privileges, a bill of settlement, prepared and passed by the assembly, was approved by the governor, forming the third frame of government in Pennsylvania. A bill for raising 300*l.*, professedly for the relief of the distressed Indians beyond Albany, but really in compliance with the demand of the governor of New York, to aid in the prosecution of the war, was passed by the same legislature.†

During several years the colony continued in a course of prosperity, without any occurrence requiring historical record. In the year 1699, Penn revisited his Pennsylvanian associates, accompanied by his family, with an intention of spending the remainder of his life amongst them. Several circumstances now existed, which occasioned differences of opinion between himself and the legislature; more particularly that prolific source of evil—negro slavery, and the frauds and abuses that disgraced the character of the colonists in their traffic with the Indians. With the view of providing a remedy for both these evils, he presented to the assembly three bills which he had himself prepared; the first, for regulating the morals and marriages of the negroes; the second, for regulating the trials and punishments of the negroes; and the third, for preventing abuses and frauds upon the

triarh, in such circumstances, would probably have excited the enmity of the whole Indian tribe by his expressions of disgust and reprobation."—Grahame, vol. ii. p. 415.

* Some of these clauses, it will be perceived, were only re-enactments of the resolutions of the first assembly.

† Dr. Franklin mentions an instance some years after, of a re-

quisition addressed to the assembly of Pennsylvania for a grant of 2000*l.* for the purchase of gunpowder; to which the assembly replied, that, consistently with quaker principles, they could not grant a farthing for such a purpose, but had voted 2000*l.* for the purchase of grain.

Indians. The assembly instantly negatived the first and last of these bills, acceding only to that which related to the trial and punishment of their slaves. Though disappointed of the more extensive influence, which, as a political legislator, he had hoped to exercise, he was yet able, in his ecclesiastical ministry among the quakers, to introduce into their discipline regulations and practices relative to the purposes of the rejected bills, the spirit of which, at least, was, by the example of this powerful sect, forcibly recommended to general imitation. But the progress of reform, by moral causes, is slow; the enactment of laws must follow up and sustain whatever is gained by persuasion. The memory is assisted by the written page, while we soon forget the voice of entreaty, however strong the argument.

Penn had now determined again to leave America and return to England, and he naturally desired to have some frame of government finally established before his departure. In 1701, he prepared and presented one to the assembly, which was accepted. It confirmed to them, in conformity with that of 1696, the right of originating bills, which, by the charters preceding that date, had been the right of the governor alone, and of mending or rejecting those which might be laid before them. To the governor it gave the right of rejecting bills passed by the assembly, of appointing his own council, and of exercising the whole executive power.

Immediately after his fourth frame was accepted, Penn returned to England; but he had scarcely arrived there, when the disputes between the province and the territories broke forth with greater bitterness than ever; and in the following year, the separate legislature of Delaware was permanently established at Newcastle. In addition to the tidings of these prolonged disagreements, and of the final rupture between the two settlements, Penn was harassed by complaints against the administration of Governor Evans; and having ascertained, by a deliberate examination of them, that they were too well founded, he appointed in his place Charles Gookin, a gentleman of ancient Irish family, who seemed qualified to give satisfaction to the people over whom he was sent to preside. Finding his people still in a discontented state, Penn, now in his sixty-sixth year, for the last time addressed the assembly, in a letter replete with calm solemnity and dignified concern. This letter is said to have produced a deep and powerful impression on the more considerate part of the assembly, who now began to feel for the father of his country, and to regard with tenderness his venerable age; to remember his long labours and to appreciate their own interest in his distinguished

fame: but it is very doubtful if this change of sentiment was ever known to its illustrious object, who was attacked shortly afterwards by a succession of apoplectic fits, which impeded, in a great degree, the exercise of his memory and understanding, and ultimately terminated his life.

It would be injustice to suffer the great founder of the Pennsylvanian republic to pass from our view without glancing at the excellencies of his character. The keenness of foresight, the sagacity and penetration of judgment, the fertility in inventing, and clearness of discernment in applying resources, which the events of his life display, are no less remarkable than the pure spirit of universal benevolence, which seems to have been the governing principle of all his actions, as it was the leading tenet in his particular views of religion. By steadily adhering to the maxims of gospel charity in the establishment of his commonwealth, he secured it against many of those violent shocks, which at that time threatened the dissolution of some of the elder and more robust colonies, especially from the hostility of the savages, over whom, by pacific measures, kind treatment, probity, and equitable dealing, he gained an ascendancy far more complete than any exhibition of military force could have acquired. It is not strictly true, indeed, as asserted by some writers, that he was the first of the colonists to treat with the savages on an equal footing, and to obtain their lands by honourable purchase; for numerous instances occur in the history of other colonies, where the same respect was shown to the primeval lords of the soil: but although William Penn did not first set the example of this moderation, he and his followers alone persevered in the practice of it, and thus preserved the good will of their savage neighbours, while, in other parts of the country, a different course of conduct on the part of the colonists subjected them to a series of wasteful and vindictive wars, which ended only with the extermination of some of the most powerful among the aboriginal tribes. The same enlightened spirit of benevolence, which led Penn to consult his true interest in adopting peaceful means of avoiding the enmity of the savages, dictated the memorable clause in the code drawn up by him for the use of his colony, that "all persons living in the province, who confess and acknowledge the one almighty and eternal God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no wise be molested for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship." The constant assertion of this golden rule of civil society, and that too by one

whose life and fortune were devoted to the task of gaining proselytes for that peculiar sect of which he was so illustrious a member, evinces a liberality of feeling rarely equalled in that or any other age.

The legislatures and governors continuing to act on the noble principles and example which their founder left for their imitation, the colony acquired, by well-conducted purchases from the Indians, a most extensive and unembarrassed territory, and proceeded rapidly in its prosperous course. The only circumstance which appears to have created any internal disunion worthy of notice, was a dispute between the governors and the assembly, on the question of exempting the land of the proprietaries from the general taxation—a claim which the inhabitants deemed very inequitable. In January, 1757, the assembly of Pennsylvania voted a bill for granting to his majesty the sum of 100,000*l.* by a tax on all the estates, real and personal, and taxables, within the province. On submitting it to Governor Denny for his sanction, he refused it. "The proprietaries," he observed in his message, "are willing their estates should be taxed in the manner that appears to them to be reasonable, and agreeable to the land-tax acts of parliament in our mother country." He stated, that, "his majesty's service, and the defence of this province, render it necessary to raise immediate supplies;" and earnestly recommended it to the assembly to frame such a bill as it was in his power to pass, "consistent with his honour, and his engagements to the proprietaries." The message was regarded as an invasion of the rights of the colonists; and the assembly remonstrated with the governor. In that spirited document they say, "We have, in the due exercise of our just rights by the royal and provincial charters, and the laws of this province, and as an English representative body, framed this bill consistent with those rights." Having assigned their reasons to sustain the remonstrance, they conclude it in these words: "We do therefore, in the name of our most gracious sovereign, and in behalf of the distressed people we represent, unanimously demand it of the governor as our right, that he give his assent to the bill we now present him, for granting to his majesty 100,000*l.* for the defence of this province, (and as it is a money-bill, without alteration or amendment, any instructions whatsoever from the proprietaries notwithstanding,) as he will answer to the crown for all the consequences of his refusal at his peril." This declaration produced no other effect upon the governor, than that of confirming his refusal, and of drawing from him a laboured justification, "grounded upon parliamentary usage in England, and the supposed hardship of taxing the

unimproved lands of the proprietaries." The governors of Pennsylvania thus adhering to their instructions, not to assent to any tax bill that did not exempt the estates of the proprietaries, the assembly of that province deputed the celebrated Benjamin Franklin as an agent to London, to petition the king for redress. The subject was discussed before the privy council; and Mr. Franklin acceded to a proposal to enter into engagements that the assessments should be fair and equitable, a bill for levying a general tax, which had previously received the governor's assent, though after the agent's departure from the province, was stamped with the royal approbation. These disputes, by calling the energetic mind of Benjamin Franklin into a new field of exertion, enlarged the sphere of his observation, and fitted him for those extraordinary services in which he acquired his greatest glory by contributing to that of his country.

CHAPTER X.

MARYLAND.

THE founder of the state of Maryland was Cecil, Lord Baltimore. His father had been secretary of state to James I., and one of the original associates of the Virginia Company. He visited that colony in the year 1622, to ascertain if some portion of its rich territory could not be rendered subservient to the interests of his family, and at the same time afford a desirable retreat for persecuted professors of the Romish faith, to which he had become a convert. He subsequently prevailed on Charles I. to bestow on him the desired grant, and had made considerable preparations for carrying his design into effect, when death put an end to his projects, which were, however, adopted, and zealously prosecuted by his son. On his behalf, the king, in June, 1632, executed the charter which his father had solicited; and conferred on the new colony the title of Maryland, as a tribute of respect to Henrietta Maria, his queen. The new province was declared to be separated from Virginia, to which its territory had belonged, and subject only to the crown of England. Lord Baltimore was created the absolute proprietary of it, and was empowered, with the assent of the freemen, or their delegates, whom he was required to assemble for that purpose, to make laws for the province, and to administer them. The territory was erected into a palatinate; and the proprietary was invested with all the royal rights of the palace, as fully as any bishop of Durham had ever

enjoyed; he was authorized to appoint officers, to repel invasions, and to suppress rebellions; what is still more remarkable, the charter contained no obligation on the proprietary to transmit the acts of assembly for confirmation or disallowance by the king; and it also possessed the peculiarity of being the first example of the dismemberment of a colony, and the creation of a new one within its limits, by the mere act of the crown.

Having obtained so favourable a charter, Lord Baltimore proceeded to carry its provisions into execution. He appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, governor of the new province, and concurred with him in the equipment of vessels, which conveyed a numerous body of emigrants, chiefly Roman Catholics, and many of them gentlemen of rank and fortune. After a circuitous voyage, the governor arrived, accompanied by his brother George, at Point Comfort, in Virginia, in February, 1634. Early in March, he proceeded up the bay of Chesapeake to the northward, and entered the Potomack; up which he sailed twelve leagues, and came to an anchor under an island, which he named St. Clement. Here he erected a cross, and took possession "in the name of the Saviour of the world, and of the king of England." Thence he went fifteen leagues higher to the Indian town of Potomack on the Virginia side of the river, now called New Marlborough, where he was received in a friendly manner. Arriving at the town of Piscatawa, on the Maryland side, he found Henry Fleet, an Englishman, who had resided several years among the natives, and was held by them in great esteem, who was very serviceable as an interpreter. An interview having been procured with the werowance, or prince, Calvert asked him, whether he was willing that a settlement should be made in his country; he replied, "I will not bid you go, neither will I bid you stay; but you may use your own discretion." Having convinced the natives that his designs were honourable and pacific, the governor now sought a suitable station for commencing his colony. He visited a creek on the northern side of the Potomack, on which he found an Indian village. Here he acquainted the prince of the place with his intentions, and by presents to him and his principal men, conciliated his friendship so much as to obtain permission to reside in one part of the town until next harvest, when it was agreed that the natives should entirely quit the place. Both parties entered into a contract to live together in a friendly manner. After Calvert had given a satisfactory consideration, the Indians readily yielded a number of their houses, and retired to the others. Thus, on the 27th of March, 1634, the governor took

peaceable possession of the country of Maryland, and gave to the town the name of St. Mary, and to the creek, on which it was situate, the name of St. George. The desire of rendering justice to the natives by giving them a reasonable compensation for their lands, is a trait in the character of the first planters, which will always do honour to their memory.

Circumstances favoured the rapid population of the colony. The charter granted more ample privileges than had ever been conceded to a subject; the country was inviting; the natives were friendly; from the south churchmen drove puritans, from the north puritans drove churchmen, into her borders, where all were freely received, protected, and cherished. The colony was soon able to export Indian corn and other products to New England and Newfoundland, for which they received in return dried fish and other provisions. The Indians also killed many deer and turkies, which they sold to the English for knives, beads, and other small articles of traffic, while cattle, swine, and poultry, were procured from Virginia.

During the first years of the colony, when the freemen were few in number, each attended the general assembly in person, or authorized some other freeman to vote in his stead. The increase of population, however, soon rendered it necessary to adopt a different mode of legislation; and in 1639 an act was passed, constituting a house of assembly, to be composed of such as should be chosen by the people, of such as should be summoned or appointed by the proprietor, and of the governor and secretary. These were to meet together, and the laws which they should frame were to possess the same validity as though the proprietors and all the people had concurred in enacting them. The colony was not entirely free from internal troubles. In the year 1631, Charles I. had granted a license to one William Cleyborne, who was described as one of the council, and secretary of state of Virginia, "to traffic in those parts of America for which there is already no patent granted for sole trade." Cleyborne and his associates, with the spirit of exclusion so common in those days, attempted to monopolize the trade of the Chesapeake; and with this intent, they appear to have planted a small colony on the isle of Kent, which commands both the shores of Chesapeake Bay, where it washes Annapolis, the present capital of Maryland. The Virginians boasted that the colonists of Kent sent burgesses to their assembly, and were subjected to their jurisdiction before Maryland had a name, and the province found abundant cause to regret, that a people had taken up their abode within its limits, who paid unwilling obedience to its laws. Cleyborne continued

to claim Kent Island, and to refuse submission to the jurisdiction of Maryland. Lord Baltimore, however, gave orders, in September, 1634, to seize the refractory trader, if he did not submit to his government; judging wisely, that subordination would cease, should an independent jurisdiction be established in the centre of his province. Still continuing to resist, and to excite rebellion in others, he was at length indicted, and found guilty of murder, piracy, and sedition; but he fled from justice, and his estate was seized, as forfeited to those laws which he had formerly contemned as invalid. The afflictions of this period are indicated by a statute of the assembly, which recites, "that the province had been wasted by a miserable dissension and unhappy war, which had been closed by the joyful restitution of a blessed peace." To promote the restoration of tranquillity and mutual confidence, an act of general pardon and oblivion was passed, from the benefits of which only a few leading characters were excepted; and all actions were discharged for wrongs that might have been perpetrated during the revolt. "By a singular reverse of fortune," says Chalmers, "Cleyborne lived to command in the province whence he was now driven with infamy, to feel the pangs of old age when accompanied with poverty, to apply to a prince for support, whose beneficence was not even extended to those who had suffered for his family and himself."*

It is a fact, which reflects the greatest credit on these early colonists, that fifteen years after they first landed, the general assembly of the people passed an act, entitled, "An Act concerning Religion," in which the great principles of religious toleration and liberty are so extensively recognised. The following is an extract from the act itself: "Whereas the enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it hath been practised; and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and unity among the inhabitants, no person or persons whatsoever, within this province, or the islands, ports, harbours, creeks, or havens thereunto belonging, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced, for, or in respect of, his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof, within this province, or the islands thereunto belonging, nor any way compelled to the belief or exercise of any religion against his or her consent, so that they be not unfaithful to the lord proprietary, or molest or conspire against the

civil government established, or to be established, in this province, under him or his heirs."† This law was passed by an assembly composed entirely of Roman Catholics, and is the more remarkable, as being the first legislative act which is recorded to have been passed by any government, administered by members of the Romish hierarchy, in favour of the unlimited toleration of all Christian sects.

In 1650, the legislative body was divided into two branches—the delegates chosen by the people constituting the lower house, and the persons summoned by the proprietors, the upper house. An act of recognition of the undoubted right of Lord Baltimore to the proprietaryship of the province was passed in the same session. The assembly not only submitted to his authority, but obliged its constituents and their posterity for ever to defend him and his heirs in his royal rights, and besought him to accept this act as a testimony of gratitude for the manifold benefits which the colony had derived from him. In prosecution of its patriotic labours, the assembly also proceeded to enact laws for the relief of the poor, and the encouragement of agriculture and commerce; and a short season of prosperity preceded the calamities which the province was again to experience from the evil genius of Cleyborne, and the interposition of the parent state.

After the parliament had triumphed over the king, they appointed commissioners for reducing and governing the colonies within the bay of Chesapeake, among whom was Cleyborne. The proprietor of Maryland, on acknowledging the authority of the parliament, was permitted to retain his station, but was unable to preserve tranquillity. The distractions of England, finding their way into the colony, occasioned a civil war, which ended in the discomfiture of the Roman Catholics. The next assembly, which was entirely under the influence of Cleyborne and the victorious party, ordained that persons professing the catholic religion should not be considered within the protection of the laws; the catholics being thus ungratefully persecuted by men whom they had taken to their bosom, and in a colony which they had founded. Laws unfavourable to the quakers were also enacted; and here, as in England, the upper house was voted to be useless. At the restoration, in 1660, Philip Calvert was appointed governor, and the ancient order of things was restored. The recent usurpations were passed over in silence, and buried in a generous oblivion; toleration was re-established, and the inhabitants of Maryland once more experienced the

* Political Annals, p. 211.

† Bacon's Laws, 1649, chap. i.

blessings of a mild government and internal tranquillity.* General subordination had manifestly the effect of quickening the march of prosperity; industry, amply recompensed, was animated and cheerful, and closely connected with independence and improvement of condition was general respect. To such a degree did this arise, that it became common for ruined tradesmen and indigent labourers, in England to repair to this colony for retrieving or improving their condition. No emigrants were more successful in bettering their condition than female servants; they invariably obtained an immediate and respectable establishment in marriage.†

In 1676, Cecil, Lord Baltimore, the father of the province, died. For more than forty years he had directed its affairs as proprietor, and displayed in all his conduct a benevolent heart and enlightened understanding. Although he lived in an age of bigotry, he was liberal in his opinions; and for all his exertions to contribute to the happiness of his fellow-beings, he desired no reward but their gratitude. This reward he received. The records of the Maryland assembly contain frequent memorials of the respect and affection of the people. He was succeeded, as proprietor, by his eldest son, Charles, who had for several years been governor of the colony, and displayed the same amiable qualities which had rendered his father respected and beloved. The closing years of the proprietary government were embittered by a circumstance similar to that which the institution of the colony of Maryland had inflicted on Virginia. The grant which had been made by Charles II. to the celebrated Penn included the territory of Delaware, which Lord Baltimore had always considered within the limits of his patent. On the arrival of William Penn in America, a meeting took place between him and Lord Baltimore, in the hope of effecting an amicable adjustment of the boundaries of their respective territorial grants. But the pretensions of the parties were so completely incompatible that it proved impossible at the time to adjust them in a manner satisfactory to both. Penn ultimately complained to the English government, and, by his interest at court, procured it to be adjudged that the debateable territory should be divided into two equal parts, one of which was appropriated to himself, and the other to Lord Baltimore. This adjudication was carried into effect; and the territory which now composes the state of Delaware was thus dismembered from the provincial limits of Maryland.

In the year following the revolution of 1688, the repose of Maryland was again disturbed. A rumour was artfully circulated, that the catholics had leagued with the Indians to destroy all the protestants in the province. An armed association was immediately formed, for the defence of the protestant religion, and for asserting the rights of King William and Queen Mary. The magistrates attempted to oppose this association by force; but, meeting with few supporters, they were compelled to abdicate the government. King William directed those who had assumed the supreme authority to exercise it in his name; and for twenty-seven years the crown retained the entire control of the province. In 1716, the proprietor was restored to his rights; and he and his descendants continued to enjoy them until the commencement of the revolution. The people then assumed the government, adopted a constitution, and refused to admit the claims of the representatives of Lord Baltimore either to jurisdiction or to property.

CHAPTER XI.

NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE interesting though calamitous attempts of the French protestants, under the brave Admiral Coligny, to colonize that part of North America which constitutes the subject of the present chapter, but which was then known under the general denomination of Florida, have already been related. Those which were made in the reign of Elizabeth by Raleigh and Gilbert, have been comprised in the history of Virginia, of which colony the territory which now constitutes the Carolinas then formed a part. It was not till the year 1630, that Sir Robert Heath, attorney-general of Charles I., obtained a grant of a territory stretching to the southward of Virginia from the 36th degree of north latitude, comprehending Louisiana, by the name of Carolina. He appears to have made no settlement, and, subsequently, his patent was declared void, the conditions on which it had been granted not having been fulfilled. Between the years 1640 and 1650, persons suffering from religious intolerance in Virginia fled beyond her limits, and, without authority from any quarter, occupied that portion of North Carolina north of Albemarle Sound. They found the winters mild, and the soil fertile; and as their cattle and swine procured their own support in the woods, and multiplied rapidly, with little labour they lived in the enjoyment of comparative abundance. Their number annually augmented: but they acknowledged

* Chalmers, pp. 224—226, 248.

† Alsop's Maryland, pp. 15, 16. Grahame's History of the United States, vol. ii. p. 34.

no superior upon earth, and obeyed no laws but those of God and nature. Several families from Massachusetts also migrated to Carolina, and settled about Cape Fear; but as the lands where they fixed themselves were not equally productive with those they had relinquished, and as the waters did not afford the same advantages of fishery, they for some years experienced the complicated miseries of want; and the general court of Massachusetts, with an attention and humanity which do it honour, directed a general contribution for their relief.*

The final settlement of this country originated with the earl of Clarendon, and other courtiers of Charles II. On their application for a charter, he granted them all the lands lying between the 31st and 36th degrees of north latitude; and he constituted them absolute lords and proprietors of that tract of country, reserving to himself and his successors the sovereign dominion. The charter empowered them to enact and publish any laws which they should judge necessary, with the assent, advice, and approbation of the freemen of the colony; to erect courts of judicature, and appoint civil judges, magistrates, and officers; to erect forts, castles, cities, and towns; to make war, and, in cases of necessity, to exercise martial law; to build harbours, make ports, and enjoy customs and subsidies, imposed with the consent of the freemen, on goods loaded and unloaded. One of the provisions of this charter deserves particular notice. The king authorized the proprietors to allow the inhabitants of the province such indulgences and dispensations in religious affairs, as they, in their discretion, should think proper and reasonable: and no person, to whom such liberty should be granted, was to be molested, punished, or called in question, for any differences in speculative opinions with respect to religion, provided he disturbed not the civil order and peace of the community. The reason assigned in the charter for such a dispensing power is, "that it might happen that several of the inhabitants could not, in their private opinions, conform to the exercise of religion according to the liturgy and ceremonies of the church of England."† The privy council, considering the present condition of Carolina, decided that all former grants were now void, because they had never been executed.

Animated by this decision, the proprietors held their

first meeting in May, 1663, to agree on measures for the transporting of colonists, and for the payment of various expenses; and they now published proposals to all who would plant in Carolina. Among other privileges, it was decided, that the emigrants present to the proprietaries thirteen persons, in order that they may appoint a governor and a council of six for three years; that an assembly, composed of the governor, the council, and the delegates of the freemen, should be called as soon as the circumstances of the colony would allow, with power to make laws, provided they were not contrary to the laws of England, nor of any validity after the publication of the dissent of the proprietaries; that every one should enjoy the most perfect freedom in religion; that, during five years, every freeman should be allowed one hundred acres of land, and fifty for every servant, paying one halfpenny only an acre; and that the same freedom from customs which had been allowed by the royal charter, should be allowed to every one. The settlers on Albemarle Sound were, on certain conditions, allowed to retain their lands. A government was organized over them, at the head of which a Mr. Drummond was placed. With the regulations imposed they were dissatisfied, and they revolted; but their grievances were redressed, and, in 1668, they returned to their allegiance. Notwithstanding the high professions of the proprietaries, not the slightest attempt was made to provide for the spiritual instruction of the colonists, or the conversion of the Indians; and the colony continued for a series of years without any form of public worship.

Having taken the command of the infant settlement at Albemarle, the proprietaries directed a survey of the coast to the southward, and projected the establishment of a new colony in Clarendon country, which had been recently abandoned by the emigrants from New England. In furtherance of this object, they conferred on John Yeamans, a respectable planter of Barbadoes, the appointment of commander-in-chief of Clarendon country. In the autumn, he conducted from Barbadoes a body of emigrants, who landed on the southern bank of Cape Fear. He cultivated the good will of the natives, and insured a seven years peace. The planters, in opening the forest to make room for the operations of tillage, "necessarily prepared timber for the uses of the cooper and builder,

* Chalmers, p. 516.

† Mem. de l'Amerique, vol. iv. p. 554—585, where is a copy of the charter, in English and French, dated March 24th, 1662—April 4th, 1663. The charter states, that the applicants, "excited by a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel, beg a certain country in the parts of America not yet cultivated and planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous people, who have no

knowledge of God." The applicants, besides the earl of Clarendon, were George duke of Albemarle, William Lord Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton. The grant included the territories of what afterwards constituted North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

which they transmitted to the island whence they had emigrated, as the first subject of a feeble commerce, that kindled the spark of industry which soon gave animation to the whole." Another settlement was also projected to the southward of Cape Remain, which received the name of Carteret, and was placed under a separate governor. "The policy which the proprietaries were thus pursuing, in the establishment of a variety of separate and independent colonies in Carolina, each of which had its own distinct assembly, customs, and laws, supplied them at a future period with ample cause of regret, and contributed to the prolonged feebleness and distractions by which this province was unhappily distinguished."†

By the surveys which had been made under their direction, the proprietors had now ascertained, that several tracts of land not included in the terms of their previous grant, would form a very desirable accession; they therefore solicited, and obtained from the king, a second charter. It recited and confirmed the former grant, with the additional territory. Carolina was declared independent of any other province, but subject immediately to the crown of England; and the inhabitants were never to be compelled to answer in other dominions of the crown, excepting within the realm. The limits of the territory are thus defined: "All that province, territory, or tract of ground, situate within our dominions of America, extending north and eastward as far as the north end of Carahtuke River, or gullet, upon a straight westerly line, to Wyanoake Creek, which lies within or about the degrees of 36 and 30 minutes northern latitude, and so west, in a direct line as far as the South Seas; and south and westward as far as the degrees of 29 inclusive northern latitude, and so west, in a direct line, as far as the South Seas, together with all and singular ports, harbours, bays, rivers, and islets, belonging to the province or territory aforesaid."‡ According to the limits fixed in this charter, St. Augustine, as well as the whole of what was afterwards Georgia, fell within the English dominions; but the Spaniards alleged, that this grant was an invasion of their rights, and never admitted the limits of this charter at any subsequent treaty.

Both the charters of Carolina were granted while Clarendon retained the chancellorship of Great Britain; and it is somewhat curious to observe this zealous advocate for the prerogatives of the crown making no hesitation to place the great seal to

charters which transferred the very highest of them almost absolutely to himself and his associates. Not less instructive is it to contemplate this renowned champion and his colleagues recommending a line of ecclesiastical policy in their own colony diametrically opposite to that which, as the "confidential advisers" of his majesty, they adopted and promoted in the parent state. If bigotry must exist, it is more to be respected, though it be more injurious, when it does not bend to feelings of self-interest.

Agreeably to the powers with which the proprietors were invested by their charter, they began to frame a system of laws for the government of their colony; in which arduous task they availed themselves of the assistance of the illustrious John Locke. A model of government, consisting of no less than a hundred and twenty articles, was framed by this learned philosopher, which they agreed to establish, and to the careful observance of it, to bind themselves and their heirs for ever. As this constitution allies a name so justly celebrated with the history of Carolina, and is in itself a singular and ingenious piece of legislation, a brief abstract of it is both interesting and important. "The eldest of the eight proprietors was always to be palatine, and at his decease was to be succeeded by the eldest of the seven survivors. This palatine was to sit as president of the palatine's court, of which he and three more of the proprietors made a quorum, and had the management and execution of all the powers of their charter. This palatine's court was to stand in room of the king, and give their assent or dissent to all laws made by the legislature of the colony. The palatine was to have power to nominate and appoint the governor, who, after obtaining the royal approbation, became his representative in Carolina. Each of the seven proprietors was to have the privilege of appointing a deputy, to sit as his representative in parliament, and to act agreeably to his instructions. Besides a governor, two other branches, somewhat similar to the old Saxon constitution, were to be established, an upper and lower house of assembly, which three branches were to be called a parliament, and to constitute the legislature of the country. The parliament was to be chosen every two years. No act of the legislature was to have any force unless ratified in open parliament during the same session, and even then to continue no longer in force than the next biennial parliament, unless in the mean time it be ratified by the hands

* Chalmers, b. i. p. 520, 521. Yeamens was directed "to make every thing easy to the people of New England, from which the greatest emigrations are expected, as the southern colonies are already drained."

† Grahame, vol. ii. p. 88.

‡ *Memoires de l'Amerique*, vol. iv. p. 586—617; where this charter, in English and French, is inserted entire. It is dated 13—24 Juin, 1665.

and seals of the palatine and three proprietors. The upper house was to consist of the seven deputies, seven of the oldest landgraves and caziques, and seven chosen by the assembly. As in the other provinces, the lower house was to be composed of the representatives from the different counties and towns. Several officers were also to be appointed, such as an admiral, a secretary, a chief-justice, a surveyor, a treasurer, a marshal, and register; and besides these, each county was to have a sheriff and four justices of the peace. Three classes of nobility were to be established, called barons, caziques, and landgraves; the first to possess twelve, the second twenty-four, and the third forty-eight thousand acres of land, and their possessions were to be unalienable. Military officers were also to be nominated, and all inhabitants from sixteen to sixty years of age, as in the times of feudal government, when summoned by the governor and grand council, were to appear under arms, and, in time of war, to take the field. With respect to religion, three terms of communion were fixed; first, to believe that there is a God; secondly, that he is to be worshipped; and thirdly, that it is lawful, and the duty of every man when called upon by those in authority, to bear witness to the truth: without acknowledging which, no man was to be permitted to be a freeman, or to have any estate or habitation in Carolina. But persecution for observing different modes and ways of worship was expressly forbid, and every man was to be left full liberty of conscience, and might worship God in that manner which he in his private judgment thought most conformable to the divine will and revealed word. Every freeman of Carolina was declared to possess absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever.*

It must be admitted, that Locke manifests his usual intellectual ability and energy in this composition; but his system proved in effect useless and impracticable.† Several attempts were afterwards made to amend these constitutions, but all to little purpose; the inhabitants, sensible how little they were applica-

ble to their circumstances, never, either themselves or by their representatives in assembly, gave their assent to them as a whole, and therefore they failed to obtain the force of fundamental laws in the colony. What regulations the people found applicable and useful they adopted, at the request of their governors; but they observed them on account of their own propriety and necessity, rather than as a code imposed on them by British politicians.

It is obvious that the Carolinian constitution was an experiment in political science, an attempt to plant an aristocratic scion in the American soil. That such an attempt should have been made by men accustomed to set a high value on distinctions of rank, is not surprising; but it is still less surprising, that, under the circumstances of the case, it should have been utterly abortive. This result may be ascribed in part to the civil, rather than the military character of the North American settlements; in part to the degree of knowledge and civilization possessed by the colonists at the commencement of their social institutions; in part to the actual equality to which the condition of the transatlantic wilderness reduced the whole body of its occupants; and in part to the substantial independence acquired by the successful cultivators of the soil, who were, almost from the first, in a situation to deride, as they afterwards found themselves able effectually to resist, the pretensions of distant lords.

Notwithstanding these constitutions and legal preparations, several years elapsed before the proprietors of Carolina made any serious efforts towards its settlement. In 1667, they fitted out a ship, gave the command of it to Captain William Sayle, and sent him out to bring them some account of the coast. His report to his employers, as might naturally be expected, was favourable. He praised their possessions, and encouraged them to engage with vigour in the execution of their project. His observations respecting the Bahama islands, which he had visited, induced them to apply to the king for a grant of them, and Charles bestowed on them by patent all those

* The world has, since the days of Mr. Locke, been taught to exclaim with surprise, on reading his constitution for Carolina; but this surprise ceases, when we consider the age in which the philosopher lived. He truly had no precedent before him, to support him in making a republican government, which he is blamed for not making. Virginia then was a royal colony, and of course was not a model; and the settlements on the shores of the Atlantic, in New England, had not then risen to much notoriety in England. The pilgrims, who increased very slowly, had been in the country but forty-seven years, and those who settled the Province of Massachusetts Bay, but thirty-seven, when Locke drew up this form of government; therefore there was nothing to be derived from this country, at that time, to assist him. The ancient models of Greece and Rome were not suited to a people that he knew must necessarily be, for ages, widely scattered over the soil. The example of republican government, as it was call-

ed, under Cromwell, had not much in it to the taste of Mr. Locke, who saw no small degree of tyranny in the garb of freedom. Why do political writers dwell upon the absurdity of palatines, barons, &c. &c., provided for in the constitution from the pen of the profound metaphysician, and make no commentaries on the great and noble feature of this constitution, religious liberty?—a feature which had no prototype in the history of nations; a principle without which there can be no freedom. It is but a trifle to have the privilege of choosing men as rulers, if we cannot worship God as we please. Mr. Locke had seen the evils of a hierarchy on the one hand, and of a regular body of dissenters on the other. He, therefore, with a depth of philosophy wonderful in his age, or any age that had passed, struck one bold blow to sever church and state, or religious creeds from political employments.—AM. EDITOR.

islands lying between the 22d and 27th degrees of north latitude. Nothing then remained but to make preparations for sending a colony to Carolina. Two ships were procured, on board of which a number of adventurers embarked, with provisions, arms, and utensils requisite for building and cultivation. Sayle was appointed the first governor, and received a commission, bearing date July 26, 1669. The expenses of this first embarkation amounted to 12,000*l.*, a proof that the proprietors entertained no small hopes with respect to their palatinate. The number of men, however, must have been by no means adequate to the undertaking, especially considering the multitude of savages that ranged through that extensive wilderness. In what place Governor Sayle first landed is uncertain; but he was dissatisfied with his first situation, and, moving to the southward, took possession of a neck of land between Ashley and Cooper rivers, where he laid out a town, which, in honour of the king then reigning, he called Charleston; but dying soon after, Sir John Yeamans, who had for several years been governor at Clarendon, was appointed to succeed him. This new settlement attracted many inhabitants from that at Clarendon, and ultimately entirely exhausted it. Being at a great distance from Albemarle, the proprietors established a separate government over it, and hence arose the distinctive appellations of North and South Carolina. The distress which attended the first efforts of the colonists was aggravated by the intrigues and assaults of the Spaniards at Fort Augustine. They sent emissaries among the settlers at Ashley river, in the hope of moving them to revolt; they encouraged indentured servants to abandon their masters, and fly to the Spanish territory; and they laboured so successfully to instil into the savage tribes the most unfavourable notions of British heretics, that these deluded Indians took up arms to extirpate a race who had never injured them, but who desired to cultivate friendly relations with them. So much discontent and insubordination was produced by the calamities the colonies suffered, that it led to an insurrection, headed by Culpepper, one of the provincial officers; but it was easily suppressed by the governor. The Spanish garrison at Augustine receiving intelligence of their dissensions, a party advanced from that fortress under arms, as far as the island of St. Helena, to dislodge or destroy the settlers; but fifty volunteers, under the command of Colonel Godfrey, marching against them, they evacuated the island, and retreated to their fort. During the governorship of Sir John Yeamans, the colony received a considerable addition from the Dutch settlement of Nova Belgia. After its conquest by Sir

Robert Car, many of the Dutch colonists determined to remove. The proprietors of Carolina offered them lands and encouragement in their palatinate, and sent vessels to transport a number of their families to Charleston. Stephen Bull, surveyor-general of the colony, received instructions to mark out lands on the south-west side of Ashley River for their accommodation; and a town was commenced, which was called James Town. The industry of the settlers surmounted incredible hardships, and their success induced many of their countrymen to follow them to the western world, and extend themselves over the adjacent country.

The Carolinian colonists were for several years dependant on the proprietaries in England for considerable supplies of provisions and stores, and were by them liberally assisted to the extent of several thousand pounds; but the proprietaries finding, instead of any indications of repayment with a corresponding profit, only demands for further supplies, became disheartened and disgusted with a result so contrary to their sanguine expectations; and a mutual dissatisfaction commenced, which embittered all their future intercourse, although it afforded instruction to the colonists which was very beneficial, as it led them to depend solely on their own resources. The proprietaries ascribed their disappointment, in a great measure, to the mismanagement of Sir John Yeamans, who, early in this year, was compelled by the state of his health to resign his situation as governor, a relief that was ineffectual for the desired purpose, as he did not long survive. The factions and confusion in which the colony was shortly after involved, have rendered the annals of this period extremely perplexing, and have much obscured the connexion of events. When Yeamans abdicated his office, the council appointed Joseph West as his successor: and on this occasion the palatine thought proper to confirm the popular choice, which was amply justified by the prudence of his administration.

The affairs of the northern colony must now occupy a portion of our attention. The fundamental constitutions, which have already been described were received by the colonists with disgust and disunion. Their promulgation produced no other effect than to excite the most inveterate jealousy of the designs of the proprietaries; till, in process of time, a refractory spirit took possession of the minds of the people, and was at length exasperated into sentiments as hostile to subordination, as the policy of the proprietaries was repugnant to liberty. From this period the history of the northern province, for a series of years, is involved in such confusion and contra-

diction, that it is impossible to render it interesting, and difficult to make it even intelligible. Miller, a person of some consideration, was accused of sedition; but being acquitted, he proceeded to England to complain to the proprietaries of the treatment he had undergone. Eastchurch, a man whose address and abilities had raised him to the dignity of speaker of the assembly, was deputed to represent to the proprietaries the existing state of the province. The proprietaries, conceiving a favourable opinion of Eastchurch, appointed him governor of Albemarle; and disapproving the treatment that Miller had received, gave him the office of secretary. The commissioners of the customs appointed Miller, at the same time, the first collector of these duties in the province. These officers departed to take possession of their respective offices; but Eastchurch, finding an opportunity of making a wealthy marriage in the West Indies, thought it prudent to remain there till his object was accomplished, and despatched his companion with directions to govern the colony as president till he himself should arrive. He found the colony at Albemarle to consist of a few inconsiderable plantations, dispersed over the north-eastern bank of Albemarle River, and divided into four districts. In attempting to reform some abuses, he rendered himself obnoxious; and an insurrection broke out at Albemarle in December. The insurgents, conducted chiefly by Culpepper, imprisoned the president and seven proprietary deputies; seized the royal revenue; established courts of justice; appointed officers; called a parliament; and, for a considerable period, exercised all the authority of an independent state. After two years of successful revolt, the insurgents, apprehensive of an invasion from Virginia, despatched Culpepper and Holden to England, to offer submission to the proprietaries, on condition of their past proceedings being ratified. The unfortunate Miller and his associate, who had languished in imprisonment, having found means to escape, appeared in England at the same time, and filled the court with accusations against their persecutors. Culpepper was, however, protected by Lord Shaftesbury, and was about to return, when he was impeached, by the commissioners of the customs, of the crimes of acting as collector without their authority, and of embezzling the king's revenue. It was in vain for him to acknowledge the facts and to beg for mercy. His powerful accusers insisted that no favour might be shown him unless he refunded the duties which he had wrongfully seized, and he was tried in the court of king's-bench, on an indictment of high treason committed without the realm. Though five witnesses

fully proved those circumstances which constituted the crime, yet Shaftesbury, who was then in the zenith of his popularity, appearing in his behalf, the jury acquitted him. The acquittal of Culpepper determined the proprietors to adopt an entirely conciliatory system; and to govern, in future, according to that portion of obedience which the colonists should be disposed to yield them. In prosecution of this determination, the proprietaries resolved to send thither Seth Sothel, who had lately purchased Lord Clarendon's share of the province, that, by his authority, he might reduce the late distractions to order. They were, however, still doomed to disappointment—his conduct, far from restoring quiet and contentment, only increased the previous disorders. He proved one of the most corrupt and rapacious of colonial governors, plundering the innocent, and accepting bribes from felons. Six years the inhabitants endured his injustice and oppression; they then seized him, with a view of sending him to England for trial: but, at his request, he was detained and tried by the assembly, who banished him from the colony.

To return to the affairs of the southern colony, now under the administration of Joseph West. The situation of Old Charleston being found inconvenient, the inhabitants, in 1680, removed to Oyster Point, where a new city was laid out, to which the name of the other was given. In the same year commenced a war with the Westoes, a powerful tribe of Indians, which threatened great injury to the colony; peace, however, was soon restored. Governor West was superseded by Sir Richard Kirle, an Irish gentleman, who died six months after his arrival in the country. After his decease, Colonel Robert Quarry was chosen his successor. During the time of his government, a number of pirates put into Charleston, and purchased provisions with their Spanish gold and silver. Those public robbers, instead of being taken and tried by the laws of England, were treated with great civility and friendship, in violation of the laws of nations. Whether the governor was ignorant of the treaty made with Spain, by which England had withdrawn her former toleration from these plunderers of the Spanish dominions, or whether he was afraid to bring them to trial from the notorious courage of their companions in the West Indies, we have not sufficient authority to affirm; but one thing is certain, that Charles II., for several years after the restoration, winked at their depredations, and many of them performed such valiant actions, as, in a good cause, would have justly merited honours and rewards; he even knighted Henry Morgan, a Welshman, who had

plundered Porto Bello and Panama, and carried off large treasures from them. For several years so formidable was this body of plunderers in the West Indies, that they struck a terror into every quarter of the Spanish dominions. Their gold and silver, which they lavishly spent in the colony, insured to them a kind reception among the Carolinians, who opened their ports to them freely, and furnished them with necessaries. They could purchase the favour of the governor, and the friendship of the people, for what they deemed a trifling consideration. Leaving their gold and silver behind them for clothes, arms, ammunition, and provisions, they embarked in quest of more. However, the proprietors, having intelligence of the encouragement given to pirates by Governor Quarry, dismissed him from the office he held; and, in 1685, Landgrave Joseph Morton was appointed to the government of the colony.

During the reign of King James II. the difficulty under which the people of Britain laboured, and the troubles which they apprehended, added much strength to the colonies. The unsuccessful or unfortunate part of mankind are easily induced to emigrate; while the oppressed and persecuted are driven from their country, however closely their affections may cleave to it. Such manifest attempts were made by this prince against what the nation highly revered, that many protestants deserted it, preferring the hardships of the first state of colonization abroad to oppression at home. America gained considerable and valuable accessions also from the revocation of the edict of Nantz, when the flames of persecution broke out in France, and drove many of its best subjects from that kingdom. Of the advantage which the colonies reaped from this impolitic measure of France, Carolina had a large share. Many of the protestant refugees, having purchased lands from the proprietors, embarked with their families for that colony, and proved some of its best and most industrious inhabitants.

Though Governor Morton was possessed of a considerable share of wisdom, and was connected with several respectable families in the colony, yet so inconsistent were his instructions from England with the prevailing views and interests of the people, that he was unable, without great difficulty, to execute the duties of his trust. Some of his council differed widely from him in opinion with respect to public measures, and claimed greater indulgences for the people than he had authority to grant. Hence two parties arose in the colony; one in support of the prerogative and authority of the proprietors, the other in defence of the liberties of the people. The former

contended that the laws and regulations received from England respecting government ought to be strictly and implicitly observed: the latter kept in view their local circumstances, and maintained that the freemen of the colony were under obligations to observe them only so far as they were consistent with the interest of individuals and the prosperity of the settlement. In this situation of affairs, no governor could long support his power among a number of bold adventurers, who improved every hour for advancing their interest, and could bear no restraints which had the least tendency to defeat their favourite views and designs; whenever he attempted to interpose his feeble authority, they insulted his person and complained of his administration, till, at length, he was removed from office.

Finding it prudent to change their governor when he became obnoxious to the people, the proprietors appointed James Colleton to supersede Morton. To give him the greater weight, he was created a landgrave of the colony, to which dignity forty-eight thousand acres of land were unalienably annexed; but, to his mortification, he soon found, that the proprietary government had acquired but little firmness and stability; and, by his imprudence and rigour, it fell into still greater contempt. Having called an assembly of the representatives in the end of the year 1686, he proposed to make some new regulations respecting the government of the colony. After examining the fundamental constitutions, and finding the people disposed to make many objections to them, he thought proper to nominate a committee, to consider wherein they were improper or defective, and to make such alterations and amendments in them as they judged might be conducive to the welfare of the country. Accordingly, a new code of laws was framed, consisting of many articles differing considerably from the former, which they denominated standing laws, transmitting them to England for the approbation of the proprietors, who, however, rejected them, and insisted on the observance of the fundamental constitutions; while the people treated both with equal indifference and neglect.

At this early period a dissatisfaction with the proprietary government appeared, and began to gain ground among the people. A dispute having arisen between the governor and the house of assembly about the tenures of lands and the payment of quit-rents, Colleton determined to exert his authority in compelling the people to pay up their arrears of quit-rents, which, though very trifling and inconsiderable, were burdensome, as not one acre out of a thousand of these lands for which quit-rents were

demanding yielded them any profit. The interest of the proprietors and that of the people being thus placed in opposition to each other, the more rigorously the governor exerted his authority, the more turbulent and seditious the people became. At last they proceeded to avowed usurpation; they issued writs in their own name, and held assemblies in opposition to the governor and the authority of the proprietors, and the community was turned into a scene of confusion, every man acting as he thought proper, without any regard to legal authority, and in contempt of the governor and other officers of the proprietors. Colleton, mortified at the loss of power, and alarmed at the bold and seditious spirit of the people, was not a little perplexed what step to take in order to recall them to the obedience of legal authority. One expedient was suggested, which he and his council flattered themselves might be productive of the desired effect—to proclaim martial law, and try to maintain by force of arms the proprietary jurisdiction. Accordingly, without letting the people into his secret design, he caused the militia to be drawn up, as if some danger from the Spaniards or Indians had threatened the country, and publicly proclaimed martial law at their head. This served only to exasperate the people the more. The members of the assembly met, and taking this measure under their deliberation, resolved that it was an encroachment upon their liberties, and an unwarrantable exertion of power, at a time when the colony was in no danger from any foreign enemy. The governor, however, insisted on the articles of war, and tried to carry martial law into execution; but the disaffection was too general to admit of such a remedy. In the year 1690, at a meeting of the representatives, a bill was brought in and passed, for disabling Landgrave James Colleton from holding any office, or exercising any authority, civil or military, within the province; and he was informed, that, in a limited time, he must depart from the colony.

During these public commotions, Seth Sothel, one of the proprietors, having, as already stated, been driven from North Carolina, appeared suddenly at Charleston, and, aided by a powerful faction, assumed the reins of government. At first the people gladly acknowledged his authority, while the current of their enmity ran against Colleton; especially as he stood forth as an active and leading man in opposition to that governor, and ratified the law for his exclusion and banishment; but they afterwards found him void of every principle of honour, and even of honesty. Such was the insatiable avarice of this man, that every restraint of common justice and equity was

trampled upon by him; and oppression, such as usually attends the exaltation of vulgar and ambitious scramblers for power, extended her rod of iron over the distracted colony. The fair traders from Barbadoes and Bermuda were seized as pirates by order of this popular governor, and confined until such fees as he was pleased to exact were paid him; bribes from felons and traitors were accepted to favour their escape from the hands of justice; and plantations were forcibly taken possession of, upon pretences the most frivolous and unjust. At length, the people, weary of his grievous impositions and extortions, agreed to take him by force, and ship him off for England. He then evinced the meanness of spirit generally associated with a disposition to tyranny, and humbly begged liberty to remain in the country, promising to submit his conduct to the trial of the assembly at their first meeting. When the assembly met, thirteen different charges were brought against him, and all supported by the strongest evidence; upon which, being found guilty, they compelled him to abjure the government and country for ever.

The revolution of 1688 excited little attention in either of the Carolinas, which were but slightly affected by the changes which the empire underwent. It was from the proprietaries alone that they could expect the interposition of a superior power to arrest or repair the misrule, oppression, and calamity, that had so long composed the chief part of the history, both of the northern and southern settlements. In the hope of accomplishing this desirable object, the proprietaries, on the deposition of Sothel, intrusted the government of the whole of their settlements to Colonel Philip Ludwell, a man of sense and humanity who possessed considerable experience of colonial affairs. He commenced his administration in a manner that gave general satisfaction, and seemed to have completely allayed the prevailing ferments of the people. But this tranquillity was of short duration: the minds of men had been too long and too violently agitated to subside at once into a settled composure; and a circumstance that at first promised to produce the happiest effects on the prosperity of the province, proved the immediate occasion of the revival of public turbulence. The proprietors, having observed the good conduct of the French protestants, directed the governor to permit them to elect representatives, a privilege which they had never yet exercised. The English episcopalians, unwilling that any of their hereditary enemies, those, namely, who did not belong to their church, should be associated with themselves in the rights of freemen, were exasperated, and opposed the concession with great clamour and zeal.

Excited by a spirit of opposition, they proposed to enforce with respect to them the laws of England against foreigners, insisting that they could not legally possess any real estate in the colony. They also declared that their marriages, being solemnized by French ministers, were void, and that the children could not inherit the property of their fathers. By the display of a spirit so illiberal and unchristian, these strangers were alarmed and discouraged; but, being countenanced by the governor, they remained in the colony, and, for the present, withdrew their claim to the right of suffrage.

In the midst of these disputes, and with the hope of appeasing them, the proprietaries at length determined to surrender to the general dislike of the people the "fundamental constitutions." They accordingly enacted the following resolution: "That, as the people have declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the charter, without regard to the fundamental constitutions, it will be for their quiet, and the protection of the well-disposed, to grant their request." Thus perished the legislative labours of John Locke. Their abolition was unregretted by any party, for they had neither insured obedience to the government, nor afforded happiness to the people.

Ludwell had been superseded in his office by Thomas Smith, an eminent planter, and an upright and popular magistrate. His short administration was signalized by an occurrence that produced lasting and extensive effects on the prosperity of Carolina. A vessel from Madagascar, on her homeward voyage to Britain, happening to touch at Charleston, the captain presented the governor with a bag of seed rice, which he said he had seen growing in eastern countries, where it was deemed excellent food, and yielded a prodigious increase. The governor divided it between several of his friends, who found the result to exceed their most sanguine expectations. From this circumstance Carolina dates the rise of her staple commodity, the chief support of her people, and the main source of her opulence.

Notwithstanding the prudent administration of Smith, the colony still remained in a confused and turbulent state. Complaints from every quarter were made to the governor, who was neither able to quiet the minds of the people nor to afford them the relief they wanted. At length he wrote to the proprietors, and frankly told them, that he despaired of ever uniting the people in interest and affection; that he, and many more, weary of the fluctuating state of public affairs, had resolved to leave the province; and that he was convinced nothing would bring the

settlers to a state of tranquillity and harmony, unless they sent out one of the proprietors with full power to redress grievances, and settle differences prevailing, and likely to prevail more, in their colony. The proprietors, astonished at the discontented spirit of the people, yet, anxious to prevent the settlement from being ruined, resolved to try the remedy Landgrave Smith had suggested; and they accordingly solicited John Archdale, a man of considerable knowledge and discretion, a quaker, and a proprietor, to accept the office. Great trust was reposed in him, and much was expected from his abilities. He succeeded in restoring order, but found the antipathy against the unfortunate French exiles too great to be encountered with any hope of success, until softened by time and their amiable deportment. These produced the effects which he anticipated; and subsequently they were admitted by the general assembly to all the rights of citizens and freemen. It was not the intention of Archdale to remain longer in Carolina than was necessary for the adjustment of the existing controversies; and having effected this object in a degree that had surpassed the expectations of all parties, he returned to England in the close of the year 1696, loaded with the grateful benedictions of a people to whose peace and prosperity he had been so highly instrumental.

To Archdale had been confided the power of nominating his successor; and he conferred the office on Joseph Blake, nephew of the English admiral, a man of virtue, prudence, and moderation, acceptable to the people, and a proprietary of the province, who governed the colony wisely and happily for a period of four years. He appears to have made the most laudable endeavours to promote the religious instruction of the people, and to facilitate the exercise of worship to all denominations of Christian professors. Though himself a dissenter, he caused a bill to be introduced into the assembly for settling a perpetual provision of 150*l.* a year, with a house and other advantages, on the episcopal minister of that city. The person who then occupied this ministerial situation having gained universal regard by his piety and prudence, and the dissenters in the house acquiescing in the measure from regard to this individual, the bill was passed into a law. "Those who think that the dissenters acted amiss," says Grahame, "and stretched their liberality beyond the proper confines of this virtue, in thus promoting the national establishment of a church from which they dissented, will regard the persecution they soon after sustained from the episcopal party as a merited retribution for their practical negation of dissenting principles. Those

who judge more leniently an error (if it be such) which there is little reason to suppose will be ever frequent in the world, will regret and condemn the ungrateful return which the dissenters experienced from a party for whose advantage they had incurred so great a sacrifice."^a

Blake died in the year 1700, and with him ended the interval of tranquillity which had originated with the government of Archdale. Under the rule of his successor, James Moore, the colony was agitated by religious disputes. Lord Granville, one of the proprietors, a bigoted churchman, in conjunction with the governor, resolved to effect, if possible, the establishment of episcopacy. They were well aware that a majority of the people were dissenters, and that by art and intrigue only could their design be accomplished. Moore, who was avaricious and venal, became the tool of Granville. He interfered in the elections, and, by bribing the voters, succeeded in procuring a majority in the assembly who would be subservient to his wishes. A law was passed establishing the episcopal religion, and excluding dissenters from a seat in the assembly. It was laid before the proprietors, without whose sanction it could not possess permanent validity. Archdale, who had returned to England, opposed it with ability and spirit. He insisted that good faith, policy, interest, and even piety, concurred to dictate its rejection. But Lord Granville declared himself in favour of it, and it received confirmation. The dissenters thus saw themselves at once deprived of those privileges for which they had abandoned their native country, and encountered the dangers and hardships of the ocean and a wilderness. Some prepared to leave the colony and settle in Pennsylvania. Others proposed that a remonstrance against the law should first be presented to the house of lords, and this measure was adopted. The lords expressed, by a vote, their disapprobation of the law, and, upon their solicitation, Queen Anne declared it void. Soon after Lord Granville died, and, controlled by more liberal councils, the colony again enjoyed the blessings of domestic tranquillity.

In 1702, a rupture having taken place in Europe between England and Spain, the attention of the colony was directed to a different object, which afforded Governor Moore an opportunity of exercising his military talents, and a prospect of enriching himself by Spanish plunder or Indian captives. He proposed to the assembly an expedition against the Spanish settlement at Augustine. Many applauded the proposal, but men of cool reflection were averse

from rushing into any hazardous enterprise. A great majority of the assembly, however, declared for the expedition, and a sum of two thousand pounds sterling was voted for the service of the war. Six hundred Indians were engaged, who, being fond of warlike exploits, gladly accepted of arms and ammunition offered them for their aid and assistance. Six hundred provincial militia were raised, and schooners and merchant ships were impressed for transports to carry the forces. Port Royal was fixed upon as the place of general rendezvous, and there, in September, the governor, at the head of his warriors, embarked in an expedition as rash and fool-hardy on one side, as it was unprovoked on the other. In the plan of operations, it had been agreed that Colonel Daniel, who was an officer of spirit, should go by the inland passage with a party of militia and Indians, and make a descent on the town from the land, while the governor with the main body should proceed by sea, and block up the harbour. Colonel Daniel lost no time, but advanced against the town, and entered and plundered it before the governor got forward to his assistance; but the Spaniards having laid up provisions for four months in the castle, on his approach they retired to it, with all their money and most valuable effects. Upon the arrival of Governor Moore, the place was invested with a force against which the Spaniards could not appear, and they therefore kept themselves shut up in their strong-hold. The governor finding it impossible to dislodge them without such artillery as are necessary to a siege, despatched a sloop to Jamaica, on purpose to bring cannon, bombs, and mortars, for attacking the castle; and Colonel Daniel embarked and sailed with the greatest expedition to bring them. During his absence two Spanish ships, the one of twenty-two guns and the other of sixteen, appeared off the mouth of the harbour, and struck such a panic into the governor, that he instantly raised the siege, abandoned his ships, and made a precipitate retreat to Carolina by land; in consequence of which, the Spaniards in the garrison were not only relieved, but the ships, provisions, and ammunition, belonging to the Carolinians, fell also into their hands. Colonel Daniel, on his return, standing in for the harbour of Augustine, to his surprise, found the siege raised, and made a narrow escape from the enemy.

Upon his return to Carolina, as might naturally have been expected, many severe reflections were thrown out against the governor. The expedition entailed a debt of six thousand pounds sterling on a poor colony, which, at that period, was a grievous burden. A bill was passed by the assembly for

^a History of the United States, vol. ii. p. 168.

stamping bills of credit to answer the public expense, which were to be sunk in three years by a duty laid upon liquors, skins, and furs. This was the first paper money issued in Carolina, and, for five or six years after the emission, it passed in the country at the same value and rate with the sterling money of England; but as the quantity was subsequently augmented, the value decreased in proportion.

Governor Moore resolved to retrieve his character in a new field of enterprise. Exasperated by the insults and injuries which the Apalachian Indians were instigated by the Spaniards to commit, he determined by one vigorous effort to break their power. At the head of a strong detachment of the colonial militia, attended by a body of Indian allies, he marched into the hostile settlements, defeated the enemy with the loss of eight hundred men, and compelled the whole district of Apalachia to submit to the English government. To render his conquest permanent, he transplanted fourteen hundred of the Apalachian Indians to the territory which is now denominated Georgia; a measure which appears to have paved the way to the subsequent settlement of the English in that part of the country. In 1706, the Spaniards from Florida, aided also by the French, made an attack on Carolina. Nathaniel Johnson, who had succeeded Moore as governor, having received intimation of their approach, erected fortifications, and made arrangements to obtain, on short warning, the assistance of the militia. When the enemy's fleet appeared before Charleston, the whole strength of the colony was summoned to defend it; and these vigorous demonstrations insured its safety. Satisfied with the destruction of a few detached buildings, the enemy retired, leaving one of their ships, and ninety men, in possession of the Carolinians.

The northern colony continued to receive accessions to its strength from several of the European states. In 1707, a company of French protestants arrived, and seated themselves on the river Trent, a branch of the Neuse; and three years afterwards a large number of palatines, fleeing from religious persecution in Germany, sought refuge in the same part of the province. To each of these bodies of emigrants the proprietors granted a hundred acres of land. On their newly acquired possessions they were living in peace, in the enjoyment of liberty of conscience, and in the prospect of competence and ease, when suddenly a terrible calamity fell upon them. The Tuscarora and Coree Indians, smarting under recent aggressions, and dreading total extinction from the encroachment of these strangers, with characteristic secrecy, plotted their entire destruction. Sending

their families to one of their fortified towns, twelve hundred bowmen sallied forth, and in the same night attacked, in separate parties, the nearest settlements of the palatines. Men, women, and children, were indiscriminately butchered. The savages, with the swiftness and ferocity of wolves, ran from village to village. Before them was the repose of innocence; behind, the sleep of death. A few escaping alarmed the settlements more remote, and hastened to South Carolina for assistance. Governor Craven immediately despatched to the aid of the sister colony nearly a thousand men, under the command of Colonel Barnwell. Hideous was the wilderness through which Colonel Barnwell had to march, and the utmost expedition was requisite. There was no road through the woods upon which either horses or carriages could pass; and his army had all manner of hardships and dangers to encounter, from the climate, the wilderness, and the enemy. In spite of every difficulty, however, Barnwell advanced against them, and being much better supplied with arms and ammunition than his enemy, he did great execution among them, killing in the first battle three hundred Indians, and taking about one hundred prisoners. The Tuscaroras then retreated to their town, fortified within a wooden breastwork; but there Barnwell surrounded them, and forced them to sue for peace; and some of his men being wounded, and others having suffered greatly by constant watching, and much hunger and fatigue, the savages the more easily obtained their request. After having killed, wounded, or captured nearly a thousand Tuscaroras, Barnwell returned to South Carolina. The peace was, however, of short duration, and upon the recommencement of hostilities, assistance was again solicited from the southern colony. Colonel James Moore, an active young officer, was immediately despatched, with forty white men and eight hundred friendly Indians. He found the enemy in a fort near Cotechny river; and after a siege, which continued more than a week, the fort was taken, and eight hundred Indians made prisoners. The Tuscaroras, disheartened by this defeat, migrated, in 1713, to the north, and joined the celebrated confederacy, denominated the Five Nations. The others sued for peace, and afterwards continued friendly.

The northern colony had scarcely recovered from the scourge of Indian war, when the southern was exposed to the same calamity. All the tribes from Florida to Cape Fear, had been for some time engaged in a conspiracy to extirpate the whites. On the day before the Yamassees began their bloody operations, Captain Nairn and some of the traders observ-

ing an uncommon gloom on their savage countenances, and apparently great agitations of spirit, which to them prognosticated approaching mischief, went to their chief men, begging to know the cause of their uneasiness, and promising if any injury had been done them, to give them satisfaction. The chiefs replied, they had no complaints to make against any one, but intended to go a-hunting early the next morning. Captain Nairn accordingly went to sleep, and the traders retired to their huts, and passed the night in seeming friendship and tranquillity. But next morning at day-break, the 15th day of April, all were alarmed with the cries of war. The leaders were all out under arms, calling upon their followers, and proclaiming aloud designs of vengeance. The young men, burning with fury and passion, flew to their arms, and in a few hours, massacred above ninety persons in Pocotaligo town and the neighbouring plantations; and many more must have fallen a sacrifice on Port Royal island, had they not providentially been warned of their danger. Mr. Burrows, a captain of the militia, after receiving two wounds, by swimming one mile and running ten, escaped to Port Royal, and alarmed the town. A vessel happening fortunately to be in the harbour, the inhabitants, in great hurry, repaired on board, and sailed for Charleston; a few families of planters on that island, not having timely notice, fell into the barbarous hands of the Indians, and of them some were murdered, and others made prisoners of war.

While the Yamassees, with whom the Creeks and Apalachians had joined, were advancing against the southern frontiers, and spreading desolation and slaughter through the province, the colonists on the northern borders also found the Indians among their settlements in formidable parties. The Carolinians had foolishly entertained hopes of the friendship of the Congarees, the Catawbias, and Cherokees; but they soon found that they had also joined in the conspiracy, and declared for war. It was computed that the southern division of the enemy consisted of above six thousand bowmen, and the northern of between six hundred and a thousand. In the muster-roll at Charleston, there were no more than one thousand two hundred men fit to bear arms, but as the town had several forts into which the inhabitants might retreat, Governor Craven resolved to march with this small force into the woods against the enemy. He proclaimed martial law, and laid an embargo on all ships, to prevent either men or provisions from leaving the country. He obtained an act of assembly, empowering him to impress men, and seize arms, ammunition, and stores, wherever they were to be found, to arm

such trusty negroes as might be serviceable at a juncture so critical, and to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. Being no stranger to the ferocious temper of his enemies, and their horrid cruelty to prisoners, the governor advanced against them by slow and cautious steps, always keeping the strictest guard round his army. He knew well under what advantages they fought among their native thickets, and the various wiles and stratagems they made use of in conducting their wars; and therefore he was watchful above all things against surprises, which might throw his followers into disorder, and defeat the end of his enterprise. The fate of the whole province depended on the success of his arms, and his men had no other alternative but to conquer or die a painful death. As he advanced, the straggling parties fled before him, until he reached Saltcatchers where they had pitched their great camp. Here a sharp and bloody battle ensued from behind trees and bushes, the Indians whooping, hallooing, and giving way one while, and then again and again returning with double fury to the charge. But the governor, notwithstanding their superior number, and their terrible shrieks, kept the provincials close at their heels, and drove them before him like a flock of wolves. He expelled them from their settlement at Indian River, pursued them over the Savannah, and entirely freed the province of this formidable tribe of savages. What number of the army was killed does not appear; but in the whole war nearly four hundred unfortunate inhabitants of Carolina fell a prey to Indian cruelty, property of great value was destroyed, and a large debt contracted.

The proprietors, though earnestly solicited, refused to afford any relief, or to pay any portion of the debt. The assembly, therefore, determined to remunerate the colony, by disposing of the land from which the Indians had been driven. The terms offered were so favourable, that five hundred Irishmen immediately came over, and planted themselves on the frontiers. The proprietors, most unwisely as well as unjustly, refused to sanction the proceedings of the assembly, and deprived these emigrants of their lands. Reduced to extreme poverty, some perished from want, while others resorted to the northern colonies; and thus a strong barrier between the old settlements and the savages was removed, and the country again exposed to their incursions. The people were exasperated, and longed for a change of masters; and the corrupt and oppressive conduct of Trott, the chief justice, and Rhett, the receiver-general, increased the discontent. Of the former, the governor and council complained to the proprietors, and

solicited his recall; but, instead of removing him, they thanked him for his services, and removed the governor and council. With the governor next appointed, though a man generally beloved, the assembly refused to have any concern or intercourse. They drew up articles of impeachment against Trott, accusing him of corruption and gross misconduct, and sent an agent to England, to maintain their accusation before the proprietors; but he was still continued in office.

The patience of the people now became exhausted, and they waited only for a favourable opportunity to throw off their oppressive yoke. In 1719, at a general review of the militia at Charleston, occasioned by a threatened invasion of the colony from Florida, the officers and soldiers bound themselves by a solemn compact, to support each other in resisting the tyranny of the proprietors; and the assembly, which was then in session, requested Governor Johnson to consent to administer the government in the name of the king; but he refused, and dissolved the assembly by proclamation. The members immediately met as a convention, and elected Colonel James Moore their governor.* He was a bold man, and exceedingly well qualified for a popular leader in a turbulent season. He accepted the appointment, and assisted by the convention, and supported by the people, administered the affairs of the colony. The representatives of the people took a dislike to the name of a convention, voted themselves an assembly, and assumed the power of appointing all public officers. In place of

Trott, they made Richard Allein chief justice. Another person was appointed provincial secretary, in the room of Charles Hart. But Rhett, by becoming obsequious to the humours of the revolutionists, secured the same office he held from the proprietors. Colonel Barnwell was chosen agent for the province, and embarked for England, with instructions and orders to apply only to the king, to lay a statement of their public proceedings before him, praying him to take the province under his immediate care and protection. The fortifications at Charleston they ordered to be immediately repaired, and Rhett was nominated inspector-general of the repairs. To their new governor they voted two thousand five hundred pounds, and to their chief justice eight hundred pounds, current money, as yearly salaries. To their agent in England one thousand pounds sterling was transmitted; and to defray those and the other expenses of government, a law was passed for laying a tax on lands and negroes, to raise thirty thousand pounds, Carolina money, for the service of the current year. In short, this popular assembly imposed such burdens on their constituents, as under the proprietary government would have been deemed intolerable grievances. When, however, they began to levy those heavy taxes, Governor Johnson and some of his party refused to pay, giving for reason, that the act was not made by lawful authority. On account of his particular circumstances, Mr. Johnson was exempted; but they resolved to compel every other person to submit to their jurisdiction, and yield implicit obedience

Moore, a person well affected to his present majesty, and also zealous for the interest of the settlement, now in a sinking condition, has been prevailed with, pursuant to such our application, to take upon him, in the king's name, and for the king's service and safety of the settlement, the above-mentioned charge and trust: we, therefore, whose names are hereunto subscribed, the representatives and delegates of his majesty's liege people, and free-born subjects of the said settlement, now met in convention at Charleston, in their names, and in behalf of his sacred majesty, George, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, in consideration of his former and many great services, having great confidence in his firm loyalty to our most gracious king, George, as well as in his conduct, courage, and other great abilities, do hereby declare the said James Moore his majesty's governor of this settlement, invested with all the powers and authorities belonging and appertaining to any of his majesty's governors in America, till his majesty's pleasure herein shall be further known. And we do hereby, for ourselves, in the name and on the behalf of the inhabitants of the said settlement, as their representatives and delegates, promise and oblige ourselves most solemnly to obey, maintain, assist, and support the said James Moore, in the administration of all affairs, civil and military, within this settlement, as well as in the execution of all his functions aforesaid, as governor for his sacred majesty, King George. And further, we do expect and command, that all officers, both civil and military, within the settlement, do pay him all duty and obedience as his majesty's governor, as they shall answer to the contrary at their utmost peril. Given under our hand, at the convention, this 21st day of December, 1719." - History of South Carolina, vol. i. p. 276-278.

* The declaration of this convention was as follows: "Whereas the proprietors of this province have of late assumed to themselves an arbitrary and illegal power, of repealing such laws as the general assembly of this settlement have thought fit to make for the preservation and defence thereof, and acted in many other things contrary to the laws of England, and the charter to them and us, freemen, granted; whereby we are deprived of those measures we had taken for the defence of the settlement, being the south-west frontier of his majesty's territories in America, and thereby left naked to the attacks of our inveterate enemies and next door neighbours, the Spaniards, from whom, through the Divine Providence, we have had a miraculous deliverance, and daily expect to be invaded by them, according to the repeated advices we have from time to time received from several places: and whereas, pursuant to the instructions and authorities to us given, and trust in us reposed by the inhabitants of this settlement, and in execution of the resolutions by us made, we did in due form apply ourselves in a whole body, by an address, to the Honourable Robert Johnson, appointed governor of this province by the lords proprietors, and desired him, in the name of the inhabitants of this province, to take upon him the government of the same, and in behalf of his majesty the king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, until his majesty's pleasure had been known, which the said governor refusing to do, exclusive of the pretended power of the lords proprietors over the settlement, has put us under the necessity of applying to some other person, to take upon him, as governor, the administration of all the affairs, civil and military, within the settlement, in the name and for the service of his most sacred majesty, as well as making treaties, alliances, and leagues, with any nation of the Indians, until his majesty's pleasure herein be further known: and whereas James

to their laws. They forcibly seized the effects or negroes of such as refused; sold them by public auction, and applied the money for the payment of their taxes. Thus, in spite of all opposition, they established themselves in the full possession of government, both in their legislative and executive capacities.

The agent for Carolina at length procured a hear-

* About this period an incident occurred, which, as it eminently illustrates the nature, extent, and folly of religious enthusiasm, (as distinct from the sincere fervour of a rational faith as it is from the cold formality of pharisaism, or the desolating mania of skepticism,) should not be passed unnoticed, especially as the spread of knowledge has not, in our own age, prevented similar disgraceful and blasphemous follies from procuring disciples and advocates. Perhaps some individuals, who have been accustomed to confound the yet too limited exertions of an evangelical benevolence with the folly of enthusiasm, may learn the immense breadth of a distinction, which it is not to the honour of their rational powers so long to have overlooked.

"The family of Dutartres, consisting of four sons and four daughters, were descendants of French refugees, who came into Carolina after the revocation of the edict of Nantz. They lived in Orange-quarter, and, though in low circumstances, always maintained an honest character, and were esteemed by their neighbours, persons of blameless and irreproachable lives. But at this time a strolling Moravian preacher happening to come to that quarter where they lived, insinuated himself into their family, and partly by conversation, and partly by the writings of Jacob Behmen, which he put into their hands, filled their heads with wild and fantastic ideas. Unhappily for the poor family, those strange notions gained ground on them, insomuch that in one year they began to withdraw themselves from the ordinances of public worship, and all conversation with the world around them, and strongly to imagine they were the only family upon earth who had the knowledge of the true God, and whom he vouchsafed to instruct, either by the immediate impulses of his Spirit, or by signs and tokens from heaven. At length it came to open visions and revelation. God raised up a prophet among them, like unto Moses, to whom he taught them to hearken. This prophet was Peter Rombert, who had married the eldest daughter of the family when a widow. To this man the Author and Governor of the world deigned to reveal, in the plainest manner, that the wickedness of man was again so great in the world, that, as in the days of Noah, he was determined to destroy all men from off the face of it, except one family whom he would save for raising up a godly seed upon earth. This revelation Peter Rombert was sure of, and felt it as plain as the wind blowing on his body, and the rest of the family, with equal confidence and presumption, firmly believed it.

"A few days after this, God was pleased to reveal himself a second time to the prophet, saying, Put away the woman whom thou hast for thy wife, and when I have destroyed this wicked generation, I will raise up her first husband from the dead, and they shall be man and wife as before, and go thou and take to wife her youngest sister, who is a virgin, so shall the chosen family be restored entire, and the holy seed preserved pure and undefiled in it. At first the father, when he heard of this revelation, was staggered at so extraordinary a command from heaven; but the prophet assured him that God would give him a sign, which accordingly happened; upon which the old man took his youngest daughter by the hand, and gave her to the wise prophet immediately for his wife. Thus, for some time, they continued in acts of incest and adultery, until that period which made the fatal discovery, and introduced the bloody scene of blind fanaticism and madness.

"Those deluded wretches were so far possessed with the false conceit of their own righteousness and holiness, and of the horrid wickedness of all others, that they refused obedience to the civil magistrate, and all laws and ordinances of men. Upon pretence that God commanded them to bear no arms, they not only refused to comply with the militia law, but also the laws for repairing the

highways. After long forbearance, Mr. Simmons, a worthy magistrate, and the officer of the militia in that quarter, found it necessary to issue his warrants for levying the penalty of the laws upon them. But by this time Judith Dutartre, the wife of the prophet obtained by revelation, proving with child, another warrant was issued for bringing her before the justice to be examined, and bound over to the general sessions; in consequence of a law of the province, framed for preventing bastardy. The constable having received his warrants, and being jealous of meeting with no good usage in the execution of his office, prevailed on two or three of his neighbours to go along with him. The family observing the constable coming, and being apprised of his errand, consulted their prophet, who soon told them that God commanded them to arm and defend themselves against persecution, and their substance against the robberies of ungodly men, assuring them at the same time that no weapon formed against them should prosper. Accordingly they did so, and laying hold of their arms, fired on the constable and his followers, and drove them out of their plantation. Such behaviour was not to be tolerated, and therefore, Captain Simmons gathered a party of militia, and went to protect the constable in the execution of his office. When the deluded family saw the justice and his party approaching, they shut themselves up in their house, and firing from it like furies, shot Captain Simmons dead on the spot, and wounded several of his party. The militia returned the fire, killed one woman within the house, and afterwards forcibly entering it, took the rest prisoners, six in number, and brought them to Charleston. At the court of general sessions, held in September, 1724, three of them were brought to trial, found guilty, and condemned. Alas! miserable creatures, what amazing infatuation possessed them! They pretended they had the Spirit of God leading them to all truth, they knew it, and felt it; but this spirit, instead of influencing them to obedience, purity, and peace, commanded them to commit rebellion, incest, and murder. What is still more astonishing, the principal persons among them, I mean the prophet, the father of the family, and Michael Boneau, never were convinced of their delusion, but persisted in it until their last breath. During their trial, they appeared altogether unconcerned and secure, affirming that God was on their side, and therefore, they feared not what man could do unto them. They freely told the incestuous story in open court, in all its circumstances and aggravations, with a good countenance, and very readily confessed the facts respecting their rebellion and murder, with which they stood charged, but pleaded their authority from God in vindication of themselves, and insisted they had done nothing in either case but by his express command. As it is commonly the duty of clergymen to visit persons under sentence of death, both to convince them of their error and danger, and prepare them for death by bringing them to a penitent disposition, Alexander Garden, the episcopal minister of Charleston, to whom we are indebted for this account, attended these condemned persons with great diligence and concern. What they had affirmed in the court of justice, they repeated and confessed to him in like manner in the prison. When he began to reason with them, and to explain the heinous nature of their crimes, they treated him with disdain. Their motto was, Answer him not a word; who is he that shall presume to teach them, who had the Spirit of God speaking inwardly to their souls. In all they had done, they said they had obeyed the voice of God, and were now about to suffer martyrdom for his religion. But God had assured them, that he would either work a deliverance for them, or raise them up from the dead on the third day. These things the three men continued confidently to believe, and notwithstanding all the means used to convince them of their mistake, persisted

Several years afterwards, seven of the proprietors sold to the king their claim to the soil and rents, and all of them assigned to him their right of jurisdiction. The government of both Carolinas was subsequently administered in each colony by a governor and council appointed by the crown, and by assemblies chosen by the people.

After the purchase of the province, the first object of the royal concern was, to establish the peace of the colony on the most firm and permanent foundation; and to attain this object, treaties of union and alliance with Indian nations were deemed essentially necessary. For this purpose Sir Alexander Cumming was appointed, and sent out to conclude a treaty of alliance with the Cherokees, at this time a warlike and formidable nation of savages, occupying the lands about the river of Savannah, and extending to the Apalachian mountains. About the beginning of the year 1730, Sir Alexander arrived in Carolina, and made preparations for his journey to the distant hills. After a conference with the chiefs, they consented to acknowledge King George as their sovereign, and several of them repaired to England, as a deputation, to do homage to the British king. We shall not pretend to describe their feelings on beholding the metropolis of Great Britain, or their amaze-

ment at the extent of the city, the number of the people, and the splendour of the army and court. Being admitted into the presence of the king, they, in the name of their nation, promised to continue for ever his majesty's faithful and obedient subjects. A treaty was drawn up, and signed by the secretary to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations on one side, and by the six chiefs on the other.*

The Cherokees, however barbarous, were a free and independent people; and this method of obtaining a share of their lands by the general consent, was fair and honourable in itself, and most agreeable to the general principles of equity, and the English constitution. An agreement was made with them, in consequence of which the king could not only give a just title to Indian lands; but, by Indians becoming his voluntary subjects, the colonists obtained peaceable possession. The Cherokees held abundance of territory from nature, and could spare a share of it with little injury to themselves; but reason and justice required that it be obtained by their free consent. By such treaties mutual presents were made, mutual obligations were established, and, for the performance of the conditions required, the honour and faith of both parties were pledged. Even to men in a barbarous state, such policy was the most agreeable, as

in the same belief until the moment they expired. At their execution they told the spectators, with seeming triumph, they should soon see them again, for they were certain they should rise from the dead on the third day. With respect to the other three, the daughter Judith being with child, was not tried, and the two sons, David and John Dutartre, about eighteen and twenty years of age, having been also tried and condemned, continued sullen and reserved, in hopes of seeing those that were executed rise from the dead, but being disappointed, they became, or at least seemed to become, sensible of their error, and were both pardoned. Yet, not long afterwards, one of them relapsed into the same snare, and murdered an innocent person, without either provocation or previous quarrel, and for no other reason, as he confessed, but that God had commanded him so to do. Being a second time brought to trial, he was found guilty of murder, and condemned. Mr. Garden attended him again under the second sentence, and, he acknowledged, with great appearance of success. No man could appear more deeply sensible of his error and delusion, or could die a more sincere and hearty penitent on account of his horrid crimes. With great attention he listened to Mr. Garden, while he explained to him the terms of pardon and salvation proposed in the gospel, and seemed to die in the humble hopes of mercy, through the all-sufficient merits of a Redeemer.

"Thus ended that tragical scene of fanaticism, in which seven persons lost their lives,—one was killed, two were murdered, and four executed for the murders. A signal and melancholy instance of the weakness and frailty of human nature, and to what giddy heights of extravagance and madness an inflamed imagination will carry unfortunate mortals."—History of Carolina, vol. i. p. 302—307.

* "This treaty, that it might be easier understood, was drawn up in language as similar as possible to that of the Indians, which at this time was very little known in England, and given to them, certified and approved by Sir Alexander Cumming. In answer to which, Skijagustah, in the name of the rest, made a speech to the following effect:—We are come hither from a mountainous place, where nothing but darkness is to be found—but we are now in a

place where there is light.—There was a person in our country—he gave us a yellow token of warlike honour, which is left with Moytoy, of Telliquo—and as warriors we received it.—He came to us like a warrior from you.—A man he is;—his talk is upright—and the token he left preserves his memory among us.—We look upon you as if the great king were present;—we love you as representing the great king;—we shall die in the same way of thinking.—The crown of our nation is different from that which the great King George wears, and from that we saw in the tower.—But to us it is all one.—The chain of friendship shall be carried to our people.—We look upon the great King George as the sun, and as our father, and upon ourselves as his children.—For though we are red, and you are white, yet our hands and hearts are joined together.—When we shall have acquainted our people with what we have seen, our children from generation to generation will always remember it.—In war we shall always be one with you. The enemies of the great king shall be our enemies;—his people and ours shall be one, and shall die together.—We came hither naked and poor as the worms of the earth, but you have every thing,—and we that have nothing must love you, and will never break the chain of friendship which is between us.—Here stands the governor of Carolina, whom we know.—This small rope we show you is all that we have to bind our slaves with, and it may be broken.—But you have iron chains for yours.—However, if we catch your slaves, we will bind them as well as we can, and deliver them to our friends, and take no pay for it.—We have looked round for the person that was in our country—he is not here;—however, we must say he talked uprightly to us, and we shall never forget him.—Your white people may very safely build houses near us;—we shall hurt nothing that belongs to them, for we are children of one father, the great king, and shall live and die together.' Then laying down his feathers upon the table, he added, 'This is our way of talking, which is the same thing to us as your letters in the book are to you; and to you, beloved men, we deliver these feathers in confirmation of all we have said.'—History of South Carolina, vol. ii. p. 9, 10.

will afterwards clearly appear; for the Cherokees, in consequence of this treaty, for many years remained in a state of perfect friendship and peace with the colonists, who followed their various employments in the neighbourhood of those Indians without the least terror or molestation.

As a natural consequence of its domestic security, the credit of the province in England increased. The merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, turned their eyes to Carolina, as a new and promising channel of trade, and established houses in Charleston for conducting their business with the greater ease and success. Hitherto, however, small progress in cultivation had been made, and the face of the country appeared like a desert, with little spots here and there cleared, scarcely discernible amidst the immense forest. Charleston, at this time, consisted of between five and six hundred houses, mostly built of timber, and neither well constructed nor comfortable; but from this period the province improved in building as well as in agriculture; many ingenious artificers and tradesmen of different kinds found encouragement in it, and introduced a taste for brick buildings, and more neat and pleasant habitations. In process of time, as the colony increased in numbers, the face of the country changed, and the planters made a rapid progress towards wealth and independence. At this period, for the relief of poor and indigent people of Great Britain and Ireland, and for the security of the southern frontier of Carolina, the settlement of a new colony between the rivers Alatomaha and Savannah was projected in England.

The Carolinas now attracted general attention, and their population was increased by accessions from several of the states of Europe. Encouraged by the assurances and the arrangements of their countryman, John Peter Pury, a native of Neufchatel, in Switzerland, one hundred and seventy persons emigrated with him to this province, and not long after they were joined by two hundred more. The governor, according to agreement, allotted forty thousand acres of land for the use of the Swiss settlement on the north-east side of Savannah river; and a town was marked out for their accommodation, which he called Purisburgh, from the name of the principal promoter of the settlement. These settlers, however, felt very severely the change of climate, to which many of their lives fell a sacrifice; and for some years the survivors deeply regretted the voluntary banishment to which they had subjected themselves. In the same year, according to a plan that had been recently adopted in England for the more speedy population and settlement of Carolina, eleven townships were

marked out on the sides of rivers, in square plats, each consisting of twenty thousand acres. Two of these townships were laid out on the Alatomaha; two on the Savannah; two on the Santee; one on the Pedee; one on the Wacamaw; one on the Wateree; and one on Black River. The lands in these townships were divided into shares of fifty acres for each man, woman, and child, who should come over to occupy and improve them. In 1737, multitudes of labourers and husbandmen in Ireland, unable to procure a comfortable subsistence for their families in their native land, embarked for Carolina. The first colony of Irish, receiving a grant of lands near Santee River, formed a settlement, which was called Williamsburgh.

In 1738, an alarming insurrection of the negroes occurred in the southern colony. A number of them assembled at Stono, and surprised and killed two men who had charge of a warehouse, from which they took guns and ammunition. They then chose a captain, and, with drums beating and colours flying, marched south-westward. They burned every house on their way, killed all the whites they could find, and compelled other negroes to join them. Governor Bull, who was returning to Charleston from the southward, accidentally met them, hastened out of their way, and spread an alarm. The news soon reached Wiltown, where, fortunately, a large congregation were attending divine service. The men having, according to a law of the province, brought their arms to the place of worship, marched instantly in quest of the negroes, who, by this time, had become formidable, and spread terror and desolation around them, having killed about twenty of the whites. While, in an open field, they were carousing and dancing, with frantic exultation at their late success, they were suddenly attacked; some were killed, and the remainder took to flight, but most of them were taken and tried. Those who had been compelled to join the conspirators were pardoned; but the leaders and principal instigators suffered death. Under apprehensions resulting, probably, from this rebellion, the legislature of South Carolina passed an act, that whoever shall teach, or cause any slave or slaves to be taught to write, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe in any manner of writing whatsoever, shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds.*

From this period until the era of the revolution, no important event occurred in these colonies. They were sometimes distressed by Indian wars; but the

* Grimke's Public Laws of South Carolina. The fine was to be "current money."

number of inhabitants, and the means of subsistence and comfort, were constantly increasing. Among other sources of wealth, the cultivation of the Indigo plant deserves particular notice. Some seed imported from the West Indies was sown as an experiment; and it was so entirely successful, that several planters turned their immediate attention to its culture, and studied the art of extracting the dye. At the port of Charleston, during the year 1744, two hundred and thirty vessels were loaded, and fifteen hundred seamen were employed in the trade of Carolina.

The Carolinas were frequently exposed to the injurious effects of war from the French and Spaniards, as well as from some of the Indian tribes; but after the treaty of Paris, the progress of these colonies was no longer retarded from that cause. The assembly of South Carolina, taking advantage of the peaceful state of the colony to encourage emigration, appropriated a large fund for bounties to foreign protestants, and such industrious poor people of Great Britain and Ireland as should resort to the province within three years, and settle on the inland parts. Two townships, each containing forty-eight thousand acres, were laid out; one on the river Savannah, called Mecklenburgh, and the other on the waters of Santee at Long Cane, called Londonderry. Not long after, the colony received a considerable accession from Germany, the occasion of which was peculiar. Between five and six hundred poor Germans, seduced into England by deceitful promises, were commiserated by the citizens of London, who provided for their relief. The king expressing a desire of transporting them to Carolina, two ships were furnished for their accommodation, and provisions for their voyage, and a hundred and fifty stand of arms were ordered from the Tower, and given them by the king. On their arrival, in April, at Charleston, the assembly of the province voted five hundred pounds sterling to be distributed among them; one of the two townships was allotted to them, and divided in the most equitable manner into small tracts, for the convenience of each family; and all possible assistance was given toward their speedy and comfortable settlement. Carolina also received at this time more than two hundred settlers from France. The province furnished them with the means of conveyance to Long Cane, where vacant lands were laid out for their use, to which they gave the name of New Bordeaux, after the capital of the province from which most of them had emigrated. Besides foreign protestants, several persons emigrated from England and Scotland, and great multitudes from Ireland, and settled in Carolina. An accession was also derived from the northern

colonies, from which, in the space of one year, above a thousand families removed thither. To these adventurers, lands in small tracts were allotted on the frontiers, by which means the back settlements soon became the most populous part of the province, while the whole felt the important benefits resulting from such accessions to its population.

CHAPTER XII.

GEORGIA.

THE last of the colonies commenced previous to the war of independence was Georgia. It originated in the desire of the government to strengthen the southern frontier of the British dominions in America against the encroachments of the Spaniards; and at the same time to afford an opportunity for emigration to a number of families in indigent circumstances. With these views, a company of wealthy, influential, and benevolent persons, was formed in England, who did not hesitate to embark a considerable sum in the promotion of their humane design. Having obtained a patent from George II., conferring on them the requisite powers, they enacted, among other regulations, that the lands should neither be sold nor devised by the owners, but should descend to the male children only; they prohibited the use of rum in the colony, and strictly interdicted the importation of negroes: but none of these regulations remained long in force.

The trustees lost no time in the prosecution of their design. In November, James Oglethorpe, one of their number, embarked at Gravesend for Georgia, with one hundred and sixteen persons, destined for settlement in the country. In the following January he arrived at Charleston, where he was treated with hospitality and respect by the governor and council of South Carolina, and received great encouragement and assistance. Having explored the country, he fixed on a high spot of ground, in the vicinity of an Indian town on the Savannah, called Yamacraw, as the most convenient and healthy situation. The new town, after the Indian name of the river which ran by it, was called Savannah. A fort having been completed, and the colony put in a state of safety, the next object of Oglethorpe's attention was to treat with the Indians for a share of their possessions. The territory was principally occupied by the Upper and Lower Creeks, who were computed to amount to about twenty-five thousand, including women and children; and these tribes, according to a treaty formerly made with Governor Nicholson, laid claim to the lands lying

south-west of Savannah river. The tribe of Indians at Yamacraw was inconsiderable. It appeared, therefore, of the highest consequence to procure the friendship, not of that tribe only, but of the more formidable Creeks. By the assistance of an Indian woman, who had married a trader from Carolina, and who could speak both the English and Creek languages, Oglethorpe summoned a general meeting of the chiefs to hold a congress with him at Savannah, in order to procure their consent to the peaceable settlement of his colony. Being assembled, he represented to them the great power, wisdom, and wealth of the English; and the advantages that would accrue to the Indian tribes from a connexion with this nation; and expressed his hope, that, as they had plenty of lands, they would freely resign a share of them to his people, who, for their benefit and instruction, had come to settle among them. After he had distributed presents among the Indians, an agreement was made; and Tomochichi, in the name of the Creek warriors, made a speech to him. Among other observations, he said, "Here is a little present," and then gave him a buffalo's skin, painted on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle, and desired him to accept it, "because the eagle signified speed, and the buffalo, strength. The English," he proceeded, "are as swift as the bird, and as strong as the beast; since, like the first, they fly from the utmost parts of the earth over vast seas, and, like the second, nothing can withstand them. The feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify love; the buffalo's skin warm, and signifies protection; he hoped, therefore, that they would love and protect their little families."

Having concluded this treaty of friendship with the natives, and placed his colony in the best posture of defence, Oglethorpe returned to England, carrying with him Tomochichi, his queen, and several other Indians. On their arrival in London, these Indian chiefs were introduced to his majesty; and during the whole time they were in England, nothing was neglected that might serve to engage their affections, and fill them with just notions of the greatness and power of the British nation. The nobility, curious to see them, and observe their manners, entertained them magnificently at their tables. Wherever they went, multitudes flocked around them, shaking hands with the rude warriors of the forest, giving them little presents, and treating them with every mark of friendship and civility. Twenty pounds a-week were allowed them by the crown while they remained in England, and when they returned, it was computed they carried with them presents to the value of four hundred pounds. After staying four months, and seeing the grandeur

of the English sovereign, they were carried to Gravesend in one of his majesty's carriages, where they embarked for Georgia, highly pleased with the generosity of the nation, and promising eternal fidelity to its interest. This generous and kind method of treating barbarians was better policy than overawing them by force, and was attended, as might have been expected, with the happiest consequences.

During the following year, five or six hundred poor persons arrived, and to each a portion of the wilderness was assigned. But it was soon found that these emigrants, who were the refuse of cities, and had been rendered poor by idleness, and irresolute by poverty, were not fitted to fell the mighty forests of Georgia. A race more hardy and enterprising was necessary. The trustees, therefore, offered to receive those who had not by persecution or poverty been rendered objects of compassion, and to grant to all who should repair to the colony fifty acres of land. In consequence of this offer, more than four hundred persons from Germany, Scotland, and Switzerland, embarked for the colony in the year 1735. To the Highlanders, a township was allotted on the river Alatamaha, which was then considered as the boundary between the British and Spanish territories. Here they built a fort, which they called Darien; and a town, which they called New Inverness. In February, 1736, Oglethorpe arrived with two ships, which had on board three hundred passengers. More than half of these were Germans, who, with others of their countrymen who followed them, settled a town on Savannah, which they called Ebenezer.

The celebrated John Wesley made a visit to Georgia during this year, for the purpose of preaching to the colonists, and converting the Indians. Among the former he made some friends, but, it would appear, more enemies. He was accused of diverting the people from labour, of fomenting divisions, of claiming and exercising high and unwarranted ecclesiastical authority. Thirteen indictments for alleged offences were preferred against him; but before the time of trial arrived he returned to England, where, as is well known, he pursued a successful and distinguished career of piety and usefulness.

It was about this time that Oglethorpe took effective measures to fortify the colony. A fort was erected on the banks of the Savannah river; another on an island near the mouth of the river Alatamaha, where a town, called Frederica, was regularly laid out and built; and ten miles nearer the sea, on Cumberland island, was raised a battery, commanding the entrance into Jekyl sound, through which all ships of force must pass to reach Frederica. The Spa-

niards, taking umbrage at these fortifications of the English, sent from Havannah a commissioner, who, in a conference with Oglethorpe, demanded that he and his people should immediately evacuate the territories to the southward of St. Helena sound, as belonging to the king of Spain. Oglethorpe having endeavoured in vain to convince the commissioner of the erroneousness of this claim, and the conference breaking up without any agreement, he embarked with all possible expedition for England.

On this occasion Oglethorpe was appointed general and commander-in-chief of all his majesty's forces in South Carolina and Georgia, and was sent out from England with a regiment of six hundred men for the protection of the southern frontiers of the British dominions in America. During his absence, the Spaniards had made several attempts to seduce the Creeks, who were much attached to Oglethorpe; and, at the time of his arrival, some of the Creek chiefs were at St. Augustine. When they returned, they found an invitation from General Oglethorpe to all the chieftains to meet him at Frederica. A number of the head warriors immediately set out to meet him at the place appointed; where the general thanked them for their fidelity, made them many valuable presents, and renewed with them the treaty of friendship and alliance. The Spaniards, however, hesitated at the employment of no means to prevent the establishment of British colonies on their northern frontier. Finding opportunity to corrupt an English soldier who had been in the Spanish service, a mutiny through his influence was excited in Oglethorpe's camp, and a daring attempt was made to assassinate the general; but his life was preserved in an extraordinary manner, and the principal conspirators were shot.

About this time the indefatigable George Whitefield arrived in the colony. He had already become conspicuous in England by his ardent piety, his extraordinary eloquence, and his active zeal. He came to Georgia for the benevolent purpose of establishing an orphan-house, where poor children might be fed, clothed, and educated in the knowledge of christianity. In the prosecution of this purpose he often crossed the Atlantic, and traversed Great Britain and America, soliciting aid from the pious and charitable. Wherever he went, he preached with sincerity and fervour, and with such success, as to found a sect, which soon became both numerous and respectable. His orphan-house did not flourish during his life, and after his death was entirely abandoned. Although his proceedings and character would form very interesting topics, they do not come properly within the sphere of this history; and their principal incidents, as con-

nected, with America, have been noticed in a preceding chapter.

In the year 1740, the trustees rendered an account of their administration. At that time nearly two thousand five hundred emigrants had arrived in the colony; of whom more than fifteen hundred were indigent Englishmen, or persecuted protestants. The benefactions from government and from individuals had been nearly half a million of dollars; and it was computed that, for every person transported and maintained by the trustees, more than three hundred dollars had been expended. The hopes which the trustees had cherished, that the colony would be prosperous, and the objects of their benevolence happy, were far from realized. Such was the character of the greater part of the settlers and the nature of the restrictions imposed, that the plantations languished and continued to require the contributions of the charitable. In the mean time events were preparing a rupture in Europe, and a war between England and Spain appeared inevitable. The plenipotentiaries, appointed for settling the boundaries between Georgia and Florida, and other differences and misunderstandings subsisting between the two crowns, had met at Pardo in convention, where preliminary articles were drawn up; but the conference ended to the satisfaction of neither party. The merchants had lost all patience under their sufferings, and became clamorous for letters of reprisal, which at length they obtained; all officers of the navy and army were ordered to their stations, and, with the unanimous voice of the nation, war was declared against Spain on the 23d of October, 1739. As soon as intelligence of the declaration of war reached Georgia, General Oglethorpe passed over to Florida with four hundred select men of his regiment, and a considerable party of Indians; and a few days after, he marched with his whole force, consisting of above two thousand men, regulars, provincials, and Indians, to Fort Moosa, within two miles of St. Augustine. The Spanish garrison, evacuating the fort on his approach, and retiring into the town, put themselves in a posture of defence; and the general, soon discovering that an attempt to take the castle by storm would be presumptuous, changed his plan of operations, and resolved, with the assistance of the ships of war which were lying at anchor off Augustine bar, to turn the siege into a blockade. Having made the necessary dispositions, he summoned the Spanish governor to a surrender; but, secure in his strong-hold, he sent him for answer, that he would be glad to shake hands with him in his castle. Indignant at this reply, the general opened his batteries against the castle, and at

the same time threw a number of shells in the town. The fire was returned with equal spirit from the Spanish fort, and from six half-galleys in the harbour; but the distance was so great that the cannonade, though it continued several days, did little execution on either side. It appears that, notwithstanding the blockade, the Spanish garrison contrived to admit a reinforcement of seven hundred men, and a large supply of provisions. All prospect of starving the enemy being lost, the army began to despair of forcing the place to surrender. The Carolina troops, enfeebled by the heat of the climate, dispirited by sickness, and fatigued by fruitless efforts, marched away in large bodies. The naval commander, in consideration of the shortness of his provisions, and of the near approach of the usual season of hurricanes, judged it imprudent to hazard his fleet longer on that coast. The general himself was sick of a fever, and his regiment was worn out with fatigue, and disabled by sickness. These combined disasters rendered it necessary to abandon the enterprise; and Oglethorpe, with extreme sorrow and regret, returned to Frederica.

After a lapse of two years, the Spaniards prepared to retaliate by the invasion of Georgia, intending, if successful, to subjugate the Carolinas and Virginia. On receiving information of their approach, General Oglethorpe solicited assistance from South Carolina: but the inhabitants of that colony, entertaining a strong prejudice against him, and terrified by the danger which threatened themselves, determined to provide only for their own safety, though without avowing their intention. General Oglethorpe, however, made preparations for a vigorous defence. He assembled seven hundred men, exclusive of a body of Indians, fixed his head-quarters at Frederica, on the island of St. Simon, and, with this small band, determined to encounter whatever force might be brought against him. It was his utmost hope that he might be able to resist the enemy until a reinforcement should arrive from Carolina, which he daily and anxiously expected. On the last day of June, the Spanish fleet, consisting of thirty-two sail, and having on board more than three thousand men, came to anchor off St. Simon's Bay. Notwithstanding all the resistance which General Oglethorpe could oppose, they sailed up the river Altamaha, landed upon the island, and there erected fortifications. Convinced that his small force, if divided, must be entirely inefficient, Oglethorpe assembled the whole of it at Frederica. One portion he employed in strengthening his fortifications; the Highlanders and Indians ranging night and day through the

woods, often attacked the outposts of the enemy. The toil of the troops was incessant; and the long delay of the expected succours, still unexpectedly withheld by South Carolina, caused the most gloomy and depressing apprehensions. Oglethorpe, at length, learning, by an English prisoner who escaped from the Spanish camp, that a difference subsisted between the troops from Cuba and those from St. Augustine, so as to occasion a separate encampment, resolved to attack the enemy while thus divided. Taking advantage of his knowledge of the woods, he marched out in the night with three hundred chosen men, the Highland company, and some rangers, with the intention of surprising the enemy. Having advanced within two miles of the Spanish camp, he halted his troops, and went forward himself with a select corps to reconnoitre the enemy's situation. While he was endeavouring cautiously to conceal his approach, a French soldier of his party discharged his musket, and ran into the Spanish lines. Thus betrayed, he hastened his return to Frederica, and endeavoured to effect by stratagem what could not be achieved by surprise. Apprehensive that the deserter would discover to the enemy his weakness, he wrote to him a letter, desiring him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceless state of Frederica, and the ease with which his small garrison might be cut to pieces. He pressed him to bring forward the Spaniards to an attack; but, if he could not prevail thus far, to use all his art and influence to persuade them to stay at least three days more at Fort Simon; for within that time, according to advices he had just received from Carolina, he should have a reinforcement of two thousand land forces, with six British ships of war. The letter concluded with a caution to the deserter against dropping the least hint of Admiral Vernon's meditated attack upon St. Augustine, and with an assurance that for his service he should be amply rewarded by the British king. Oglethorpe gave it to a Spanish prisoner, who, for a small reward, together with his liberty, promised to deliver it to the French deserter. On his arrival at the Spanish camp, however, he gave the letter, as Oglethorpe expected, to the commander-in-chief, who instantly put the deserter in irons. This letter perplexed and confounded the Spaniards; some suspecting it to be a stratagem to prevent an attack on Frederica, and others believing it to contain serious instructions to direct the conduct of a spy. While the Spanish officers were deliberating what measures to adopt, an incident, not within the calculation of military skill, or the control of human power, decided their counsels. Three ships of force, which the governor

of South Carolina had sent out to Oglethorpe's aid, appeared at this juncture off the coast. The agreement of this discovery with the contents of the letter convinced the Spanish commander of its real intention. The whole army, seized with an instant panic, set fire to the fort, and precipitately embarked, leaving several cannon, with a quantity of provisions and military stores; and thus, in the moment of threatened conquest, was the infant colony providentially saved.

Thus was Georgia, with trifling loss, delivered from the most imminent danger. General Oglethorpe not only retrieved, but established his reputation. From the Carolinians, grateful for their preservation, and from the governors of most of the northern colonies, he received cordial congratulations upon his address and good fortune. But, on an impeachment brought forward before this invasion, Oglethorpe still felt himself bound in honour to return to England, where, on trial, the charge was adjudged to be false, malicious, and groundless, and its author dismissed his majesty's service. The character of this able general now appeared in its true light; and his contemporaries acknowledged, what impartial history records, that

* "George Whitefield, an eloquent itinerant preacher, was born in Gloucester, England, December 16, 1714. After having made some progress in classical learning, he was obliged to assist his mother, who kept an inn, in her business; but at the age of eighteen, he entered one of the colleges at Oxford. Here he became acquainted with Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, whose piety was ardent and singular, like his own. From the strict rules and methods of life which these young men followed, they were called Methodists, and they were the founders of the sect thus denominated. Mr. Whitefield's benevolent zeal led him to visit the poor, and even to search out the miserable objects in the jails, not only to diminish their wants, but that he might impart to them the consolations and hopes of the gospel. He took orders, being ordained by the bishop, June 20, 1736, and preached his first sermon in the church at Gloucester. When a complaint was afterwards entered with the bishop, that by this sermon he drove fifteen persons mad, the worthy prelate only expressed a wish, that the madness might not be forgotten before the next Sunday. After preaching at various places, he was induced, by a letter from Mr. Wesley, who was in Georgia, to embark for America. He arrived at Savannah May 7, 1738. After labouring in this place with unwearied fidelity for several months to promote the interests of religion, he embarked for England on the sixth of September. He was ordained priest, at Oxford, by Bishop Benson, January 14, 1739. In November he again arrived in America, and he travelled through the middle and southern colonies, dispensing the gospel to immense multitudes. In September, 1740, he arrived at Rhode Island from Savannah, having been invited by the ministers of Boston, and he preached in different parts of New England. At the end of October, he went to New York, and he soon returned to Georgia. He was much occupied in the establishment of an orphan house near Savannah. In January, 1741, he sailed for England. He arrived again in America in October, 1744, and he now spent between three and four years in this country. In March, 1748, he went to the Bermudas, and in July he reached London. When he commenced his career in England, the religion of the heart was much neglected, in the care to defend the outworks of Christianity against the assaults of infidels. If these assailants were repulsed, still the ingenious disquisitions of the day carried no terror into the enemy's camp; and the over-anxious attempts to conciliate unhumbled reason, rather than to reduce the unholy heart to the obedience of the cross, could not fail to encourage the opposers of the truth. Mr. Whitefield, while aware of the necessity of enlightening the mind, knew also that there was much theological learning which had little influence upon the life. He therefore chose to content himself with preaching the plain and important doctrines of the gospel. These he presented so distinctly to the view, and enforced by such awful considerations, and with such energy and unexampled eloquence, that, through the divine agency, (without which he knew that his

to him Carolina was indebted for her safety and repose, as well as Georgia for her existence and protection. After this period, General Oglethorpe never returned to the province of Georgia, but upon all occasions discovered in England an uncommon zeal for its prosperity and improvement. From its first settlement, the colony had hitherto been under a military government, executed by the general and such officers as he thought proper to nominate and appoint; but now the trustees established a kind of civil government, and committed the charge of it to a president and four assistants, who were to act agreeably to the instructions they should receive from them, and to be accountable to that corporation for their public conduct.

Great occasions bring forth great men. There was not one of the colonies that cannot claim several men of distinguished talents and virtues in their early history. They sometimes incurred the displeasure of those who were incapable of comprehending the extensive views of the pioneers in the great cause of freedom; but time has swept away the clouds which gathered around them, and left their reputations in the clearness of day. Not only Oglethorpe, but Whitefield* was a distinguished friend to

labours would be utterly in vain,) he was the means of imparting the pure principles and the elevated hopes of religion to thousands, both in Great Britain and America. No preacher ever had such astonishing power over the passions of his auditory, or was attended by such multitudes as he sometimes addressed in the fields. In the early periods of his life, he was guilty, in some instances, of uncharitableness and indiscretion; but he afterwards had the magnanimity to confess his fault. He was, in reality, a man of a very liberal and catholic spirit, for he had little attachment to forms, and embraced all who loved the Lord Jesus in sincerity. His life was spent in most disinterested and benevolent exertion. The following lines will show the opinion which was formed of his character by the evangelical poet Cowper:—

'He loved the world, that hated him; the tear
That dropped upon his Bible was sincere:
Assailed by scandal and the tongue of strife,
His only answer was, a blameless life,—
And he that forged, and he that threw, the dart,
Had each a brother's interest in his heart.
Paul's love of Christ and steadiness unbribed,
Were copied close in him, and well transcribed:
He followed Paul—his zeal a kindred flame,
His apostolic charity the same;
Like him, crossed cheerfully tempestuous seas,
Forsaking country, kindred, friends, and ease;
Like him he laboured, and, like him, content
To bear it, suffered shame where'er he went.
Blush, Calumny! and write upon his tomb,
If honest Eulogy can spare thee room,
Thy deep repentance of thy thousand lies,
Which, aimed at him, have pierced th'offended skies;
And say, Blot out my sin, confessed, deplored,
Against thine image in thy saint, O Lord!'

"Mr. Whitefield's letters, sermons, and controversial and other tracts, with an account of his life, were published in seven volumes, 8vo. 1771."

The eloquence of Whitefield was of a high order. His voice was strong, clear, and perfectly under command. His style was marked with great simplicity; yet he made, in the language of dramatic criticism, as many *points* as he could in his discourses, such as would secure the attention of his audience. He was figurative; but his images all reflected nature with such accuracy, that the humblest capacity caught his meaning, and felt the effects of his illustrations. It was not the humble alone, who were pleased with his preaching. Many of the learned became his followers, and united in blazoning his fame. He was incessant in his labours to enlighten and direct the

Georgia. Whitefield, in his way, was as remarkable a personage as any of the founders of the colonies.

Oglethorpe, at the breaking out of the revolutionary war, was offered the command of the English army in America, after the return of General Gage. Oglethorpe was then a major-general in the service. He offered to accept the command, if he was authorized to assure the colonies that justice should be done them; but the command was given to Sir William Howe. General Oglethorpe died August, 1785, having seen the independence of the United States, at the great age of ninety-seven: probably at his death he was the oldest field officer in Europe. He enjoyed, while living, the reputation of being one of the most humane soldiers that ever bore arms.

In the year 1749, the colony was exposed to great danger from a quarter as unexpected as it was singu-

lar. During the whole of his administration, General Oglethorpe had, from motives of policy, treated an Indian, or rather half-breed woman, called Mary Musgrove, afterwards Mary Bosomworth, with particular kindness and generosity. Finding that she had great influence among the Creeks, and understood their language, he made use of her as an interpreter, in order the more easily to form treaties of alliance with them; allowing her, for her services, one hundred pounds sterling a year. Thomas Bosomworth, who was chaplain to Oglethorpe's regiment, had married this woman, accepted a tract of land from the crown, and settled in the province. Being unsuccessful in most of his speculations, he had recourse to one of an extraordinary kind. He persuaded his wife to assert herself to be the elder sister to Mala-

minds of his hearers. Frequently he preached three sermons a day for weeks together, and this while he was labouring under an asthmatic affection. Franklin speaks of the wonderful effects of his voice while preaching in the open air. Of the effects of his eloquence, the late learned and pious Lt. Governor Samuel Phillips, of Andover, Massachusetts, used to relate the following anecdote:—Mr. Phillips's grandfather was a rigid Presbyterian preacher, and opposed to Whitefield's course; but, wishing to know if there was any truth in the stories of the effects produced by his eloquence, sent his son and his grandson to hear the orator. They reached the assembly, who were listening to Whitefield, without any partialities for the preacher. The two critics, in the bustle of the crowd, had been separated; and each, looking around for the other, when the sermon grew pathetic, found that their eyes met streaming with tears.

If Whitefield had many enemies, he had more friends, some of them of the first order of intellect. On one of his excursions through New York, New Jersey, and New England, he was accompanied by the Rev. Aaron Burr, then, or soon afterwards, president of Nassau Hall, the college at Princeton, New Jersey. Mr. Burr was one of the most learned and eloquent men of the age, and deservedly popular with all classes of people. He was mild and gentle in his preaching, which formed a fine contrast to the whirlwind of Whitefield's eloquence. It was a common saying in New England, that "Whitefield should first break the stubborn heart, and Burr should follow to heal the anguish of the penitent sufferer!" Burr had a clear, sweet voice, and modulated it with great felicity; but it had not sufficient compass for field-preaching, which he never attempted; but Whitefield's voice was fitted for the open field by its volume and extent.

Much has been said against field-preaching in this country, and there can be no doubt that many evils flow from it, and Mr. Whitefield has been charged with having first set the example. It is a fact, that cannot be denied, that he was the first who commenced this Druidical form of worship in the open air in later times; but he was sustained by primitive examples. The apostles had but few other places to teach their religion. The temples of the heathen gods were shut against them. They were obliged to use mountains and vales as temples where to teach their doctrines; for they did not erect edifices for public worship for ages. The first temple dedicated to Christian worship, was built at Tyre, on the site where once stood a heathen temple. The forms and ceremonies used at this consecration, contained all, and more, than are used in such services at the present day. If field-preaching should be discouraged in populous places, there being a sufficient number of churches and public edifices for all religious purposes, it is not so in a new country. In thinly-populated places, it is of great advantage to the community to become acquainted with each other; and it is much better for them to meet under religious sanctions than political excitements. In political meetings there is often drinking, carousing, and gambling; but in these religious meetings, there is no such thing. These camp-meetings are generally conducted with decorum and modesty, and no evils take place, except now and then a trifling violation of the English language, which does but little injury, and gives but little offence. These assemblies are social and affectionate. As they are attended by both sexes, there is a softening of manners by this intercourse; and many judicious matches are made, which serve to bring distant settlers to be friends and kindred to each other. In the hours which are not devoted to spiritual concerns, the public welfare is discussed, particularly those branches

of it which relate to schools and religious societies—and all is done in a Christian temper, for the ground, in their view, on which they stand, is holy. I am no fanatic, but I do not hesitate to confess, that I have spent many pleasant and instructive days in frontier camp-meetings, and feel it an incumbent duty to disabuse those who know them only by unfavourable report, and have therefore condemned them; and have also been desirous of vindicating the fame of the great father of field-preaching in America. He has not done any injury to morals by his example.

It would be unfair to judge of Whitefield's mental strength or eloquence by the sermons that pass as his. They were taken by inexperienced reporters, in short-hand, and then moulded to suit some tasteless fanatic. No man could have produced such effects as he is known to have done, by such sentiments and language as are found in these spurious sermons. There are some splendid passages still lingering in the memory of the aged, that are entirely unlike the disconnected and tasteless style in which these sermons are published. It is a slander upon a great man's fame, to change the *thoughts that breathe, and words that burn*, to jejune and vulgar language, and to make him talk with crudity and ignorance, who shook the nations by his eloquence.

It is now more than sixty-four years since his death; yet there are those, in various parts of the United States, still living, who date their first serious impressions from his eloquent sermons, and who have now a very vivid recollection of his person, manner, and voice.—Mr. Whitefield died at Newburyport, in the county of Essex, and commonwealth of Massachusetts, in September, 1770, and was buried in a tomb under the pulpit of the first Presbyterian church in that town. The pastor of that church, the Reverend Jonathan Parsons, soon followed his friend to another life, and, by his request, was laid by his side. The Reverend Mr. Prince, an interesting, pious, blind preacher, when dying, made the same request, and his remains were deposited there also. The tomb was then closed with a wall of brick, the Reverend John Murray, the successor of Mr. Parsons, expressing his wish to be placed in a common burying-ground. Here the ashes of the great field orator slumbered, without any monument to bear his name or record his deeds, until a few years since, when an opulent individual of that town, William Bartlett, Esq., caused a beautiful marble monument to be erected in the church under which Whitefield was buried, sacred to the memory of the Christian orator and pious divine.

These monuments, cold philosophy may say, are nothing to the dead. If that be true, they still teach the living many useful lessons. It is from history that we draw the information that we possess, and the wisdom which is the guide of life; and what is history but the records of the deeds of men who have departed from this scene of action, having finished their labours? The wise, as well as the rustic, require memorials to quicken the heart, and to lead the mind to the contemplation of a future state. An elegant monument, with just inscriptions, proves the state of the arts and of letters at the time it was erected,—and with letters and the arts is connected, in no small degree, the happiness of man. In the excess of modern philanthropy, it is often said, that money expended in building monuments to the dead, had served a better purpose, had it been given to the poor. He serves man best, who honestly employs him most. The labour requisite to erect a monument, is diffused through a hundred hands, and benefits the industrious labourer, and cherishes the genius who plans and gives the finishing touches of art to the work.

tehe, the Indian chief, and to have descended, by a maternal line, from an Indian king, who held from nature the whole territory of the Creeks; and therefore to possess a right to them, superior not only to that of the trustees, but also to that of the king. Accordingly, Mary assumed the title of an independent empress, disavowing all subjection or allegiance to the king of Great Britain, otherwise than by way of treaty or alliance, such as one independent sovereign might voluntarily enter into with another; a meeting of all the Creeks was summoned, to whom Mary made a long speech, in which she set forth the justice of her claim, and the great injury she and her beloved subjects had sustained by the loss of their territories, and urged them to a defence of their rights by force of arms. The Indians were fired with rage at the idea of such indignity, and to a man pledged themselves to stand by her to the last drop of their blood in defence of her royal person and their lands; in consequence of which, queen Mary, escorted by a large body of her savage subjects, set out for Savannah, to demand from the president and council a formal acknowledgment of her rights in the province. A messenger was despatched, to notify to the president the royal family's approach, to say that Mary had assumed her right and title of sovereignty over the whole territories of the upper and lower Creeks, and to demand that all the lands south of Savannah river should be relinquished without loss of time; adding, that she was the hereditary and rightful queen of both nations, and could command the whole force of her tribe, and, in case of refusal, she had determined to extirpate the whole settlement. President Stephens and his council, alarmed at her high pretensions and bold threats, and sensible of her influence with the Indians, from her having been made a woman of consequence as an interpreter, were not a little embarrassed what steps to take for the public safety; they thought it best to use soft and healing measures, until an opportunity might offer of privately laying hold of her and shipping her off to England.

* The speech of the president at one of these conferences gives a very clear statement of the affair:—"Friends and brothers: When Mr. Oglethorpe and his people first arrived in Georgia, they found Mary, then the wife of John Musgrove, living in a small hut at Yamacraw; he had a license from the governor of South Carolina to trade with the Indians; she then appeared to be in a poor ragged condition, and was neglected and despised by the Creeks; but General Oglethorpe, finding that she could speak both the English and Creek languages, employed her as an interpreter, richly clothed her, and made her a woman of the consequence she now appears; the people of Georgia always respected her, until she married Bosomworth, but from that time she has proved a liar and a deceiver. In fact, she was no relation of Malatche, but the daughter of an Indian woman of no note, by a white man: General Oglethorpe did not treat with her for the lands of Georgia, for

In the mean time, the militia were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march to Savannah, at the shortest notice. The town was put in the best possible state of defence, but its whole force amounted to only one hundred and seventy men able to bear arms; a messenger was sent to Mary, while she was yet several miles distant from Savannah, at the head of her mighty host, to know whether she was serious in such wild pretensions, and to try the influence of persuasion to induce her to dismiss her followers, and drop her audacious design; but finding her inflexible and resolute, the president resolved to put on a bold countenance, and receive the savages with firmness. Several interviews between the magistrates and the Indian chiefs took place on this strange occurrence, and the president* and council were flattering themselves with the idea of an amicable compromise of all the existing difficulties, and rejoicing in the re-establishment of friendly intercourse with the Creeks, when Mary, excited with liquor, and disappointed in her royal views, rushed in amongst them like a fury, told the president that these were her people, that he had no business with them, and that he should soon be convinced of it to his cost. The president calmly advised her to retire to her lodgings, and forbear to poison the minds of the Indians, adding, that he would otherwise order her into close confinement; upon which, turning about to Malatche, in great rage, she repeated, with some ill-natured comments, what the president had said; Malatche started from his seat, laid hold of his arms, calling upon the rest to follow his example, and dared any man to touch the queen. The whole house was filled in a moment with tumult and uproar; every Indian having his tomahawk in his hand, the president and council expected nothing but instant death. During this confusion, Captain Jones, who commanded the guard, very seasonably interposed, and ordered the Indians immediately to surrender their arms, endeavouring, however, not merely to overawe them, but using prudence to avoid coming to extremities: with reluctance the

she had none; but with the old and wise leaders of the Creek nation, who voluntarily surrendered their territories to the king; the Indians at that time having much waste land, which was useless to themselves, parted with a share of it to their friends, and were glad that white people had settled among them, for supply their wants. He told them that the present discontents of the Creeks had been artfully infused into them by Mary, at the instigation of her husband; that he demanded a third part of the royal bounty, in order to rob the naked Indians of their rights; that he had quarrelled with the president and council of Georgia, for refusing to answer his exorbitant demands, and therefore had filled the heads of the Indians with wild fancies and groundless jealousies, in order to ferment mischief, and induce them to break their alliance with their best friends, who alone were able to supply their wants, and defend them against their enemies."

Indians submitted, and Mary was conveyed to a private room, where a guard was placed over her, and all further communication with the Indians denied her, during their stay in Savannah. Ultimately the *soi-disant* queen was compelled to abandon her pretensions, and the Indians were induced to depart, to the great joy of the inhabitants, who had been so long harassed by their turbulent visit.

The prosperity of the colony had been much retarded by the wars to which it had been subject, and by the mistaken though well-intentioned management of the trustees, who, embarrassing it by too much regulation, discouraged the emigrants, and checked its growth. Finding that the province languished under their care, and weary of the complaints of the people, in the year 1752 they surrendered their charter to the king, and it was made a royal government; in consequence of which, his

majesty appointed John Reynolds, an officer of the navy, governor of the province, and a legislature similar to that of the other royal governments in America. Great had been the expense which the mother country had already incurred, besides private benefactions, for supporting this colony; and small had been the returns yet made by it. The vestiges of cultivation were scarcely perceptible in the forest, and in England all commerce with it was neglected and despised. At this time the whole exports of Georgia did not amount to ten thousand pounds per annum. Though the people were now favoured with the same liberties and privileges enjoyed by their neighbours under the royal care, yet several years more elapsed before the value of the lands in Georgia was known, and that spirit of industry broke out in it, which afterwards diffused its happy influence over the country.

BOOK II.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH WAR TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

CHAPTER I.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS, A. D. 1756—1763.

THE formation and progress of all the colonies which constituted the North American republic at the era of its independence, have now been traced up to the middle of the eighteenth century. From that period circumstances tended rapidly to promote that federation which eventually effected the independence of the colonies, and laid the basis of their future prosperity; indeed, in the prosecution of the French war, which commenced in 1756, the energies of the colonies were so united in the attainment of one common object, that the generalization of their political history from that period is not only rendered preferable, but almost inevitable.

Before entering on the narrative of the war which was commenced by the French with the intention of limiting the English colonies in America to the vicinity of the sea coast, but which terminated in the transfer of by far the most extensive and valuable of their colonies to their rival, it is desirable to give a brief outline of the rise of the Gallic settlements, and of the relative position of the territories of the two nations previous to the commencement of hostilities.

The early discoveries of Cartier had turned the eyes of France towards the St. Lawrence and the neighbouring territory, and established her claim to it, according to that peculiar code by which Europeans have deemed it proper to apportion among themselves the rest of mankind. Although Canada had scarcely any measure of the smiling and luxuriant aspect of Florida, or even of Virginia, yet it opened into regions of vast extent; and the tracing to distant fountains the sea-like abyss of its waters, presented more than common attraction to curiosity and adventure. The first who undertook to colonize these northern regions, was a Breton, named De la Roche. He obtained from Henry IV. a patent of

the same extensive character as those granted in England to Gilbert and Raleigh. But so little sympathy did the nation exhibit in his views, that he was obliged to draw upon the jails for a great proportion of the sailors, and his effort proved an entire failure.

A more vigorous attempt was made by De Monts; but Champlain, his successor, must be regarded as the real founder of Canada, or New France. He built and fortified Quebec, and having brought the adjacent country into a tolerable state of cultivation, he proceeded to explore the vast wilderness by which he was surrounded. The southern bank, both of the river and lakes, was found occupied by two powerful people, the Algonquins and the Hurons, who were engaged in deadly and almost ceaseless warfare with the Iroquois, a still fiercer and more warlike tribe, occupying all the southern shore of the St. Lawrence, and of Lakes Erié and Ontario. To promote his subjects of discovery and of interior intercourse, Champlain determined to take an active part with the two former. The Iroquois allied themselves with the English, to whom they rendered most valuable, though sometimes fierce and revolting, assistance in their contest with their rivals. By arduous and persevering labours, Champlain was enabled to form an accurate idea of the extent and situation of Canada, which seemed to afford almost indefinite scope both for trade and settlement. The company under whose direction the affairs of Canada were placed, however, did not second the ardour of Champlain, and his interest at court procured the abrogation of their charter. From its ashes rose one on a much grander scale, and which aimed to convert New France into a colony of the first magnitude; but unfortunately for these projectors, the English, animated by that hostile feeling which was inspired by the persecution of the protestants, not only drove the French completely out of Acadia, but besieged and took Quebec, so that this boasted colony seemed for ever

lost to the mother country; but the court of London, strongly inclined for peace with France, agreed, on the 29th of March, 1632, to a convention, by which her sovereignty was reinstated both in Acadia and Quebec.

For fifty years the attention of government was rather directed to the consolidation and internal improvement of the colony, than to exploring the expanse of interior America. The Count de Frontignac was, however, possessed of a more enterprising spirit. He extended the range of settlement to the shores of Lake Ontario, built there the fort that bears his name, and opened an intercourse with the tribes who roam over the boundless plains westward of the Alleghany. Here he learned that afar along the western plain there rolled a river so mighty, that even the hitherto unequalled stream of the St. Lawrence could not come into competition with it. This river poured its stupendous current not in any of the directions hitherto recognised in the streams of America, but towards some distant ocean, that lay far in the south and the west. In the existing darkness as to the boundaries and details of the continent, it was concluded that this could only be the Mer Vermeio, or Gulf of California, by which it was hoped that the long-sought-for passage might be found to the golden regions of India. The strongest motives, therefore, impelled the count to strain every effort for its discovery. Frontignac found no want of bold and fitting instruments. M. Jolyet undertook, with two little Indian bark canoes, and three men in each, to explore these unknown secrets of the great interior America. The expedition proceeded first through the already explored lakes of Erie and Michigan, till they reached the north-western extremity of the latter. Two Miamis undertook to be their guides up the Fox River, and to see them embarked on the Wiscousan, which fell into the Mississippi. The voyage down the Wiscousan, was easy and prosperous, and they saw it with exultation opening into that grand stream of which they were in search, the broad Mississippi, descending from its distant northern fountains to the unknown southern sea in which it was to terminate. The enterprising voyagers prosecuted their journey, impeded only by occasional intercourse with the native tribes inhabiting the banks of the Mississippi, which were generally friendly; in a few days they heard from the right a mighty roar of waters, and saw trees and floating islands rushing down into the channel. This was the influx of the great Missouri from its distant source in the Rocky or Chippewayan Mountains, after a longer course, and with a larger body

of water than the Mississippi itself; but it was a subject of regret that the channel, which before was clear and gentle, became now troubled, muddy, and rapid. At length they came to the Arkansas, at the mouth of the great river Arkansaw. Here they were informed, not with strict accuracy, that they were within five days' sail of the sea. On comparing this statement with their actual position, they became convinced that the Mississippi emptied itself into the gulf of Mexico, not as they had expected and hoped into the sea of California. Considering, therefore, that by proceeding downwards they might fall into the hands of Spaniards, they determined to return to Canada.

Subsequently La Salle, pursuing the same course, reached the Gulf of Mexico. He then returned to France, and procured the command of an expedition to effect a settlement at the mouths of the Mississippi; but sailing too far westward, he missed his object, and while endeavouring to penetrate to the Mississippi by land, was basely assassinated by some of his own men; and, of the whole colony, all perished except seven, who finally reached Canada. In 1699, a more successful attempt was made by Mr. D'Iberville, who entered the Mississippi, and laid the foundation of the first French colony in Lower Louisiana. The place chosen for a settlement was near the mouth of the river Perdido, a very injudicious choice, from the unhealthiness of the climate and the barrenness of the soil. From these circumstances, together with the improper management of the royal governors, and the profligate character of many of the settlers, the progress of the colony was very slow. In the year 1717, the city of New Orleans was founded. The most romantic and extravagant accounts of the country were now published. It was represented as abounding in the precious metals, and as combining all the delights of the most favoured spots on earth. Thousands of emigrants were allured by these descriptions, most of whom perished miserably from sickness and want of food. Agriculture had made little progress, and the disposition of the majority of the settlers led them rather to assimilate their habits to those of the savages, than to pursue a regular course of industry. About the year 1730, its affairs began to wear a prosperous aspect; the settlements were gradually extended up the Mississippi, and the productions of the country were exported to some profit.

Being in possession of the inland seas of Canada, as they are justly termed, and of the mouths of the grand receiver of most of the principal rivers of North America, the French conceived the bold idea of

uniting their northern and southern possessions by a chain of forts along the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi; and by that means also to confine the English colonists to the eastern side of the Alleghanies. In their northern colonies their military strength was considerable; Quebec and Montreal were strongly fortified; and at other points, Louisburg, Cape Breton, and the forts of Lake Champlain, Niagara, Crown Point, Frontignac, Ticonderoga, and several others, defended the frontiers. They had also erected a considerable fort at the junction of the Alleghany with the Monongahela, then called Du Quesne, but now forming the site of Pittsburgh, the Birmingham of America. The various scenes of hostility which, with different success, were almost perpetually occurring between the rival colonists, have, in a previous chapter, been related to the period when, for a short time, they were terminated by the peace of Aix la Chapelle. It remains now to record the events of the war which terminated the dominion of France in the northern, and by far most valuable, portion of her territories in America.

The grants of territory from the English crown were many of them from the coast of the Atlantic, westward to the Pacific Ocean. It is evident, therefore, that the plans of the French, in extending their forts and their claims from north to south, directly crossed the path of the English colonists, and must be viewed by them with a spirit of opposition and a determination to resist. They naturally felt their vast superiority in point of numbers, their colonies containing at this time upwards of a million inhabitants, while the population of Canada, Louisiana, and all the intermediate stations, scarcely exceeded fifty thousand. The immediate occasion of the interruption of the peace, which had endured only five years, was the alleged intrusion of the Ohio company, an association of influential men from England and Virginia, who had obtained a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land in the vicinity of the river whose title they assumed, embracing a portion of territory the French deemed to be within the limits of their dominion. From these grants of lands to the Ohio company, the governor of Canada apprehended, that the English were pursuing a scheme which might deprive the French of the advantages arising from the trade with the Twightees, and cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana.* He had written to the governors of New York and

Pennsylvania, acquainting them that the English traders had encroached on the French territories by trading with their Indians, and that, if they did not desist, he should be obliged to seize them wherever found. This menace did not divert the Ohio company from prosecuting its design of surveying the country as far as the falls in Ohio River. While the survey was proceeding, a French party seized three British traders, and carried them to Presqu' Isle, on Lake Erie, where a strong fort was then erecting. The British, alarmed at this capture, retired to the Indian towns for shelter: and the Twightees, resenting the violence done to their allies, assembled, to the number of five or six hundred, scoured the woods, and finding three French traders, sent them to Pennsylvania. The French, determined to persist, built a second fort, about fifteen miles south of the former, on one of the branches of the Ohio; and another at the confluence of the Ohio and Wabash; and thus completed their long projected communication between the mouth of the Mississippi and the river St. Lawrence.

The Ohio company complaining loudly of these aggressions on the country which had been granted to them as part of the territory of Virginia, Robert Dinwiddie, lieutenant-governor of that colony, considering the encroachment as an invasion of his province, judged it his duty to demand, in the name of the king, that the French should desist from the prosecution of designs, which he considered as a violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns. This service, it was foreseen, would be rendered very fatiguing and hazardous, by the extensive tract of country, almost entirely unexplored, through which an envoy must pass, as well as by the hostile dispositions of some of the Indian inhabitants, and the doubtful attachment of others. Uninviting, however, and even formidable, as it was, George Washington, then in his twenty-second year, hesitated not to engage in it. Attended by one person only, he set out from Williamsburg on the 31st of October. The season was uncommonly severe, and the length of his journey was above four hundred miles, two hundred of which lay through a trackless desert, inhabited by Indians. On the 12th of December he arrived at a French fort, the head-quarters of M. Lagardier de St. Pierre, commanding officer on the Ohio, to whom he delivered the letter of Governor Dinwiddie. The chief officers retired to hold a

* M. Du Quesne, who succeeded M. de la Gallissionere in the government of Canada, having received instructions to take possession of the countries on the Ohio for the crown of France, in the beginning of 1753 ordered the Sieur de St. Pierre, with a de-

tachment, to take post on the river Aux Boufs, and there to remain until he received farther orders. St. Pierre took post there accordingly, and erected a fort for its security. Of this, Mr. Dinwiddie, lieutenant-governor of Virginia, had early intelligence,

council of war; and Washington seized that opportunity of taking the dimensions of the fort, and making every possible observation. The answer of St. Pierre stated, that he had taken possession of the country by direction of the governor-general of Canada; that he would transmit Governor Dinwiddie's letter to him; and that to his orders he should yield implicit obedience.

This reply not being satisfactory to the governor, preparations were made in Virginia to maintain by force the rights of the British crown. Troops, constituting a regiment, were raised, the command of which, on the death of the colonel first appointed, was given to Mr. Washington. At the head of about four hundred men, he advanced early in the spring into the territory in dispute. On his route he met, attacked, and defeated, a French party, under the command of one Dijonville, who approached him in a manner indicating hostile intentions. He proceeded towards the fort Du Quesne, situate at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela. From this fort De Villier, at the head of nine hundred men, marched out to attack him. Hearing of the approach of this party, Colonel Washington halted, and hastily erected some imperfect works, by means of which he hoped to prolong his defence until the arrival of reinforcements. He was closely besieged by De Villier, but making an obstinate defence, was offered the most honourable terms of capitulation, which he accepted, and returned with his regiment to Virginia.

The proceedings of the French in America excited a strong interest in the minds of the British government; and deeming war inevitable, orders were sent to the governors of the several colonies to repel force by force, and to dislodge the French from their posts on the Ohio. These orders were accompanied with a recommendation to form a union of the colonies for more effective defence. Delegates had already been appointed to meet at Albany, for the purpose of conferring with the Five Nations; and Governor Shirley recommended that the subject of union should also be discussed at the convention. The commissioners from Massachusetts had ample powers to co-operate in the formation of a plan; those from Maryland were instructed to observe what others did; and those from New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New York, had no instructions at all on the subject. As soon, however, as the friendship of the Indians was thought to be secured by a distribution of presents, the delegates appointed a committee to devise some scheme for the proposed confederation; and the committee recommended the adoption of a government analogous to

that of the individual colonies. There was to be a grand council, composed of deputies from the several provinces, and a president-general, appointed by the crown, with the power of negating the acts of the council. The Connecticut delegates, however, dissented from this plan, because it placed too preponderating a power in the hands of the crown. It was rejected by the British ministry for the very opposite reason; they suggested, however, that the several governors, with one or two of their counsellors, should meet and adopt such measures as the common safety might demand. But this scheme was defeated by a provision, that they might draw upon the British treasury for all necessary sums, which parliament would undertake to repay *by imposing a general tax upon the colonies*. The Massachusetts assembly sent special instructions to its agent in London to oppose most strenuously any measure which had for its object the establishment of taxes on the colonies, under whatever plea of utility; and Franklin, to whom the governor of Virginia had sent the proposition of the British minister, states most distinctly in his letter in reply, the reasons which would ever prevent the Americans from consenting to such a proposal. He observes, that it would inspire universal discontent among the Americans to attempt the imposition of taxes by a parliament where they were not represented, a point of which neither the colonies nor the British government ever lost sight, from this period till the contest it originated terminated in the entire separation of the former from its dependence on the British crown.

Early in the spring of 1755, the British government despatched General Braddock to America, with a respectable force to expel the French, and keep possession of the territory; and preparations having been made by France to despatch a reinforcement to her armies in Canada, Admiral Boscawen was ordered to endeavour to intercept the French fleet before it should enter the gulf of St. Lawrence. In April, General Braddock met the governors of the several provinces to confer upon the plan of the ensuing campaign. Three expeditions were resolved upon; one against Du Quesne, to be commanded by General Braddock; one against forts Niagara and Frontenac, to be commanded by Governor Shirley; and one against Crown Point, to be commanded by General Johnson. This last originated with Massachusetts, and was to be executed by colonial troops raised in New England and New York.

While preparations were making for these expeditions, another, which had been previously concerted, was carried on against the French forts in Nova Sco-

tia. This province was settled by the French, but was ceded to the English by the treaty of Utrecht. Its boundaries not having been defined, the French continued to occupy a portion of the territory claimed by the English, and had built forts for their defence. To gain possession of these was the object of the expedition. About two thousand militia, commanded by Colonel Winslow, embarked at Boston; and being joined on their passage by three hundred regulars, arrived in April at the place of their destination. The forts were invested, the resistance made was trifling and ineffectual, and in a short time the English gained entire possession of the province, according to their own definition of its boundaries. Three only of their men were killed.

As soon as the convention of governors was dissolved, General Braddock proceeded to the post at Well's Creek, whence the army commenced its march about the middle of June. Their progress was very much retarded by the necessity of cutting a road; and, lest the enemy should have time to collect in great force, the general concluded to set forward with twelve hundred select men, while Colonel Dunbar should follow slowly in the rear, with the main body and the heavy baggage. Colonel Washington's regiment had been split into separate companies, and he had only joined the army as aid to the general. The roughness of the country prevented the advanced corps from reaching the Monongahela till the 8th of July. It was resolved to attack Du Quesne the very next day; and lieutenant-colonel Gage was sent in front with three hundred British regulars, while the general himself followed at some distance with the main body. He had been strongly cautioned by Colonel Washington to provide against an ambuscade, by sending forward some provincial companies to scour the woods; but he held the provincials and the enemy in equal contempt. The Monongahela was crossed the second time, about seven miles from Du Quesne; and the army was pressing forward in an open wood, through high and thick grass, when the front was suddenly thrown into disorder by a volley from small arms. The main body was formed three deep, and brought to its support: the commander-in-chief of the enemy fell; and a cessation of the fire led General Braddock to suppose that the assailants had fled; but he was soon attacked with redoubled fury. Concealed

behind trees, logs, and rocks, the Indians poured upon the troops a deadly and incessant fire; officers and men fell thickly around, and the survivors knew not where to direct their aim to revenge their slaughtered comrades. The whole body was again thrown into confusion; but the general, obstinate and courageous, refused to retreat; and instead of withdrawing them beyond the reach of the enemy's muskets, where their ranks might easily have been formed anew, undertook to rally them on the very ground of attack, and in the midst of a most incessant and deadly fire. He persisted in these efforts until three horses had been shot under him, and every one of his officers on horseback, except Colonel Washington, was either killed or wounded. The general at length fell, and the rout became universal.* The troops fled precipitately until they met the division under Dunbar, then forty miles in the rear. Sixty-four officers out of eighty-five and about half of the privates were killed or wounded. General Braddock died in Dunbar's camp; and the whole army, which appears to have been panic struck, marched back to Philadelphia. The provincial troops, whom Braddock had so lightly esteemed, displayed during the battle the utmost calmness and courage. Though placed in the rear, they alone, led on by Washington, advanced against the Indians, and covered the retreat; and had they at first been permitted to engage the enemy in their own way, they would easily have defeated them.

The two northern expeditions, though not so disastrous, did not either of them succeed in attaining the object proposed. In that against Crown Point much delay was occasioned by the distracted councils of so many different governments; and it was not till the last of August, that General Johnson, with three thousand seven hundred men, arrived at the fort of Lake George, on his way to Ticonderoga. Meanwhile the French squadron had eluded Admiral Boscawen; and, as soon as it arrived at Quebec, Baron Dieskau, the commander, resolved to march against Oswego with his own twelve hundred regulars, and about six hundred Canadians and Indians. The news of General Johnson's movement determined Dieskau to change his plan, and to lead his forces directly against the American camp. General Johnson called for reinforcements: eight hundred troops, raised as a corps of reserve by

* Braddock was mortally wounded, and taken on sashes, at first, from the field, and then a litter was made for him, on which he was carried forty miles from the battle ground, where he expired on the evening of the fourth day after his defeat. Seven hundred of his men were killed, among whom were William Shirley, of the staff, and Col. Sir Peter Halket. Among the wounded

were Robert Orme, Roger Morris, Sir John St. Clair, and several others of the staff, and Lieut. Cols. Button and Gage. Braddock was a brave and excellent officer. His mistake was in not studying the character of the enemy. Franklin advised him to proceed with the utmost caution; but the proud general thought the adviser was a much better philosopher than soldier.—*Am. Ed.*

Massachusetts, were immediately ordered to his assistance; and the same colony undertook to raise an additional number of two thousand men. Colonel Williams was sent forward with one thousand men to amuse and reconnoitre the enemy. He met them four miles from the camp, offered battle, and was defeated.* Another detachment shared the same fate; and the French were now within one hundred and fifty yards of the camp, when a halt for a short time enabled the Americans to recover their alarm, and to make good use of their artillery through the fallen trees, behind which they were posted. Dieskau advanced to the charge; but he was so firmly received, that the Indians and militia gave way and fled: he was obliged to order a retreat of the regulars; and, in the ardent pursuit which ensued, he was himself mortally wounded and made prisoner.† A scouting party had, in the mean time, taken the enemy's baggage; and when the retreating army came up, they attacked it so successfully from behind the trees, that the panic-struck soldiers dropped all their accoutrements, and fled in the utmost confusion for their posts on the lakes.‡ This victory revived the spirits of the colonists, depressed by the recent defeat of General Braddock, but the success was not improved in any proportion to their expectation. General Shirley, now the com-

* Hendrick, a Mohawk chief, was killed in this battle. He was the son of a Mohegan chief, by a Mohawk woman. He married into a Mohawk family, and became distinguished among the six nations. His fame extended to Massachusetts, for the commissioners, in 1751, consulted him on the great question of instructing certain youths of his nation. He was friendly to the English; and in this battle with Dieskau, he commanded three hundred Mohawks. He was grave and sententious in council, and brave in fight. Some of his aphorisms are as wise as those of Solon. When it was proposed to send a detachment to meet the enemy, and the number being mentioned, he replied: "If they are to fight, they are too few; if they are to be killed, they are too many." When it was proposed to send out the detachment in three parties, Hendrick took three sticks, and said, "put them together, and you can not break them; take them one by one, and you will break them easily." They followed the advice of the old warrior in this; and had they regarded the precautions he suggested, in scouring the field by a flank guard, Williams would not have fallen into the ambuscade. Hendrick is remembered among the friends of white men, who now and then have been found in the different ages of our history, among Indians.—*Am. Ed.*

† John Harmand Dieskau, baron, was a lieutenant general in the French army. In 1755, he left Montreal with twelve hundred regulars, and six hundred Canadians and Indians. General Johnson, with three thousand seven hundred men, arrived at the fort of Lake George, on his way to Ticonderoga. Baron Dieskau, hearing of this movement of General Johnson, instead of proceeding to Albany, as was his original intention, resolved to attack the American camp. A reinforcement of eight hundred troops was sent to General Johnson's assistance; and Colonel Williams, with one thousand men, was ordered to reconnoitre the enemy. He met the enemy, but was defeated, and left among the slain. The loss of the French was also considerable; M. St. Pierre, commander of the Indians, was mortally wounded. On the same day, the 8th of September, Baron Dieskau appeared in view of Colonel

mander-in-chief, urged an attempt on Ticonderoga; but a council of war judging it unadvisable, Johnson employed the remainder of the campaign in fortifying his camp. On a meeting of commissioners from Massachusetts, and Connecticut, with the governor and council of New York, in October, it was unanimously agreed, that the army under General Johnson should be discharged, excepting six hundred men, who should be engaged to garrison Fort Edward and Fort William Henry. The French still retained possession of Ticonderoga, and fortified it.

General Shirley,‡ who was to conduct the expedition against Niagara and Fort Frontignac, experienced such delays, that he did not reach Oswego until the 21st of August. On his arrival, he made all necessary preparations for the expedition to Niagara; but, through the desertion of batteau men, the scarcity of wagons on the Mohawk River, and the desertion of sledgemen at the great carrying place, the conveyance of provisions and stores was so much retarded, that nearly four weeks elapsed before he could commence any further operations; and from a continued succession of adverse circumstances, in a council of war called on the 27th of September, it was unanimously resolved to defer the expedition to the succeeding year; to leave Colonel

Johnson's army, which was encamped on the banks of Lake George, defended on each side by a woody swamp. The Americans having recovered from the alarm which their first disaster had thrown them into, and being stationed behind some fallen trees, their superior situation enabled them to make good use of their artillery. Dieskau, encouraged by his previous success, advanced boldly to the charge; but his Indians, more accustomed to the tomahawk and scalping knife, than to the roar of cannon, fled in dismay. His auxiliary troops being so dispersed, he was obliged to order a retreat of the regulars. In the pursuit which followed, he was himself wounded. A soldier, seeking for plunder, found Dieskau alone, deserted by his troops, leaning on the stump of a tree, unable to move from a wound in his leg. While he was searching for his watch, to deliver to him, the soldier supposing he was seeking for a pistol, poured a charge through his hips. He was conveyed to New York, where he was attended by Dr. Jones. He never entirely recovered from the wound, which gradually impaired his constitution, and he died in consequence of it, at Surene, in France, September 8th, 1767. He was unquestionably a general of military skill.—*Ibid.*

‡ General Phineas Lyman was second in command in this battle. He was a brave man, of far superior abilities to Johnson; and when the commander in chief was wounded, General Lyman took the command, and fought out the battle most gallantly. Lyman was a man of first rate talents and education, a lawyer, and a statesman. He sustained himself for five hours, on that day, and gave his orders like a veteran soldier; but Johnson never mentioned his name in his account of the battle, from a most despicable feeling of jealousy. Lyman continued for several campaigns to command the Connecticut troops, and won laurels in every situation. The close of his life was dark and sad; but his honour was never tarnished.—*Ibid.*

§ Shirley was a good lawyer, and a brave officer. He was a man of literary taste and acquirements. He published a tragedy, and some other dramatic works.—*Ibid.*

Mercer at Oswego, with a garrison of seven hundred men, and to build two additional forts for the security of the place; while the general should return with the rest of the army to Albany. Thus ended the campaign of 1755: it opened with the brightest prospects; immense preparations had been made, yet not one of the objects of the three principal expeditions had been attained; and by this failure the whole frontier was exposed to the ravages of the Indians, which were accompanied by their usual acts of barbarity.

The colonies, however, far from being discouraged by the misfortunes of the last campaign, determined to renew and increase their exertions. General Shirley, to whom the superintendence of all the military operations had been confided, assembled a council of war at New York to concert a plan for the ensuing year. The plan adopted by the council embraced expeditions against Du Quesne, Niagara, and Crown Point, and the despatching a body of troops by way of the rivers Kennebeck and Chaudiere, to create alarm for the safety of Quebec. Major-General Winslow* was appointed to lead the expedition against Crown Point. He was a popular officer, and the colonists felt a deep interest in the expedition; but, for want of an established financial system, (their only taxes were upon lands and polls,) the requisite funds were raised with difficulty, and the recruiting service made very slow progress. Only seven thousand men assembled at the posts on Lake George. General Winslow declared, that, without more forces, he could not undertake the expedition; and it would probably have been abandoned, had he not been reinforced by the timely arrival of some British troops. They came over with General Abercrombie, who had superseded General Shirley, and who soon after gave place to the Earl of Loudoun. These changes produced some unpleasant contests for priority of rank. General Winslow asserted frankly, that the provincials would never be commanded by British officers; and the Earl of Loudoun seriously propounded the question, whether the colonial troops, with his majesty's arms in their hands, would refuse obedience to his majesty's commanders? He was answered in the affirmative; and when he understood that the New England troops, in particular, had enlisted under the condition of being led by their own officers, he agreed to let those troops act separately.

While the English were adjusting these differences, and debating whether it would be expedient to attack Fort Niagara, or Fort Du Quesne, Montcalm, the successor of Dieskau, marched against Oswego with about five thousand French, Canadians, and Indians. His artillery played with such effect upon the fort, that it was soon declared untenable; and to avoid an assault, the garrison, who were sixteen hundred in number, and had stores for five months, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The fort had been an object of considerable jealousy to the Five Nations; and Montcalm made a wise use of his conquest by demolishing it in their presence. The English and American army was now thrown upon the defensive. Instead of attacking Ticonderoga, General Winslow was ordered to fortify his own camp; Major-general Webb, with fourteen hundred regulars, took post near Wood Creek; and Sir William Johnson, with one thousand militia, was stationed at the German Flats. The colonists were now called upon for reinforcements; and, as parliament had distributed among them one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds for the last year's expenses, they were enabled to answer the call with perhaps more promptitude than was anticipated. The recruits were on their way to the camp, when intelligence of the small-pox at Albany frightened them home again. The other provincials were equally alarmed; and all, except a New York regiment, were dismissed. Thus terminated the second campaign. The expedition up the Kennebeck had been abandoned; that against Niagara was not commenced; and not even a preparation had been made for that against Du Quesne.

At the commencement of the following year a council was held at Boston, composed of Lord Loudoun, and the governors of the New England provinces and of Nova Scotia. At this council his lordship proposed that New England should raise four thousand men for the ensuing campaign; and that a proportionate number should be raised by New York and New Jersey. These requisitions were complied with; and in the spring his lordship found himself at the head of a very considerable army. Admiral Holbourn arriving in the beginning of July at Halifax with a powerful squadron, and a reinforcement of five thousand British troops, under George Viscount Howe, Lord Loudoun sailed from New York with six thousand regulars, to join those troops at the place of their arrival. Instead of the complex

* Winslow was a grandson of the second governor of Plymouth, of that name. He was engaged as a captain in the expedition to Cuba, in 1740; as a major-general in the expeditions to Kennebec, Nova Scotia, and Crown Point, in the Spanish wars. The bold

stand he took in favour of the militia at that time, has been quoted as a precedent since, and endeared his name to every lover of military honour.—*Am. Ed.*

operations undertaken in previous campaigns, his lordship limited his plan to a single object. Leaving the posts on the lakes strongly garrisoned, he resolved to direct his whole disposable force against Louisbourg; Halifax having been determined on as the place of rendezvous for the fleet and army destined for the expedition. Information was, however, soon received, that a French fleet had lately sailed from Brest; that Louisbourg was garrisoned by six thousand regulars, exclusive of provincials; and that it was also defended by seventeen line of battle ships, which were moored in the harbour. There being no hope of success against so formidable a force, the enterprise was deferred to the next year; the general and admiral on the last of August proceeded to New York; and the provincials were dismissed.

The Marquis de Montcalm, availing himself of the absence of the principal part of the British force, advanced with an army of nine thousand men, and laid siege to Fort William Henry. The garrison at this fort consisted of between two and three thousand regulars, and its fortifications were strong* and in very good order; and for the additional security of this important post, General Webb was stationed at Fort Edward with an army of four thousand men. The French commander, however, urged his approaches with such vigour, that, within six days after the investment of the fort, Colonel Monro, the commandant, having in vain solicited succour from General Webb, found it necessary to surrender by capitulation. The garrison was to be allowed the honours of war, and to be protected against the Indians until within the reach of Fort Edward; but the next morning, a great number of Indians having been

permitted to enter the lines, began to plunder; and meeting with no opposition, they fell upon the sick and wounded, whom they immediately massacred. Their appetite for carnage being excited, the defenceless troops were attacked with fiend-like fury. Monro in vain implored Montcalm to provide the stipulated guard, and the massacre proceeded. All was turbulence and horror. On every side savages were butchering and scalping their wretched victims. Their hideous yells, the groans of the dying, and the frantic shrieks of others shrinking from the uplifted tomahawk, were heard by the French unmoved. The fury of the savages was permitted to rage without restraint until fifteen hundred were killed, or hurried captives into the wilderness. The day after this awful tragedy, Major Putnam was sent with his rangers to watch the motions of the enemy. When he came to the shore of the lake, their rear was hardly beyond the reach of musket shot. The prospect was horrible in the extreme; the fort demolished; the barracks and buildings yet burning; innumerable fragments of human carcasses still broiled in the decaying fires; and dead bodies, mangled with tomahawks and scalping knives, in all the wantonness of Indian barbarity, were every where scattered around. Who can forbear exclaiming with the poet,

"Man is to man the surest, sorest ill!"

Thus ended the third campaign in America; happily forming the last series of disasters resulting from folly and mismanagement, rather than from want of means and military strength. The successes of the French left the colonies in a gloomy state. By the acquisition of Fort William Henry, they had obtained full possession of the lakes Champlain and

* This is a great mistake; the fort was built merely as a defence against Indians, and was entirely unfit for a siege, by a power who had the command of ordnance. The fort was not abandoned until the last shot they had was fired. The conduct of the brave and gallant Montcalm, is inexplicable. Could not such a general, with so many regular troops, have restrained the Indians? His reputation was without stain until that hour. Some of the disarmed and wretched troops were compelled to make resistance, and wrenched the arms from their assailants, and defended themselves with desperation. There are blood-stained pages in history we could wish were not there. This is one of them.—*Am. Ed.*

† While the army was in winter quarters, a circumstance occurred which exhibits the watchful jealousy the colonists ever exercised over their liberties. "The general court had provided barracks on Castle Island, for a regiment of Highlanders, which had been expected at Boston. Some recruiting officers soon afterwards arrived at Nova Scotia; and, protesting that their regiments would never be filled up if the men must be lodged in these barracks, they required the justices of the peace to furnish quarters, according to the act of parliament. The justices denied that the act of parliament extended to this country. Lord Loudoun wrote the court a letter, and asserted roundly that it did; that, moreover, he had 'used gentleness and patience' long enough; and that unless the requisitions were complied with in forty-eight hours from the receipt of his letter, he should be 'under the necessity' of ordering

'into Boston the three battalions from New York, Long Island, and Connecticut; and if more were wanting, he had two in the Jerseys at hand, besides those in Pennsylvania.' The general court now passed an act very similar to that of parliament, on the subject of recruits; but it did not fully answer Lord Loudoun's expectations, nor did he fail to let them know it in a second epistle. The answer of the general court was merely a reiteration of what we have so often heard from the same body. They asserted their rights as Englishmen; said they had conformed to the act of parliament as nearly as the case would admit; and declared that it was their misfortune, if a strict adherence to their duty should give offence to Lord Loudoun. He, in turn, applauded the zeal of the province in the service of his majesty, affected to rely on its compliance with his wishes, and countermanded his orders for the march of the troops. The general court sent his excellency a conciliatory message, in which they asserted that they were entirely dependent on parliament; that its acts were the rule of all their judicial proceedings; that its authority had never been questioned; and that if they had not made this avowal 'in times past, it was because there had been no occasion for it.' Judge Marshall seems to think that this language was sincere, but Mr. Minot attributes it to the desire of the court to keep friends with parliament till they were reimbursed for the expenses which they had incurred during the war. The truth is probably between the two opinions."—Sanford's Hist. of the United States, p. 145, 146.

George; and by the destruction of Oswego, they had acquired the dominion of those other lakes which connect the St. Lawrence with the waters of Mississippi. The first afforded the easiest admission from the northern colonies into Canada, or from Canada into those colonies; the last united Canada to Louisiana. By the continued possession of Fort Du Quesne, they preserved their ascendancy over the Indians, and held undisturbed control of all the country west of the Alleghany mountains. The British nation was alarmed and indignant, and the king found it necessary to change his councils. At the head of a new ministry, he placed the celebrated William Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, who was raised by his talents from the humble post of ensign in the guards to the control of the destinies of a mighty empire; under his administration public confidence revived, and the nation seemed inspired with new life and vigour.* He was equally popular in both hemispheres; and so promptly did the governors of the northern colonies obey the requisitions of his circular letter of 1757, that by May, in the following year, Massachusetts had seven thousand, Connecticut five thousand, and New Hampshire three thousand troops, prepared to take the field. The zeal of Massachusetts was particularly ardent. The people of Boston supported taxes which took away two thirds of the income on real estate; one half of the effective

men in the province were on some sort of military duty; and the transports for carrying the troops to Halifax were ready to sail in fourteen days from the time of their engagement. The mother country was not less active. While her fleets blockaded or captured the French armaments, she despatched Admiral Boscawen to Halifax with a formidable squadron of ships, and an army of twelve thousand men. Lord Loudoun was replaced by General Abercrombie, who, early in the spring of 1758, was ready to enter upon the campaign at the head of fifty thousand men, the most powerful army ever seen in America.

Three points of attack were marked out for this campaign; the first, Louisbourg; the second, Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third, Fort Du Quesne. On the first expedition Admiral Boscawen sailed from Halifax on the 28th of May, with a fleet of twenty ships of the line and eighteen frigates, and an army of fourteen thousand men, under the command of General Amherst, and arrived before Louisbourg on the 2d of June. The garrison of that place, commanded by the Chevalier de Drucourt, an officer of courage and experience, was composed of two thousand five hundred regulars, aided by six hundred militia. The harbour being secured by five ships of the line, one fifty gun ship, and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the mouth of the basin, it was found necessary to land at some distance from

* "William Pitt, earl of Chatham, one of the most able and successful ministers that England ever possessed, was born November 15, 1708, and was the son of Robert Pitt, Esq., of Boconnock, in Cornwall. His education he received at Eton, and at Trinity College, Oxford. His entrance into public life was as a cornet of horse; and in 1735, through the influence of the duchess dowager of Marlborough, he was returned to parliament, as member for Old Sarum. He subsequently sat for Seaford, Aldborough, and Bath. As a senator, he soon rendered himself so obnoxious to Walpole, that the minister, with equal injustice and impolicy, deprived him of his commission. This unconstitutional act only enhanced his popularity, and sharpened his resentment. After having been ten years in opposition, he was, early in 1746, appointed joint-vice-treasurer of Ireland; and, in the same year, treasurer and paymaster general of the army, and a privy counsellor. During his treasurership, he invariably refused to benefit by the large balances of money which necessarily remained in his hands. In 1755, he was dismissed; in 1756, he obtained a brief reinstatement in power, as secretary of state, and was again dismissed; but, in 1757, defeat and disgrace having fallen on the country, the unanimous voice of the people compelled the sovereign to place him at the head of the administration. Under his auspices, Britain was, during four years, triumphant in every quarter of the globe. Thwarted in his measures, after the accession of George III., he resigned, in October, 1761, an office which he could no longer hold with honour to himself, or advantage to the nation. A pension was granted to him, and his wife was created a baroness. On the downfall of the Rockingham administration, Pitt was appointed lord privy seal, and was raised to the peerage, with the title of earl of Chatham. He acquired no glory as one of the new and ill-assorted ministry, and he withdrew from it in November, 1768. Though suffering severely from gout, he continued to speak in parliament upon all important questions. The American war, in particular, he opposed with all his wonted vigour and talent. On

the 8th of April, 1778, while rising to speak in the house of lords, he fell into a convulsive fit, and he expired on the 11th of the following May. He was interred, and a monument raised to him, in Westminster Abbey, at the public expense; and a perpetual annuity of 4000*l.* was granted to his heirs. Some short poems, and a volume of letters to his nephew, have appeared in print. The character of Lord Chatham is thus ably summed up by Grattan: 'There was in this man something that could create, subvert, or reform; an understanding, a spirit, and an eloquence, to summon mankind to society, or to break the bonds of slavery asunder, and to rule the wilderness of free minds with unbounded authority; something that could establish or overwhelm empire, and strike a blow in the world that should resound through the universe.'

In America, his name was held in the highest estimation. Every patriot did him honour. Country signs bore his semblance, or something the people thought like his noble features. In the town of Dedham, in Massachusetts, Nathaniel Ames, the father of the great orator, Fisher Ames, a physician, philosopher, and mathematician, erected a granite column to his memory, and surmounted it by a bust of the great friend to liberty. It was thrown down by time, and suffered to lie in neglect for many years; but it has since been renovated, and stands now a monument to departed genius and patriotism. "His eloquence formed an era in our language;" and the fire he breathed into the soul of freedom, has not, and we trust never will, be extinguished. Genius, united to letters and patriotism, can never die. We forgive his last act; it was one of feeling and of national pride. Lord Chatham aided the projectors of canals with his whole soul, while politicians thought he had better have been doing almost any thing else; but his sagacity has been proved by the wonderful advantages which have resulted to the nation from canals. Grattan should have added, that *he foresaw the resources of the nation, and commenced their development*; if not so rhetorical, it would have been literally true; and even the beauty of prophecy is its fulfilment.—*American Editor.*

the town. This being effected, and the artillery and stores brought on shore, General Wolfe was detached with two thousand men to seize a post occupied by the enemy at the Lighthouse Point, from which the ships in the harbour, and the fortifications in the town, might be greatly annoyed. On the approach of that gallant officer, the post was abandoned by the enemy, and several very strong batteries were erected there by their opponents. Approaches were also made on the opposite side of the town, and the siege was pressed with resolution and vigour, though with great caution. A very heavy cannonade being kept up against the town and the vessels in the harbour, a bomb was at length set on fire and blew up one of the largest ships, and the flames were communicated to two others, which shared the same fate. The English admiral now sent six hundred men in boats into the harbour, to make an attempt on two ships of the line which still remained in the basin; one of which, being aground, was destroyed, the other was towed off in triumph. This gallant exploit, putting the English in complete possession of the harbour, and several breaches being made practicable in the works, the place was deemed no longer defensible, and the governor offered to capitulate. It was required that the garrison should surrender as prisoners of war. These humiliating terms, though at first rejected, were afterwards acceded to; and Louisbourg, with all its artillery, provisions, and military stores, as also Island Royal, St. John's, and their dependencies, were placed in the hands of the English, who, without farther difficulty, took possession of the island of Cape Breton. The conquerors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, and eighteen mortars, with a very large quantity of stores and ammunition. The inhabitants of Cape Breton were sent to France in English ships; but the garrison, sea officers, sailors, and marines, amounting collectively to nearly six thousand men, were carried prisoners to England.

The armies destined to execute the plans against Ticonderoga and Fort Du Quesne were appointed to rendezvous respectively at Albany and Philadelphia. The first was commanded by General Abercrombie, and consisted of upwards of fifteen thousand men, attended by a formidable train of artillery. On the 5th of July, the general embarked his troops on Lake

George, on board of one hundred and twenty-five whale boats, and nine hundred batteaux, and commenced operations against Ticonderoga. After debarkation at the landing place in a cove on the west side of the lake, the troops were formed into four columns, the British in the centre, and the provincials on the flanks. In this order they marched toward the advanced guard of the French, which, consisting of one battalion only, posted in a logged camp, destroyed what was in their power, and made a precipitate retreat. While Abercrombie was continuing his march in the woods towards Ticonderoga, the columns were thrown into confusion, and in some degree entangled with each other. At this juncture, Lord Howe, at the head of the right centre column, fell in with a part of the advanced guard of the enemy which had been lost in the wood in retreating from Lake George, and immediately attacked and dispersed it, killing a considerable number and taking one hundred and forty-eight prisoners. This success was, however, dearly purchased, by the loss of the gallant nobleman who fell in leading the attack.* The English army, without further opposition, took possession of a post within two miles of Ticonderoga. Abercrombie, having learned from the prisoners the strength of the enemy at that fortress, and from an engineer the condition of their works, resolved on an immediate storm, and made instant disposition for an assault. The troops having received orders to march up briskly, rush upon the enemy's fire, and reserve their own till they had passed a breastwork, marched to the assault with great intrepidity. Unlooked for impediments, however, occurred. In front of the breastwork, to a considerable distance, trees had been felled with their branches outward, many of which were sharpened to a point, by means of which the assailants were not only retarded in their advance, but, becoming entangled among the boughs, were exposed to a very galling fire. Finding it impracticable to pass the breastwork, which was eight or nine feet high, and much stronger than had been represented, General Abercrombie, after a contest of near four hours, ordered a retreat, and the next day resumed his former camp on the south side of Lake George. In this brave but ill-judged assault nearly two thousand of the assailants were killed and wounded, while the loss of the enemy, who were covered

* George Howe, lord-viscount, was commander of 5000 British troops in America, and was the most popular of all the leaders of the British armies, in the conflicts with France. When Abercrombie made his attack on Ticonderoga, he led the van-guard, and fell at the first fire. He was admired by all the provincials. Old Stark, the hero of Bennington, who knew him well, feared that he should not have been a true whig, in the revolution, if Lord Howe

had been alive. His death was mourned as a public calamity, and the Americans seemed to lose their spirit in his fall. The good people of Massachusetts caught the infection of grief from the soldiers, and erected a monument, by permission, for their admired general, in Westminster Abbey, at their own expense, of two hundred and fifty pounds sterling. It is still standing in Westminster Abbey.—*Am. Ed.*

during the whole action, was inconsiderable. General Abercrombie immediately re-crossed Lake George, and entirely abandoned the project of capturing Ticonderoga.*

The campaign was not destined, however, to close with such ill-success. Colonel Bradstreet proposed an expedition against Frontignac; a fort which, by being placed on the north side of the St. Lawrence, just where it issues from Lake Ontario, was the key to the communication between Canada and Louisiana. It served also to keep the Indians in subjection, and was the general repository of stores for the enemy's western and southern posts. Late in the evening of the 25th of August, Colonel Bradstreet landed within a mile of the place, with three thousand men, eight pieces of cannon, and three mortars. The French had not anticipated an attack at this point, and the garrison consisted of only one hundred and ten men, with a few Indian auxiliaries. It was impossible to hold out long. Colonel Bradstreet posted his mortars so near the fort, that every shell took effect; and the commander was very soon obliged to surrender at discretion. The booty consisted of sixty pieces of cannon, great numbers of small arms, provisions, military stores, goods to a large amount, and nine armed vessels of from eight to eighteen guns. Colonel Bradstreet destroyed the fort and vessels, re-crossed the Ontario, and returned to the army.

Had it not been for this fortunate enterprise, the unaccountable delay in preparing the expedition against Du Quesne would probably have left that fort a third time in possession of the enemy. It was not until June that the commander, General Forbes, set out from Philadelphia; it was September, before Colonel Washington, with the Virginia regulars, was ordered to join the main body at Ray's Town; and, owing to the difficulties of cutting a new road, it was as late as November, when the army appeared before Du Quesne. The garrison, deserted by the Indians, and without adequate means of defence, had

escaped down the Ohio the evening before the arrival of the British, who had only to taken possession, therefore, in the king's name. The fort was supplied with a new garrison, and the name changed to Pittsburg. The Indians, as usual, joined the strongest side. A peace was concluded with all the tribes between the Ohio and the lakes; and the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, were once more relieved from the terrors of fire and scalping knives.

The campaign of 1758 was highly honourable to the British arms, and the results of it very important. Of the three expeditions, two had completely succeeded, and the leader of the third had made an important conquest. To the commanding talents of Pitt, and the confidence which they inspired, this change of fortune must be chiefly attributed; and in no respect were these talents more strikingly displayed than in the choice of men to execute his plans. The advantages of this campaign had, however, been purchased by an expensive effort and corresponding exhaustion of provincial strength; and, when a circular letter from Mr. Pitt to the several governors induced the colonies to resolve upon making the most vigorous preparations for the next, they soon discovered that their resources were by no means commensurate with their zeal.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, it was resolved to signalize the year 1759 by the complete conquest of Canada. The plan of the campaign was, that three powerful armies should enter the French possessions by three different routes, and attack all their strong-holds at nearly the same time. At the head of one division of the army, Brigadier-General Wolfe, a young officer who had signalized himself at the siege of Louisbourg, was to ascend the St. Lawrence and lay siege to Quebec, escorted by a strong fleet to co-operate with his troops. The central and main army, composed of British and provincials, was to be conducted against Ticonderoga and Crown Point by General Amherst, the new commander in

* Major Rogers, with his rangers, was in this battle, and asked permission to scour the woods before the regular troops were led on; but this was not granted. Major Robert Rogers was a native of Londonderry, or Dunbarton, in the state of New Hampshire. He was early known as a brave soldier, and was authorized by the British government to raise five companies of rangers, as they were called. They were kept on the frontiers for winter as well as summer service, to watch the hostile Indians, who often, in the most inclement season, made attacks upon the defenceless inhabitants of the frontiers. This body of troops was taken from the boldest and hardest of the yeomanry of the land. They were doubly armed, and carried with them snow-shoes and skates for service. They generally made their head-quarters at the southern extremity of Lake George. Their snow-shoes put them on an equality with their foes, and with their skates they had greatly the

advantage of the Indians. Stark, Putnam, and several others, who were distinguished afterward in the revolutionary war, were trained in this school. Some of the well authenticated exploits of this hardy band, seem like romance to us, in the present day. All along the borders of Lake George, spots are shown where the rangers fought desperate battles, in the winter season, sometimes with more than twice their numbers. This corps fought from 1755 to the fall of Quebec, in 1759. They were put foremost in battle by Abercrombie and Amherst, and some of them were sent to assist Wolfe. Rogers states in his journal of these campaigns, that their packs were generally of twice the weight of those commonly carried by soldiers. Many of this band perished in their frontier campaigns. For some particulars of the life of this singular man, see Allen's Biography.—*Am. Ed.*

chief, who, after making himself master of these places, was to proceed over Lake Champlain and by the way of Richelieu River to the St. Lawrence, and descending that river, form a junction with General Wolfe before the walls of Quebec. The third army, to be composed principally of provincials, reinforced by a strong body of friendly Indians, was to be commanded by General Prideaux, who was to lead this division first against Niagara, and, after the reduction of that place, to embark on Lake Ontario, and proceed down the St. Lawrence against Montreal. It has been observed by a recent author, "Had the elements been laid, and the enemy spell-bound, the whole of this brilliant plan could not have helped succeeding." This sentence, however, betrays a very limited view of a plan that was well worthy of the mind of Pitt. In this arrangement immediate advantage was not sacrificed; while the more remote results exhibited a prospect highly calculated to excite the ambition of the leaders, and to arouse all the energies of the troops. It is in thus affording motives which tend to bring physical force into most effective and persevering action, that intellectual superiority becomes manifest, confounding the calculations of ordinary minds.

Early in the winter, General Amherst commenced preparations for his part of the enterprise; but it was not till the last of May that his troops were assembled at Albany; and it was as late as the 22d of July, when he appeared before Ticonderoga. As the naval superiority of Great Britain had prevented France from sending out reinforcements, none of the posts in this quarter were able to withstand so great a force as that of General Amherst. Ticonderoga was immediately abandoned; the example was followed at Crown Point; and the only way in which the enemy seemed to think of preserving their province was by retarding the English army with shows of resistance till the season of operation should be past, or till, by the gradual concentration of their forces, they should become numerous enough to make an effectual stand. From Crown Point they retreated to Ile-aux-Noix, where General Amherst understood there was a body of between three and four thousand men, and a fleet of several armed vessels. The English made great exertions to secure a naval superiority; and had it not been for a succession of adverse storms upon the lake, they would most probably have accomplished the original design of forming a junction at Quebec, instead of being obliged to go into winter quarters at Crown Point. In prosecution of the enterprise against Niagara, General Prideaux had embarked with an

army on Lake Ontario; and on the 6th of July landed without opposition within about three miles from the fort, which he invested in form. While directing the operations of the siege, he was killed by the bursting of a cohorn, and the command devolved on Sir William Johnson. That general, prosecuting with judgment and vigour the plan of his predecessor, pushed the attack of Niagara with an intrepidity that soon brought the besiegers within a hundred yards of the covered way. Meanwhile, the French, alarmed at the danger of losing a post which was a key to their interior empire in America, had collected a large body of regular troops from the neighbouring garrisons of Detroit, Venango, and Presqu' Isle, with which, and a party of Indians, they resolved, if possible, to raise the siege. Apprised of their intention to hazard a battle, General Johnson ordered his light infantry, supported by some grenadiers and regular foot, to take post between the cataract of Niagara and the fortress; placed the auxiliary Indians on his flanks; and, together with this preparation for an engagement, took effectual measures for securing his lines, and bridling the garrison. About nine in the morning of the 24th of July, the enemy appeared, and the horrible sound of the war whoop from the hostile Indians was the signal of battle. The French charged with great impetuosity, but were received with firmness; and in less than an hour were completely routed. This battle decided the fate of Niagara. Sir William Johnson the next morning opened negotiations with the French commandant; and in a few hours a capitulation was signed. The garrison, consisting of six hundred and seven men, were to march out with the honours of war, to be embarked on the lake, and carried to New York; and the women and children were to be carried to Montreal. The reduction of Niagara effectually cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana.

The expedition against the capital of Canada was the most daring and important. Strong by nature, and still stronger by art, Quebec had obtained the appellation of the Gibraltar of America; and every attempt against it had failed. It was now commanded by Montcalm, an officer of distinguished reputation; and its capture must have appeared chimerical to any one but Pitt. He judged rightly, however, that the boldest and most dangerous enterprises are often the most successful, especially when committed to ardent minds, glowing with enthusiasm, and emulous of glory. Such a mind he had discovered in General Wolfe, whose conduct at Louisbourg had attracted his attention. He appointed him to conduct

the expedition, and gave him for assistants Brigadier Generals Moncton, Townshend, and Murray; all, like himself, young and ardent. Early in the season he sailed from Halifax with eight thousand troops, and, near the last of June, landed the whole army on the island of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec. From this position he could take a near and distinct view of the obstacles to be overcome. These were so great, that even the bold and sanguine Wolfe perceived more to fear than to hope. In a letter to Mr. Pitt, written before commencing operations, he declared that he saw but little prospect of reducing the place.

Quebec stands on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and consists of an upper and lower town. The lower town lies between the river and a bold and lofty eminence, which runs parallel to it far to the westward. At the top of this eminence is a plain, upon which the upper town is situated. Below, or east of the city, is the river St. Charles, whose channel is rough, and whose banks are steep and broken. At a short distance farther down is the Montmorency; and between these two rivers, and reaching from one to the other, was encamped the French army, strongly entrenched, and at least equal in number to that of the English. General Wolfe took possession of Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and there erected batteries against the town. The cannonade which was kept up, though it destroyed many houses, made but little impression on the works, which were too strong and too remote to be materially affected; their elevation, at the same time, placing them beyond the reach of the fleet. Convinced of the impossibility of reducing the place, unless he could erect batteries on the north side of the St. Lawrence, Wolfe soon decided on more daring measures. The northern shore of the St. Lawrence, to a considerable distance above Quebec, is so bold and rocky as to render a landing in the face of an enemy impracticable. If an attempt were made below the town, the river Montmorency passed, and the French driven from their entrenchments, the St. Charles would present a new, and perhaps an insuperable barrier. With every obstacle fully in view, Wolfe, heroically observing that "a victorious army finds no difficulties," resolved to pass the Montmorency, and bring Montcalm to an engagement. In pursuance of this resolution, thirteen companies of English grenadiers, and part of the second battalion of royal Americans, were landed at the mouth of that river, while two divisions, under Generals Townshend and Murray, prepared to cross it higher up. Wolfe's plan was to attack first a redoubt, close to the water's edge, apparently beyond reach of the fire from the enemy's

entrenchments, in the belief that the French, by attempting to support that fortification, would put it in his power to bring on a general engagement; or, if they should submit to the loss of the redoubt, that he could afterwards examine their situation with coolness, and advantageously regulate his future operations. On the approach of the British troops, the redoubt was evacuated; and the general, observing some confusion in the French camp, changed his original plan, and determined not to delay an attack. Orders were immediately despatched to the Generals Townshend and Murray to keep their divisions in readiness for fording the river; and the grenadiers and royal Americans were directed to form on the beach until they could be properly sustained. These troops, however, not waiting for support, rushed impetuously towards the enemy's entrenchments; but they were received with so strong and steady a fire from the French musketry, that they were instantly thrown into disorder, and obliged to seek shelter at the redoubt which the enemy had abandoned. Detained here awhile by a dreadful thunder storm, they were still within reach of a severe fire from the French; and many gallant officers, exposing their persons in attempting to form the troops, were killed, the whole loss amounting to nearly five hundred men. The plan of attack being effectually disconcerted, the English general gave orders for repassing the river, and returning to the isle of Orleans.

Compelled to abandon the attack on that side, Wolfe deemed that advantage might result from attempting to destroy the French fleet, and by distracting the attention of Montcalm with continual descents upon the northern shore. General Murray, with twelve hundred men in transports, made two vigorous but abortive attempts to land; and though more successful in the third, he did nothing more than burn a magazine of warlike stores. The enemy's fleet was effectually secured against attacks, either by land or by water, and the commander in chief was again obliged to submit to the mortification of recalling his troops. At this juncture, intelligence arrived that Niagara was taken, that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been abandoned, but that General Amherst, instead of pressing forward to their assistance, was preparing to attack the Ile-aux-Noix. While Wolfe rejoiced at the triumph of his brethren in arms, he could not avoid contrasting their success with his own disastrous efforts. His mind, alike lofty and susceptible, was deeply impressed by the disasters at Montmorency; and his extreme anxiety, preying upon his delicate frame, sensibly affected his health. He was observed frequently to sigh; and, as if life was only

valuable while it added to his glory, he declared to his intimate friends, that he would not survive the disgrace which he imagined would attend the failure of his enterprise. Nothing, however, could shake the resolution of this valiant commander, or induce him to abandon the attempt. In a council of his principal officers, called on this critical occasion, it was resolved, that all the future operations should be above the town. The camp at the Isle of Orleans was accordingly abandoned; and the whole army having embarked on board the fleet, a part of it was landed at Point Levi, and a part higher up the river. Montcalm, apprehending from this movement that the invaders might make a distant descent, and come on the back of the city of Quebec, detached M. de Bougainville, with fifteen hundred men, to watch their motions, and prevent their landing.

Baffled and harassed in all his previous assaults, General Wolfe seems to have determined to finish the enterprise by a single bold and desperate effort. The admiral sailed several leagues up the river, making occasional demonstrations of a design to land troops; and, during the night, a strong detachment in flat-bottomed boats fell silently down with the stream, to a point about a mile above the city. The beach was shelving, the bank high and precipitous, and the only path by which it could be scaled, was now defended by a captain's guard and a battery of four guns. Colonel Howe, with the van, soon clambered up the rocks, drove away the guard, and seized upon the battery. The army landed about an hour before day, and by daybreak was marshalled on the heights of Abraham.

Montcalm could not at first believe the intelligence; but, as soon as he was assured of its truth, he made all prudent haste to decide a battle which it was no longer possible to avoid. Leaving his camp at Montmorency, he crossed the river St. Charles with the intention of attacking the English army. No sooner did Wolfe observe this movement, than he began to form his order of battle. His troops consisted of six

battalions, and the Louisbourg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by General Monckton, and the left by General Murray. The right flank was covered by the Louisbourg grenadiers, and the rear and left by Howe's light infantry. The form in which the French advanced indicating an intention to outflank the left of the English army, General Townshend was sent with the battalion of Amherst, and the two battalions of royal Americans, to that part of the line, and they were formed *en potence*, so as to present a double front to the enemy. The body of reserve consisted of one regiment, drawn up in eight divisions, with large intervals. The dispositions made by the French general were not less masterly. The right and left wings were composed about equally of European and colonial troops. The centre consisted of a column, formed of two battalions of regulars, Fifteen hundred Indians and Canadians, excellent marksmen, advancing in front, screened by surrounding thickets, began the battle. Their irregular fire proved fatal to many British officers, but it was soon silenced by the steady fire of the English. About nine in the morning the main body of the French advanced briskly to the charge, and the action soon became general. Montcalm having taken post on the left of the French army, and Wolfe on the right of the English, the two generals met each other where the battle was most severe. The English troops reserved their fire until the French had advanced within forty yards of their line, and then, by a general discharge, made terrible havoc among their ranks. The fire of the English was vigorously maintained, and the enemy every where yielded to it. General Wolfe, who, exposed in the front of his battalions had been wounded in the wrist, betraying no symptom of pain, wrapped a handkerchief round his arm, and continued to encourage his men. Soon after, he received a shot in the groin; but, concealing the wound, he was pressing on at the head of his grenadiers with fixed bayonets, when a third ball pierced his breast.* The army, not disconcerted by his fall,

* On receiving his mortal wound, Wolfe was conveyed into the rear, where, careless about himself, he discovered, in the agonies of death, the most anxious solicitude concerning the fate of the day. From extreme faintness, he had reclined his head on the arm of an officer, but was soon aroused by the cry of "They fly, they fly!" "Who fly?" exclaimed the dying hero. "The French," answered his attendant. "Then," said he, "I die contented," and immediately expired. A death more full of military glory has seldom been recorded by the pen of the historian, or celebrated by the pencil of the painter. General Wolfe was only thirty-three years of age. He possessed those military talents, which, with the advantage of years and opportunity of action, "to moderate his ardour, expand his faculties, and give to his intuitive perception and scientific knowledge the correctness of judgment perfected by experience," would have "placed him on a level with

the most celebrated generals of any age or nation."—Montcalm was every way worthy to be a competitor of Wolfe. He had the truest military genius of any officer whom the French had ever employed in America. After he had received his mortal wound, he was carried into the city; and when informed that it was mortal, his reply was, "I am glad of it." On being told that he could survive but a few hours, "So much the better," he replied, "I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec."

General Wolfe was eulogized in the following poem from the pen of T. Paine:—

"In a mouldering cave, where the wretched retreat,
Britannia sat wasted with care;
She mourn'd for her Wolfe, and exclaim'd against fate,
And gave herself up to despair.

continued the action under Monckton, on whom the command now devolved, but who, receiving a ball through his body, soon yielded the command to General Townshend. Montcalm, fighting in front

The walls of her cell she had sculptur'd around
With the feats of her favourite son;
And even the dust, as it lay on the ground,
Was engrav'd with some deeds he had done.

"The sire of the gods, from his crystalline throne,
Beheld the disconsolate dame;
And mov'd with her tears, he sent Mercury down,
And these were the tidings that came:
Britannia, forbear, not a sigh nor a tear
For thy Wolfe, so deservedly lov'd;
Your tears shall be chang'd into triumphs of joy,
For Wolfe is not dead, but remov'd.

"The sons of the east, the proud giants of old,
Have crept from their darksome abodes;
And this is the news, as in heaven it was told,
They were marching to war with the gods;
A council was held in the chambers of Jove,
And this was their final decree:
That Wolfe should be called to the army above,
And the charge was intrusted to me.

"To the plains of Quebec, with the orders, I flew,
He begg'd for a moment's delay;
He cry'd, oh forbear, let me victory hear,
And then thy command I'll obey:
With a darksome thick film I encompass'd his eyes,
And bore him away in an urn,
Lest the fondness he bore to his own native shore,
Should induce him again to return."

The French troops that served in Canada, being desirous of erecting a monument in honour of Montcalm, their general, who fell in the action at Quebec, where the brave Wolfe also fell, a French colonel wrote to the Academy of Belles Lettres for an epitaph to be placed over Montcalm's tomb, in a church in that city, which occasioned the following letter from M. De Bougainville, member of the Academy, to Mr. Pitt:

SIR—The honours paid under your ministry, to Mr. Wolfe, assure me that you will not disapprove of the grateful endeavours of the French troops, to perpetuate the memory of the Marquis De Montcalm. The body of this general, who was honoured by the regret of your nation, is interred in Quebec. I have the honour to send you an epitaph made for him by the Academy of Inscriptions. I beg the favour of you, sir, that you will be pleased to examine it, and, if not improper, obtain leave for me to send it to Quebec, engraved on marble, and to be placed on the Marquis De Montcalm's tomb. Should such leave be granted, may I presume to request, sir, that you will be so good as to inform me of it, and, at the same time, to send me a passport, that the marble, with the epitaph engraved on it, may be received into an English ship, and Mr. Murray, governor of Quebec, allow it to be placed in the Ursuline church. You will be pleased, sir, to pardon me for this intrusion on your important occupations; but endeavouring to immortalize illustrious men and eminent patriots, is doing honour to yourself.

I am, with respect, &c. DE BOUGAINVILLE.

SIR—It is a real satisfaction to me, to send you the king's consent on a subject so affecting, as the epitaph composed by the Academy of Inscriptions, at Paris, for the Marquis De Montcalm, and which, it is desired, may be sent to Quebec, engraved on marble, to be placed on the tomb of that illustrious soldier. It is perfectly beautiful; and the desire of the French troops, which served in Canada, to pay such a tribute to the memory of their general, whom they saw expire at their head, in a manner worthy of them and himself, is truly noble and praiseworthy.

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of his battalions, received a mortal wound about the same time; and General Senezergus, the second in command, also fell. The British grenadiers pressed on with their bayonets. General Murray, briskly

I shall take a pleasure, sir, in facilitating, every way, such amiable intentions; and on notice of the measures taken for shipping this marble, I will not fail immediately to transmit you the passport you desire, and send directions to the governor of Quebec for its reception.

I will beg of you, sir, to be persuaded of my just sensibility of that so obliging part of the letter with which you have honoured me relating to myself; and to believe that I embrace as a happiness, the opportunity of manifesting the esteem and particular regard with which I have the honour to be, &c.

W. PITT.

London, April 10, 1761

Here lieth,
In either hemisphere to live for ever,
LEWIS JOSEPH DE MONTCALM GOZON,
Marquis of St. Veran, Baron of Gabriac,
Commandator of the Order of St. Lewis,
Lieutenant-General of the French forces,
Both an excellent subject and soldier,
Whose memory will be immortalized both here and hereafter;
Coveting nothing but real glory;
Thoroughly conversant in all parts of polite literature,
Conducting himself through all military employment with unblemished honour;
Not unacquainted with all the arts of war, with dangers,
And knew how to improve advantages by every opportunity that offered;
An active General
In Italy, Bohemia, and Germany.
Always behaving himself with that magnanimity
That he might be put upon the same level with his ancestors;
Already eminent in dangers,
Being sent to defend the province of Canada,
He often repulsed the enemy's forces with a handful of men;
He made himself master of almost insurmountable fortifications,
Defended by numerous garrisons,
And furnished with plenty of warlike stores.
He could endure cold, hunger, watchings, and fatigue,
To a degree almost incredible:
Ever solicitous for the safety of his soldiers,
He was regardless of his own;
A vigilant enemy, and accustomed to conquer;
He supplied the deficiencies of fortune by his bravery,
Want of soldiers, by experience and activity.
He supported the tottering fate of that colony four years,
By his prudence and fortitude.
At length, having a long time baffled the efforts of his enemies,
By manifold stratagems,
Being obliged to engage a large army,
Commanded by an active and courageous general,
And supported by a fleet equipped with every thing necessary for war;
Being mortally wounded at the head of his army,
In the first onset,
He died on the 14th of September, MDCCLIX.
In the forty-eighth year of his age,
Firmly relying on Divine Providence,
Whose precepts he had religiously observed,
Universally lamented by his own soldiers,
And even regretted by his enemies.
The mourning French have deposited the mortal remains
Of this incomparable General,
In a grave,
Which an impetuous ball had previously dug,
And commended them to the generous protection
Of their adversaries.

advancing with the troops under his direction, broke the centre of the French army. The Highlanders, drawing their broadswords, completed the confusion of the enemy; and after having lost their first and second in command, the right and centre of the French were entirely driven from the field; and the left was following the example, when Bougainville appeared in the rear, with the fifteen hundred men who had been sent to oppose the landing of the English. Two battalions and two pieces of artillery were detached to meet him; but he retired, and the British troops were left the undisputed masters of the field. The loss of the French was much greater than that of the English. The corps of French regulars was almost entirely annihilated. The killed and wounded of the English army did not amount to six hundred men. Although Quebec was still strongly defended by its fortifications, and might possibly be relieved by Bougainville, or from Montreal, yet General Townshend had scarcely finished a road in the bank to get up his heavy artillery for a siege, when the inhabitants capitulated, on condition that during the war they might still enjoy their own civil and religious rights. A garrison of five thousand men was left under General Murray, and the fleet sailed out of the St. Lawrence.

The fall of Quebec did not immediately produce the submission of Canada. The main body of the French army, which, after the battle on the plains of Abraham, retired to Montreal, and which still consisted of ten battalions of regulars, had been reinforced by six thousand Canadian militia, and a body of Indians. With these forces M. de Levi, who had succeeded the Marquis de Montcalm in the chief command, resolved to attempt the recovery of Quebec. He had hoped to carry the place by a *coup de main* during the winter; but, on reconnoitring, he found the outposts so well secured, and the governor so vigilant and active, that he postponed the enterprise until spring. In the month of April, when the upper part of the St. Lawrence was so open as to admit a transportation by water, his artillery, military stores, and heavy baggage, were embarked at Montreal, and fell down the river under convoy of six frigates; and M. de Levi, after a march of ten days, arrived with his army at Point au Tremble, within a few miles of Quebec. General Murray, to whom the care of maintaining the English conquest had been entrusted, had taken every precaution to preserve it; but his troops had suffered so much by the extreme cold of the winter, and by the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that instead of five thousand, the original number of his garrison there were not at this

time above three thousand men fit for service. With this small but valiant body he resolved to meet the enemy in the field; and on the 28th of April marched out to the heights of Abraham, where, near Sillery, he attacked the French under M. de Levi with great impetuosity. He was received with firmness; and after a fierce encounter, finding himself outflanked, and in danger of being surrounded by superior numbers, he called off his troops, and retired into the city. In this action the loss of the English was near a thousand men, and that of the French still greater. The French general lost no time in improving his victory. On the very evening of the battle he opened trenches before the town, but it was the 11th of May before he could mount his batteries, and bring his guns to bear on the fortifications. By that time General Murray, who had been indefatigable in his exertions, had completed some outworks, and planted so numerous an artillery on his ramparts, that his fire was very superior to that of the besiegers, and in a manner silenced their batteries. A British fleet most opportunely arriving a few days after, M. de Levi immediately raised the siege, and precipitately retired to Montreal. Here the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, had fixed his headquarters, and determined to make his last stand. For this purpose he called in all his detachments, and collected around him the whole force of the colony.

The English, on the other hand, were resolved upon the utter annihilation of the French power in Canada; and General Amherst prepared to overwhelm it with an irresistible superiority of numbers. Almost on the same day, the armies from Quebec, from Lake Ontario, and from Lake Champlain, were concentrated before Montreal: a capitulation was immediately signed; Detroit, Michilimackinac, and, indeed, all New France, surrendered to the English. The French troops were to be carried home; and the Canadians to retain their civil and religious privileges.

The history of modern Europe, with whose destiny that of the colonies was closely interwoven, may be designated as the annals of an interminable war. Her sovereigns, ever having the oily words of peace on their lips, have seldom had recourse to the olive branch but as the signal of a truce, the duration of which should be coeval with the reinvigoration of military strength. It was thus with France on the present occasion. Equally unsuccessful on both continents, and exhausted by her strenuous and continued efforts, she was at length induced to make overtures of peace; and every thing seemed to be in a fair train for adjustment, when the treaty was sud-

denly broken off by an attempt of the court of Versailles to mingle the politics of Spain and of Germany with the disputes between France and Great Britain. A secret family compact between the Bourbons to support each other through evil and good, in peace and in war, had rendered Spain desirous of war, and induced France once more to try her fortune. As the interests of the two nations were now identified, it only remained for England to make a formal declaration of hostility against Spain. The colonies of New England being chiefly interested in the reduction of the West India Islands, furnished a considerable body of troops to carry on the war. A large fleet was despatched from England; the land forces amounted to sixteen thousand; and before the end of the second year, Great Britain had taken the import-

ant city of Havannah, the key of the Mexican Gulf, together with the French provinces of Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and the Caribbee Islands.

The progress of the British conquests, which threatened all the remaining colonial possessions of their opponents, was arrested by preliminary articles of peace, which, towards the close of 1762, were interchanged at Fontainebleau between the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Spain. On the 10th of February, in the following year, a definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris, and soon after ratified.* France ceded to Great Britain all the conquests which the latter had made in North America; and it was stipulated between the two crowns, that the boundary-line of their respective dominions in the new hemi-

* "The acquisitions of Great Britain, both from France and Spain, on the continent of North America, established by this treaty, whether they be considered in relation to the political or commercial interests of the parent country, or in relation to the entire interests of the American colonies, merit particular attention. Every article, therefore, which has respect to America, is subjoined in the words of the treaty. By the second article, France renounces and guarantees to Great Britain all Nova Scotia or Acadia, and likewise Canada, the isle of Cape Breton, and all other islands in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. By the third article, it is stipulated, that the French shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the island of Newfoundland, as specified in the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht; and the French may also fish in the gulf of St. Lawrence, so as they do not exercise the same but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands in the said gulf. As to what relates to the fishery out of the said gulf, the French shall exercise the same, but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the isle of Cape Breton. By the fourth article, Great Britain cedes to France, to serve as a shelter for the French fishermen, the islands of St. Peter and of Miquelon; and his most Christian Majesty absolutely engages not to fortify the said island, nor to erect any other buildings thereon, but merely for the convenience of the fishery; and to keep only a guard of fifty men for the police. By the sixth article it is stipulated, that the confines between the dominions of Great Britain and France, on the continent of North America, shall be irrevocably fixed, by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source, as far as the river Iberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and of the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and to this purpose the most Christian King cedes in full right, and guarantees to his Britannic Majesty, the river and port of Mobile, and every thing that he possesses on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island on which it is situated, which shall remain to France, provided that the navigation of the river shall be equally free to the subjects of Great Britain and France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and that part expressly which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth; and the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, inserted in the second article, shall also take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article; that is, that the French in Canada may freely profess the Roman Catholic religion, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit; that they may enjoy their civil rights, retire when they please, and may dispose of their estates to British subjects. By the seventh article, it is stipulated, that Britain shall restore to France

the islands of Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Desirade, and Martinico, in the West Indies, and of Belleisle, on the coast of France, with their fortresses; provided that the term of eighteen months be granted to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, settled there, and in other places hereby restored to France, to sell their estates, recover their debts, and to transport themselves and effects, without being restrained on account of their religion, or any pretence, except for debts, or criminal prosecutions. By the eighth article, France cedes and guarantees to Great Britain the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, with the same stipulations in favour of the inhabitants as are inserted in the second article for those of Canada; and the partition of the islands called neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominico, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to England, and that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France in full right, the two crowns reciprocally guaranteeing to each other the partition so stipulated. By the sixteenth article, it is stipulated, that his Britannic Majesty shall cause all the fortifications to be demolished, which his subjects shall have erected in the bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain, in that part of the world. And his Catholic Majesty shall not, for the future, suffer the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, or their workmen, to be disturbed or molested under any pretence whatsoever, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away log-wood; and for this purpose they may build, without hinderance, and occupy, without interruption, the houses and magazines necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects; and his said Catholic Majesty assures to them, by this article, the entire enjoyment of what is above stipulated. By the seventeenth article, his Catholic Majesty desists from all pretensions which he may have formed to the right of fishing about the island of Newfoundland. By the eighteenth article, it is stipulated, that the king of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all that he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortress of Havannah; and that fortress, as well as all the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when they were conquered by his Britannic Majesty's arms. By the twentieth article, his Catholic Majesty cedes and guarantees, in full right, to his Britannic Majesty, Florida, with the Fort St. Augustine, and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the east, or to the southeast of the river Mississippi; and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, and possession, and all rights acquired by treaties, or otherwise, which the Catholic king and the crown of Spain have had till now over the said countries."—Anderson, vol. iii. p. 339—433, where the preliminary articles of the treaty are inserted entire; and vol. iv. p. 1, 2, where the most material alterations or explanations of those articles, as settled by the definitive treaty, are inserted.—American Annals, vol. ii. p. 113—115.

sphere should run along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source as far as the Iberville, and along the middle of that river, and of Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain.

Thus terminated a war, which originated in an attempt on the part of the French to surround the English colonists, and chain them to a narrow strip of country along the coast of the Atlantic; and ended with their giving up the whole of what was then their only valuable territory in North America. The immediate advantage the colonies derived from the successful issue of the contest was great and apparent. Although, for a short period after the conquest of Canada had been effected, they were subject to attacks from the Indian tribes attached to the French, and also from the Cherokees on their south-western borders, they were soon enabled to visit their cruelties with severe retribution, and to procure a lasting repose, as the Indians had no forts to which to repair for protection or aid. But the indirect results, though almost unperceived at first, were far more important, and prepared the way for those momentous efforts which issued in the loss to Great Britain of the fairest portion of her colonies, and the establishment of her vassal as a rival. The colonists became inured to the habits and hardships of a military life, and skilled in the arts of European warfare; while the desire of revenge for the loss of Canada, which France did not fail to harbour, was preparing for them a most efficient friend, and making way for the anomalous exhibition of a despotic sovereign exerting all his power in the cause of liberty and independence.

CHAPTER II.

THE REVOLUTION.—FROM THE MOTION FOR WRITS OF ASSISTANCE TO THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT.

No period of the world's history exhibits events more deeply fraught with interest, or more full of moral and political instruction, than the era of American independence. Duly to appreciate the character of the struggle, it is necessary to take a brief review of the circumstances in which the colonies originated, their progress for nearly a century and a half, and the nature of the connexion which existed between the colonies and the parent state.

A considerable variety of circumstances attended the establishment of the different colonies. In some cases large sums were advanced, either by associated or by individual proprietors who remained in England,

expecting, though in vain, to derive a profitable return for the advance of their capital; while in others, and those the most eminent, the colonies were founded solely at the expense and by the talent and laborious exertion of the individuals who expatriated themselves, to obtain the uninterrupted enjoyment of rights which they sought in vain in their native land. In no instance can it be truly stated, that any American colony was established at the expense of the government or nation of Great Britain. The individuals who had thus voluntarily separated themselves from their native land by a distance of three thousand miles, still maintained some connexion with the parent state, both because the new soil was claimed as an appendage of the crown, and in order to place themselves under adequate protection against the hostile attempts of any of the other European states. By royal charter, however, each colony was allowed its legislative assembly, and with such slight restrictions, that the colonists might well be excused for entertaining the idea that they possessed their own parliament; and their history evinces that this sentiment was widely extended and deeply impressed on the minds of the Americans. In no case were the civil institutions of the colonies less free than those of the British constitution—in many instances they were far more so; while the simplicity and popular character of their ecclesiastical bodies, tended most powerfully to keep alive the spirit of civil freedom. The liberties they enjoyed were rendered still more valuable, in their esteem, from the recollection of the sacrifices they had made to obtain them. What labour—what fatigue—what peril had they not encountered in an unknown and savage land!—Exposed to the excessive rigour of the winter, and the overpowering heat of the summer, of an American climate, unmitigated by the protecting and consoling influences of civilization, an early death had been the fate of most of the first emigrants; while those who survived the miseries of their situation had to defend their new habitations against the assaults of a ferocious foe, who disputed their title to the possession of lands they had so long regarded as exclusively their own. Did the aristocracy or the legislature of Great Britain share in these toils? Did they dispense with any of their luxurious habits to relieve the wants, or sympathize in the difficulties or distresses of these brave and indefatigable men? Or did they not leave them unnoticed till they became sufficiently wealthy to afford a lucrative banishment to some of the basest scions of nobility, and a prospect of yielding a revenue which might facilitate the enlargement of the pension list?

After the difficulties inevitably attendant on first attempts at colonization were overcome, the progress of the colonists in changing the luxuriant wilderness into a cultivated and well-regulated state was very rapid; and to the abundance of nature, commerce soon added the accumulations of wealth. The secret of their prosperity undoubtedly is, that the colonies were left to themselves, without the officious intermeddling of the legislature of the parent state. The navigation acts form the only exception to this observation. These acts, it has already been observed,* prohibited both exportation and importation either in Britain or the colonies, except in English-built vessels manned by English sailors. These and other enactments were designed to secure to England a monopoly of all American productions, from which her merchants could derive a profit; and had they been carried into full effect, they would have prevented all direct intercourse between the British American colonies and those of Spanish America, as well as with Europe and Asia. Through the laxity of their administration, however, an important traffic had long been carried on with Spanish settlements, the returns of which were principally in gold and silver, an object of great moment to the interest of the English colonies, and indeed very advantageous to Great Britain herself.† A considerable trade was also carried on between New York and some other of the principal American seaports, and Lisbon, the returns of which were made chiefly in specie, and the remainder in wine. These and other sources of commercial profit were closed by the strict enforcement of the navigation laws, their systematic evasion having attracted the attention of the British ministry; and this measure was, in fact, one of the most powerful, though least avowed, incitements to revolutionary zeal. It must also be added, that for the aggrandizement of English manufactures, the colonists were prohibited from making some of the most simple and necessary articles, a measure which was, in the estimation of the Americans, as degrading as it was unjust and oppressive.

It must be evident to any impartial investigator, that for all purposes of internal government, in the New England colonies especially, the connexion between them and the British empire was little more than nominal; and that, under the form of allegiance, the reality of independence had long existed. "It was not easy to devise," says Governor Hutchinson, whose testimony on this point at least must be admitted to be of great weight, "a system of subordinate government less controlled by the supreme, than the

governments in the colonies. Every colony had been left to frame their own laws, and adapt them to the genius of the people, and the local circumstances of the colony. Massachusetts, in particular, was governed by laws varying greatly from, though not repugnant to, the laws of England. Not only their penal laws, their forms of administering justice, the descent of estates, varied from the English constitution, and were settled to their own minds; but they had been allowed to establish a mode of religious worship, and a form of church government and discipline, which, at most, might be said to be only tolerated in England."‡ Possessed of their own legislature, the colonists imposed and appropriated their own imposts, and perpetually resisted the attempts of the crown to render the governors, judges, and other officers appointed by the sovereign, independent of the colonial legislatures, by refusing them. The repeated declarations of some of the representative assemblies, that no power could lawfully require the imposition of any tax without the assent of the colonial assembly, plainly indicated their opinion as to their independence of the British parliament in all matters of internal government; while their frequent resistance to the encroachments of the crown, in the conduct of the governors, proves equally their watchful jealousy to keep the sovereign power within the narrowest limits, and to dispute its exercises whenever it interfered with their real or imaginary rights.

The advocates of the liberties of America, preceding and during the period of contest, appear to have been fully aware of the real state of the question; that their views were just, is testified by the almost unanimous concurrence of all enlightened statesmen of the present day. When Charles Townshend, at the conclusion of one of his speeches in favour of the right of the British parliament to tax the colonies, exclaimed, "And now will these Americans, planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence, until they are grown to a degree of strength and importance, and protected by our arms—will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy burden we lie under?" Colonel Barre replied:—"They planted by your care! No, your oppression planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny, to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and among others, to the cruelties of a savage foe—the most subtle, and I will take upon me to say, the

* Book I. chap. ii.; and chap. iii.

† Stedman's American War, 4to. vol. i. p. 16.

‡ Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, p. 353.

most formidable, of any people upon the face of God's earth; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hands of those who should have been their friends. They nourished by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to take care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and another, who were deputies of deputies to some members of this house, sent to prey upon them; men, whose behaviour on many occasions has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them; men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to a bar of justice in their own. They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted their valour, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontiers were drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And believe me, that same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first, will accompany them still.*

The immediate and exciting causes of the spirit of opposition to the government were two-fold; the rigorous execution of the navigation laws, which destroyed a most important and profitable, though contraband and illegal trade; and the assertion by the British parliament of its right to tax the colonies. The latter so speedily followed the former, and afforded so preferable a ground on which to make a stand, that the navigation laws were seldom exhibited as one of the chief grievances; although, had not the stamp act and other similar measures been brought forward, the laws affecting the trade of the colonies would inevitably have excited the same opposition.

The attempt to hold a people, circumstanced as were the American colonists, under the legislation of Great Britain, was as irrational as it was unjust. Financial embarrassments called forth the erroneous policy into action, which, as often happens in private life, deeply aggravated the evil it was designed to remedy; and the attempt to wring a few thousands per annum from the colonists, terminated in plunging Great Britain into debt, and in depriving her of an immense territory, which, under a just and liberal management, might still have con-

tinued one of the most illustrious appendages of the British crown.

Plans of laying internal taxes, and of drawing a revenue from the colonies, had been at various times suggested to the ministry, and particularly to Sir Robert Walpole. This statesman, however, was too wise and sagacious to adopt them. "I will leave the taxation of the Americans," Walpole answered, "for some of my successors, who may have more courage than I have, and be less friendly to commerce than I am. It has been a maxim with me," he added, "during my administration, to encourage the trade of the American colonies to the utmost latitude; nay, it has been necessary to pass over some irregularities in their trade with Europe; for, by encouraging them to an extensive and growing foreign commerce, if they gain five hundred thousand pounds, I am convinced that, in two years afterwards, full two hundred and fifty thousand of this gain will be in his majesty's exchequer by the labour and product of this kingdom, as immense quantities of every kind of our manufactures go thither; and as they increase in the foreign American trade, more of our produce will be wanted. This is taxing them more agreeably to their own constitution and laws."† The first Pitt, also, in his celebrated speech on the repeal of the stamp act, referring to the conduct of the several preceding administrations, says, "None of these thought, or even dreamed of, robbing the colonies of their constitutional rights. That was reserved to mark an era of the late administration; not that there were wanting some, when I had the honour to serve his majesty, to propose to me to burn my fingers with an American stamp act. With the enemy at their back, with our bayonets at their breasts, in the day of their distress, perhaps the Americans would have submitted to the imposition; but it would have been taking an ungenerous and unjust advantage."

Whatever might have been the views or wishes of any individual of the British cabinet, at any period relative to drawing a revenue directly from the colonies, no one had been bold enough to make the attempt until after the reduction of the French power in America. This was deemed a favourable moment to call upon the Americans for taxes, to assist in the payment of a debt, incurred, as was alleged, in a great measure, for their protection against a powerful enemy, now no longer an object of their dread.‡ A British statesman should have reflected, that, if the

* Gordon's History of the American Revolution, vol. i. p. 160, 161.

† Bissett's History, vol. i. p. 227, and M. Botta's Historie de la

Guerre de l'Independence et des Etats-Unis d'Amerique. Edit. Franc. vol. i. p. 62.

‡ Pitkin, vol. i. p. 157.

Americans were relieved from the dread of their ancient enemy, they no longer required the protection of the parent country against that enemy; and that the strongest hold on their dependence was gone when Canada was gained.*

The conquest of Canada had scarcely been effected,† when rumours were extensively prevalent‡ that a different system of government was about to be adopted by the parent state; that the charters would be taken away, and the colonies reduced to royal governments. The officers of the customs began to enforce with strictness all the acts of parliament regulating the trade of the colonies, several of which had been suspended, or had become obsolete. Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts, who was always a supporter of the royal prerogative, appears to have entered fully into these views, and to have indicated, by his appointment of confidential advisers, that his object would be to extend the power of the government to any limits which the ministry might require. The first demonstration of the new course intended to be pursued, was the arrival of an order in council to carry into effect the acts of trade, and to apply to the supreme judicature of the province for writs of assistance, to be granted to the officers of the customs. According to the ordinary course of law, no searches or seizures can be made without a special warrant, issued upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation,

* "The disposition to tax the Americans, unless they would tax themselves equal to the wishes of the ministry, was undoubtedly strengthened by the reports of their gayety and luxury which reached the mother country: it was also said, that the planters lived like princes, while the inhabitants of Britain laboured hard for a tolerable subsistence. The officers lately returned represented them as rich, wealthy, and even overgrown in fortune. Their opinion might arise from observations made in the American cities and towns during the war, while large sums were spent in the country, for the support of fleets and armies. American productions were then in great demand, and trade flourished. The people, naturally generous and hospitable, having a number of strangers among them, indulged themselves in many uncommon expenses. When the war was terminated, and they had no further apprehension of danger, the power of the late enemy in the country being totally broken,—Canada, and the back lands to the very banks of the Mississippi, with the Floridas, being ceded to Great Britain,—it was thought they could not well make too much of those who had so contributed to their security. Partly to do honour to them, and partly, it is to be feared, to gratify their own pride, they added to their show of plate, by borrowing of neighbours, and made a great parade of riches in their several entertainments. The plenty and variety of provision and liquors enabled them to furnish out an elegant table, at a comparatively trifling expense."—Gordon's History, vol. i. p. 157, 158.

† It will be perceived, that the contest respecting the writs of assistance occurred nearly two years before the signature of the treaty of Paris; but it has been deemed preferable to make a slight chronological retrocession, than to dis sever this occurrence from those with which it is so strictly allied in its moral and political character.

‡ "Nothing excited a greater alarm in the breasts of those to whom it was communicated, than the following anecdote, viz. The Rev. Mr. Whitefield, ere he left Portsmouth, in New Hampshire,

particularly designating the place to be searched and the goods to be seized. But the writ of assistance was to command all sheriffs and other civil officers to assist the person to whom it was granted, in breaking open and searching every place where he might suspect any prohibited or uncustomed goods to be concealed. It was a sort of commission, during pleasure, to ransack the dwellings of the citizens, for it was never to be returned, nor any account of the proceedings under it rendered to the court whence it issued. Such a weapon of oppression in the hands of the inferior officers of the customs, might well alarm even innocence, and confound the violators of the law.

The mercantile part of the community united in opposing the petition, and was in a state of great anxiety, as to the result of the question. The officers of the customs called upon Mr. Otis for his official assistance, as advocate-general, to argue their cause: but as he believed these writs to be illegal and tyrannical, he resigned the situation, though very lucrative, and if filled by a compliant spirit, leading to the highest favours of government. The merchants of Salem and Boston applied to Otis and Thacher, who engaged to make their defence. The trial took place in the council chamber of the Old Town House, in Boston. The judges were five in number, including Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, who presided as

on Monday afternoon, the 2d of April, 1764, sent for Dr. Langdon and Mr. Haven, the congregational ministers of the town, and upon their coming and being alone with him, said, 'I can't in conscience leave the town without acquainting you with a secret. My heart bleeds for America. O poor New England! There is a deep-laid plot against both your civil and religious liberties, and they will be lost. Your golden days are at an end. You have nothing but trouble before you. My information comes from the best authority in Great Britain. I was allowed to speak of the affair in general, but enjoined not to mention particulars. Your liberties will be lost.'" Gordon, vol. i. p. 143. Considerable jealousy appears to have been justly entertained by the Americans of the well known Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The bishop of Llandaff observed, in a discourse on behalf of that institution, that the establishment of episcopacy being obtained, "the American church will go out of its infant state, be able to stand upon its own legs, and, without foreign help, support and spread itself, and then this society will be brought to the happy issue intended." Mr. Whitefield justly remarks, in a letter to Dr. Durell, "Supposing his lordship's assertions true, then I fear it will follow, that a society, which, since its first institution, hath been looked upon as a society for propagating the gospel, hath been all the while rather a society for propagating episcopacy in foreign parts."

§ Mr. Hutchinson insists that the opposition of Mr. Otis was originally excited by the governor's refusing the place of chief justice of the supreme court to his father; and speaking of his conduct on this occasion, says, "Mr. Otis's zeal in carrying on these causes was deemed as meritorious as if it had sprung from a sincere concern for the liberties of the people. His resentment against the governor was not charged upon him as the motive." Mr. Hutchinson may, however, be supposed at least as prejudiced against Mr. Otis, as his biographer or Mr. Adams may be in his favour. See Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, from 1749 to 1774, p. 90—95.

chief justice; and the room was filled with all the officers of government and the principal citizens, to hear the arguments in a cause that inspired the deepest solicitude. The case was opened by Mr. Gridley, who argued it with much learning, ingenuity, and dignity, urging every point and authority that could be found, after the most diligent search, in favour of the custom house petition; making all his reasoning depend on this consideration,—“if the parliament of Great Britain is the sovereign legislator of the British empire.” He was followed by Mr. Thacher on the opposite side, whose reasoning was ingenious and able, delivered in a tone of great mildness and moderation. “But,” in the language of president Adams, “Otis was a flame of fire; with a promptitude of classical allusion, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance into futurity, and a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. American independence was then and there born. The seeds of patriots and heroes to defend the *Non sine Diis animosus infans*,* to defend the vigorous youth, were then and there sown. Every man of an immense crowded audience appeared to me to go away as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance. Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child Independence was born. In fifteen years, *i. e.* in 1776, he grew up to manhood and declared himself free.”†

In consequence of this argument, it appears, the popularity of Otis was without bounds, and at the next election he was for the first time chosen a member of the house of representatives by an almost unanimous vote. Some idea of the state of public sentiment at that period may be derived from the following remarkable language of the governor, in his speech at the commencement of the session. “Let me recommend to you to give no attention to declamations tending to promote a suspicion of the civil rights of the people being in danger. Such harangues might suit well in the time of Charles and James, but in the times of the Georges they are groundless and unjust. Since the accession of the first George, there has been no instance of the legal privileges of any corporate body being attacked by any of the king’s ministers or servants, without public censure ensuing. His present majesty has given uncommon assurances

how much he has at heart the preservation of the liberty, rights, and privileges of all his subjects. Can it be supposed that he can forfeit his word; or that he will suffer it to be forfeited by the acts of any servant of his with impunity? An insinuation so unreasonable and injurious I am sure will never be well received among you.”

In the following session, Governor Bernard informed the house of representatives that, during the recess of the legislature, he had appropriated a small sum towards fitting out the sloop Massachusetts to protect the fishery. The committee appointed to prepare an answer, reported to the house a message, in which, after desiring his excellency to restore the sloop to her former condition, they add—“Justice to ourselves and to our constituents obliges us to remonstrate against the method of making or increasing establishments by the governor and council. It is in effect taking from the house their most darling privilege, the right of originating all taxes. It is, in short, annihilating one branch of the legislature. And when once the representatives of a people give up this privilege, the government will very soon become arbitrary. No necessity, therefore, can be sufficient to justify a house of representatives in giving up such a privilege; for it would be of little consequence to the people whether they were subject to George or Louis, the king of Great Britain or the French king, if both were arbitrary, as both would be if both could levy taxes without parliament.” “Treason, treason!” cried one of the members, when these words were read; but the report was accepted, and the message sent unaltered to the governor. The same day he returned it, accompanied by a letter requesting that a part of it might be expunged, as disrespectful to the king. It was then proposed to insert an amendment in the message, expressive of loyalty; but a certain member crying “Rase them, rase them,” the obnoxious words, which had been underlined by the governor, were erased; “it being obvious that the remonstrance would be the same in effect with or without them.” The governor sent a vindication of his conduct to the house, and prorogued the assembly before there was time to answer it.

In the mean time, the laws of trade were enforced with increasing strictness, greatly to the embarrassment of American commerce, particularly that of the northern colonies, the whole of whose foreign trade seemed about to be ruined; an event which would

* This allusion is to the alliance medal, struck in Paris; one side of which contains the head of Liberty, with the words *Libertas Americana*, 4th July, 1776; and on the reverse, a robust infant struggling with the serpent, attacked by a lion, (England,) defend-

ed by Minerva, (France,) who interposes a shield with the fleurs de lis, and on which the lion fastens; the motto, furnished by Sir William Jones, *Non sine Diis animosus infans*.

† Tudor’s Life of Otis, p. 61.

leave them no means of making remittances to England for the purchase of manufactures, rendered so necessary by the severity of their climate, but direct exportations to that country; to which, the subjection of Canada having made that province the seat of the fur trade, they had nothing to send, but the growth of their forests and the produce of their whale fishery. The apprehension of this evil induced them to urge their agents and correspondents in Great Britain to make every effort to procure a repeal, or to prevent the perpetuity, of the most obnoxious statutes, particularly of the sugar and molasses act. Notwithstanding the approach of these evils, and the language of Mr. Otis in his argument on writs of assistance, the unconstitutional character of this and the other laws of trade does not appear to have been denied with a voice loud and general enough to excite attention in Great Britain, or even in the southern colonies; nor does the authority of parliament to enact them appear to have been yet openly contested by any deliberative body. The colonies were not ready to throw off by force restraints which they had been accustomed to wear from their infancy, and which had not till lately pressed severely upon them. They now began to find them galling; and perhaps the time when they would have grown up to such a size as to feel themselves cramped and shackled by them beyond endurance, was not far distant. The ministry, however, chose to anticipate it; and in December, 1763, orders were published in America for the vigilant and unsparing enforcement of the most odious of these laws, with the avowed purpose of raising a revenue.

The year 1764 was prolific in measures calculated to agitate and arouse the spirit of the Americans. Early in March an act was passed, which declared that the bills which had been issued by the several colonial governments, should no longer be regarded as legal currency; an enactment which, although in some cases it might have the beneficial effect of preventing an injurious excess of paper, was very prejudicial to the interests, as well as galling to the feelings, of the colonists. On the 10th of March, the house of commons passed eighteen resolutions for imposing taxes and duties on the colonies. The execution of that which declared that it might be proper to impose certain stamp duties on them, was deferred to the next session; but the others were immediately enforced by "An Act for granting certain Duties in America;" which, after stating that it was just and expedient to raise a revenue there, imposed duties on silks and coloured calicoes from Persia, India, or China, and on sugar, wines, coffee, and pimento, made the sugar and molasses act perpetual,

reducing the duty on molasses from sixpence to three pence per gallon; and this for the express and sole purpose of raising a revenue. The same act increased the number of enumerated commodities, laid new and harsh restrictions on commerce, re-enacted many of the obsolete laws of trade, and provided that all penalties and forfeitures, accruing under any of them, might be sued for, at the election of the informer, in any court of record or of admiralty, or in that of vice-admiralty, to be established over all America. The declaration which was made, that all these duties should be devoted to the maintenance of an army for the defence of the colonies, was by no means satisfactory: it was, indeed, urged by the ministry, to prove to the Americans that the money which was raised from them would ultimately be spent again among their own inhabitants; but the colonists sagaciously conjectured, that now they had no other enemy than a few exhausted tribes of Indians, there must be some other design than that of defence in maintaining a standing army among them; and they could attribute the plan to no other source, than a desire on the part of the ministry to secure the destruction of their liberties by military force.

The direct assertion by the British parliament, of its right to tax the colonies, accompanied, as it evidently was, by a determination to carry the principle into almost immediate effect, excited the most extensive clamour and agitation, not only among individuals, but in the minds of the constituted authorities. "Taxation without representation is tyranny," was the universal watchword; the proposed exaction was every where the topic of conversation, and the subject of the severest animadversion. Every day beheld the affection of the Americans for the parent country sensibly diminish, while the disposition to resist by force was silently but effectually fostered. Several of the provincial assemblies sent instructions to their agents in London to employ every means to prevent the obnoxious measure being carried into effect.

The people of Boston, at their meeting in May, instructed their representatives to the general court on this important subject. In these instructions, (which were drawn up by Samuel Adams, one of the committee appointed for that purpose,) after commenting on the sugar and molasses act, they proceed to observe: "But our greatest apprehension is, that these proceedings may be preparatory to new taxes for if our trade may be taxed, why not our lands why not the products of our lands, and every thing we possess or use? This, we conceive, annihilates our charter rights to govern and tax ourselves. It

strikes at our British privileges, which, as we have never forfeited, we hold in common with our fellow-subjects who are natives of Britain. If taxes are laid upon us, in any shape, without our having a legal representation where they are laid, we are reduced from the character of free subjects, to the state of tributary slaves. We, therefore, earnestly recommend it to you to use your utmost endeavours to obtain from the general court all necessary advice and instruction to our agent at this most critical juncture. We also desire you to use your endeavours that the other colonies, having the same interests and rights with us, may add their weight to that of this province; that by united application of all who are aggrieved, all may obtain redress."* This was the first public act in the colonies, in opposition to the ministerial plans of drawing a revenue directly from America; and it contained the first suggestion of the propriety of that mutual understanding and correspondence among the colonies, which laid the foundation of their future confederacy. The house of representatives of Massachusetts, in June following, declared, "That the sole right of giving and granting the money of the people of that province, was vested in them, or their representatives, and that the imposition of duties and taxes by the parliament of Great Britain upon a people not represented in the house of commons, is absolutely irreconcilable with their rights; that no man can justly take the property of another, without his consent; upon which original principles, the power of making laws for levying taxes, one of the main pillars of the British constitution, is evidently founded." The same sentiments are expressed, though in stronger language, in their letter of instructions to their agent. "If the colonists are to be taxed at pleasure," they say, "without any representatives in parliament, what will there be, to distinguish them, in point of liberty, from the subjects of the most absolute prince? If we are to be taxed at pleasure, without our consent, will it be any consolation to us, that we are to be assessed by a hundred instead of one? If we are not represented, we are slaves." The house, also, at the same time, appointed a committee, to sit during the recess of the court, to write to the other colonies, requesting them to join in applying for a repeal of the sugar act, and in endeavouring to prevent the passage of the act laying stamp duties, or any other act imposing taxes on the American provinces.

The assembly of Connecticut appointed a committee to assist the governor in drawing up reasons why the

colonies should not be charged with internal taxes by authority of parliament. These reasons were drawn up principally by Mr. Fitch, an able jurist, then governor of Connecticut, and being reported to the assembly of that colony, were approved. In the course of the year, petitions to the king and both houses of parliament were prepared in many of the colonies, and sent to their agents. The general court of Massachusetts was prorogued until October. The house of representatives of that colony agreed upon a petition in accordance with their resolutions of June preceding. This being sent to the council for their concurrence, through the influence of Thomas Hutchinson, one of the joint committee to whom it was referred, was finally so altered and modified, as to place the objections of that colony to the stamp act on the ground of expediency rather than of right. The petitions of the other colonies, however, spoke a more bold and decisive language. The memorial of the assembly of Virginia to the house of commons declared, that "they conceived it essential to British liberty, that laws imposing taxes on the people ought not to be made without the consent of representatives chosen by themselves; who, at the same time that they are acquainted with the circumstances of their constituents, sustain a proportion of the burden laid on them." This privilege, inherent in the persons who discovered and settled these regions, could not," they observed, "be renounced, or forfeited, by their removal hither, not as vagabonds and fugitives, but licensed and encouraged by their prince, and animated with a laudable desire of enlarging the British dominions and extending its commerce; on the contrary, it was secured to them and their descendants, with all other rights and immunities of British subjects, by a royal charter, which hath been invariably recognised and confirmed by his majesty and his predecessors, in their commissions to the several governors, granting a power and prescribing a form of legislation, according to which laws for the administration of justice, and for the welfare and good government of the colony, have been enacted by the governor, council, and general assembly; and to them requisitions and applications for supplies have been directed by the crown."

The petitions of the assembly of New York were drawn with great ability, and breathed a spirit more bold and decided than those from any other colony. In that to the house of commons, after stating, that from the year 1683 there had been in that province three legislative branches, consisting of the governor and council, appointed by the crown, and the representatives chosen by the people, who had enjoyed the

* Life of Samuel Adams, Signers of the Declaration of Independence, vol. ix. p. 291.

right of taxing the subject for the support of the government, and had always granted aid to the crown according to their abilities, they add, "But an exemption from the burden of ungranted and involuntary taxes must be the grand principle of every free state. Without such a right vested in themselves, exclusive of all others, there can be no liberty, no happiness, no security; it is inseparable from the very idea of property; for who can call that his own, which may be taken away at the pleasure of another? And so evidently does this appear to be the natural right of mankind, that even conquered tributary states, though subject to the payment of a fixed periodical tribute, never were reduced to so absolute and forlorn a condition, as to yield to all the burdens which their conquerors might, at any future time, think fit to impose. The tribute paid, the debt was discharged; and the remainder they would call their own. And if conquered vassals, upon the principle of mutual justice, may claim a freedom from assessments unbounded and unassented to, without which they would suffer the loss of every thing, and life itself become intolerable, with how much propriety and boldness may we proceed to inform the commons of Great Britain, who, to their distinguished honour, in all ages asserted the liberties of mankind, that the people of this colony nobly disdain the thought of claiming that exemption as a privilege. They found it on a basis more honourable, solid, and stable; they challenge it, and glory in it as their right. That right their ancestors enjoyed in Great Britain and Ireland; their descendants, returning to these kingdoms, enjoy it again; and that it may be exercised by his majesty's subjects at home, and justly denied to those who submitted to poverty, barbarian wars, loss of blood, loss of money, personal fatigues, and ten thousand unutterable hardships, to enlarge the trade, wealth, and dominion of the nation: or to speak with the most incontestable modesty, that when, as subjects, all have equal merits, a fatal, nay, the most odious discrimination should nevertheless be made between them, no sophistry can recommend to the sober impartial decision of common sense." While the assembly of New York acknowledged that parliament had a right to regulate the trade of the colonies, they declared, that in doing this they had not the right of imposing duties for the purpose of revenue.

In addition to the acts and declarations of the colonial legislatures, various individuals enlightened and animated the colonists by numerous publications both in the newspapers and by separate pamphlets. Among the latter, "The Rights of the Colonists asserted and proved," by Mr. Otis, and "The Sentiments

of a British American," by Oxenbridge Thacher, were particularly distinguished. Mr. Otis, among other things, declared, "That the imposition of taxes, whether on trade or on land, on houses, or ships, on real or personal, fixed or floating property, in the colonies, is absolutely irreconcilable with the rights of the colonists, as British subjects and as men." On the subject of the sugar and molasses act, Mr. Thacher stated his objections, the first of which was, "That a tax was thereby laid on several commodities, to be raised and levied in the plantations, and to be remitted home to England. This is esteemed," he said, "a grievance, inasmuch as the same are laid without the consent of the representatives of the colonists. It is esteemed an essential British right, that no man shall be subject to any tax but what, in person or by his representative, he hath a voice in laying."

In the winter of 1765, at the request of the other agents of the colonies, Dr. Franklin, Jared Ingersoll, Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Garth, had a conference with Mr. Grenville, on the subject of the stamp duty. Mr. Ingersoll was from Connecticut, and had been requested to assist Mr. Jackson in any matters relating to that colony; Mr. Garth was agent for South Carolina, and he and Mr. Jackson were members of parliament. These gentlemen, and particularly Dr. Franklin and Mr. Ingersoll, informed the minister of the great opposition to the proposed tax in America, and most earnestly entreated him, that if money must be drawn from the colonies by taxes, to leave it with the colonists to raise it among themselves, in such manner as they should think proper, and best adapted to their circumstances and abilities. Dr. Franklin informed the minister, that the legislature of Pennsylvania had, by a resolution, declared, "That as they always had, so they always should, think it their duty to grant aids to the crown, according to their abilities, whenever required of them in the usual constitutional way."

Neither the remonstrances of the colonists, however, nor the entreaties of their agents, were of any avail with the ministry or parliament. The bill for laying the stamp and other duties was soon brought before the house, and petitions from the colonies of Virginia, Connecticut, and South Carolina, were offered in opposition to it. The house, however, refused to receive them; in the first place, because they questioned or denied the right of parliament to pass the bill; and, in the second place, because it was contrary to an old standing rule of the house,—“that

no petition should be received against a money bill." The majority against receiving the petitions was very large, and those from the other colonies were not offered. The petition from New York was expressed in such strong language, that no member of the house could be prevailed upon to present it. The admirable speech of Colonel Barre in reply to Charles Townshend, which has already been quoted, although it produced a profound impression, did not of course defeat the measure; and the colonial petitions and remonstrances, with the petition of the London merchants trading to America, were equally unavailing. In the house of commons there were about two hundred and fifty for, and only fifty against it. In the lords it passed without debate, with entire unanimity; and on the 22d of March it obtained the royal assent.

This enactment, which was to come into operation on the 1st of November, excited the most serious alarm throughout the colonies. It was viewed as a violation of the British constitution, and as destructive of the first principles of liberty; and combinations against its execution were every where formed. The house of burgesses in Virginia, which was in session when intelligence of the act was received, passed several spirited resolutions, asserting the colonial rights, and denying the claim of parliamentary taxation. The resolutions* were introduced into the Virginia assembly by the eloquent Patrick Henry, who, on the envelope of a copy of them in his own hand writing, has given the following interesting particulars: "They formed," says Mr. Henry, "the first opposition to the stamp act, and the scheme of taxing America by the British parliament. All the colonies, either through fear, or want of opportunity to form an opposition, or from influence of some kind or other, had remained silent.† I had been for the first time elected a burgess a few days before, was

young, inexperienced, unacquainted with the forms of the house, and the members that composed it. Finding the men of weight averse to opposition, and the commencement of the tax at hand, and that no person was likely to step forth, I determined to venture; and alone, unadvised, and unassisted, on a blank leaf of an old law book wrote the within. Upon offering them to the house, violent debates ensued. Many threats were uttered, and much abuse cast on me, by the party for submission. After a long and warm contest, the resolutions passed by a very small majority, perhaps of one or two only. The alarm spread throughout America with astonishing quickness, and the ministerial party were overwhelmed. The great point of resistance to British taxation was universally established in the colonies. This brought on the war, which finally separated the two countries, and gave independence to ours. Whether this will prove a blessing or a curse, will depend upon the use our people make of the blessings which a gracious God hath bestowed on us. If they are wise they will be great and happy. If they are of a contrary character, they will be miserable. Righteousness alone can exalt them as a nation."

"It was in the midst of this magnificent debate," says his biographer, Mr. Wirt, "while he was decanting on the tyranny of the obnoxious act, that he exclaimed in a voice of thunder, 'Cæsar had his Brutus—Charles the First his Cromwell—and George the Third'—('Treason,' cried the speaker; 'Treason, treason,' echoed from every part of the house: it was one of those trying moments which are decisive of character. Henry faltered not for an instant; but rising to a loftier attitude, and fixing on the speaker an eye of the most determined fire, he finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis,) *may profit by their example*. If this be treason, make the most of it."‡

* They were as follows: "Resolved, That the first adventurers and settlers of this his majesty's colony and dominion, brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, and all other his majesty's subjects since inhabiting in this his majesty's said colony, all the privileges, franchises, and immunities, that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, That by two royal charters, granted by King James I., the colonists aforesaid are declared entitled to all the privileges, liberties, and immunities, of denizens and natural born subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

"Resolved, That the taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, and the easiest mode of raising them, and are equally affected by such taxes themselves, is the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, and without which the ancient constitution cannot subsist.

"Resolved, That his majesty's liege people of this most ancient colony, have uninterruptedly enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own assembly in the article of their taxes and internal police, and that the same hath never been forfeited, or any

other way given up, but hath been constantly recognised by the king and people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, therefore, That the general assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the general assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."—Wirt's Life of Henry, p. 56, 57.

† Mr. Henry does not appear to have been fully informed of, or to have adequately estimated, the character of the proceedings in Massachusetts and other colonies, during the preceding year.

‡ We cannot refrain from giving another extract from Mr. Wirt's Life of Henry, although it is a specimen of an overcharged and vitiated style. Mr. W. has, however, received a just critique from that able work, to which England and America are both greatly indebted, the North American Review. "He had never before had a subject which entirely matched his genius, and was capable of drawing out all the powers of his mind. It was remarked of him, throughout his life, that his talents never failed to rise with the occasion, and in proportion with the resistance which he had to encounter. The nicety of the vote on his last resolution, proves

In the province of Massachusetts dissatisfaction at the passing the stamp act was strongly manifested, and surprise was mingled with irritation, arising from the act having been adopted without any regard to the memorials and remonstrances forwarded from America on the subject. Feeling as freemen and as Englishmen, they saw a fatal blow aimed at their highly valued charter-liberties, and were justly apprehensive that, without a more resolute and united defence than had yet been made, their civil freedom would be laid prostrate at the feet of despotic power. Governor Bernard, in his speech to the legislature in May, merely glanced at the interesting subject by which the public mind was so deeply agitated; but urged entire submission to all acts of parliament, as it was the sanctuary of liberty and justice; and eulogized the character of the prince on the throne, "as one fully deserving the epithet of a patriot king." His speech had principal reference to other topics of a local nature. But the house of representatives, having referred to committees the several matters recommended by the governor, devoted themselves to the adoption of measures for preserving the rights of the province, which they saw directly and systematically assailed. On an early day of the session, "having considered the many difficulties to which the colonies were and must be reduced by the operation of the late acts of parliament," they voted to appoint a committee of nine of their body to report what measures were best to be taken thereon. This committee recommended "that there should be a meeting, as soon as convenient, of committees from the houses of representatives or burgesses in the several colonies on this continent, to consult together on their present circumstances, and the difficulties to which they are and must be reduced, by the late acts of parliament for levying duties and taxes on the colonies, and to consider of a general and humble address to his majesty and the parliament, imploring relief; that such meeting should be holden at New York, in October; that three persons be chosen from the house of representatives, on the part of this province, to attend the convention; that letters be prepared and transmitted to the respective speakers of the several houses of representatives, or burgesses,

that this was not a time to hold in reserve any part of his forces. It was, indeed, an alpine passage, under circumstances even more unpropitious than those of Hannibal; for he had not only to fight, hand to hand, the powerful party who were already in possession of the heights, but at the same instant to cheer and animate the timid band of followers that were trembling, and fainting, and drawing back, below him. It was an occasion that called upon him to put forth all his strength, and he did put it forth, in such a manner as man never did before. The cords of argument, with which his adversaries frequently flattered themselves that they

in the colonies, advising them of the resolutions of the house, and inviting them to join by their committees for the purposes above expressed. And that a letter be also prepared and forwarded to the agent of the province in England on these matters." This was a very important measure: an occasion was thus furnished for citizens from the different colonies to confer with one another, and to ascertain each other's opinions and feelings; and a precedent was established for a general meeting, in future to consult for the welfare of the whole. The effect of united consultation and petitions must also be much greater than an application or an expression of discontent from a single province; and the British administration might perceive that the dissatisfaction in the colonies was not, as represented, confined to a particular section of the country and to a few individuals, but was almost universal.

On the 7th of October, the convention, consisting of twenty-eight delegates from the assemblies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Delaware counties, Maryland, and South Carolina, assembled in the city of New York, and Timothy Ruggles, of Massachusetts, was chosen president. The first measure of the congress was a declaration of the rights and grievances of the colonists. They were declared to be entitled to all the rights and liberties of natural-born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain; among the most essential of which are, the exclusive power to tax themselves, and the privilege of trial by jury. The grievance chiefly complained of was the act granting certain stamp and other duties in the British colonies, which, by taxing the colonists without their consent, and by extending the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty, was declared to have a direct tendency to subvert their rights and liberties. A petition to the king, and a memorial to each house of parliament, were also agreed on; and it was recommended to the several colonies to appoint special agents, who should unite their utmost endeavours in soliciting redress of grievances. The assemblies of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, were either not in session, or were prevented by their governors from sending represent-

had bound him fast, became packthreads in his hands. He burst them with as much ease as the unshorn Samson did the bands of the Philistines. He seized the pillars of the temple, shook them terribly, and seemed to threaten his opponents with ruin. It was an incessant storm of lightning and thunder, which struck them aghast. The faint-hearted gathered courage from his countenance, and cowards became heroes while they gazed upon his exploits."—p. 64, 65.

* Bradford's History of Massachusetts, p. 53.

atives to the congress; but they forwarded petitions to England similar to those adopted by that body.

The populace in various parts of the colonies were unwilling to wait for the effect of the constitutional measures their representatives were adopting. One day in the month of August the effigy of Andrew Oliver, the proposed distributor of stamps in Massachusetts, was found hanging on a tree, afterwards well known by the name of Liberty Tree, in the main street of Boston. At night it was taken down; and carried on a bier, amidst the acclamations of an immense collection of people, through the court house, down King-street, to a small brick building, supposed to have been erected for the reception of the detested stamps. This building being soon levelled with the ground, the rioters next attacked Mr. Oliver's house, and having broken the windows, entered it, and destroyed part of the furniture. The next day, however, Mr. Oliver authorized several gentlemen to announce on the exchange, that he had declined having any concern with the office of stamp master; but in the evening a bonfire was made, and a repetition of this declaration exacted of him. On the 26th the tumults were renewed. The rioters assembled in King-street, and proceeded to the house of the deputy register of the court of admiralty, whose private papers, as well as the records and files of the court, were destroyed. The house of Benjamin Hallowell, jun., comptroller of the customs, was next entered; and elevated and emboldened by liquors found in his cellar, the mob, with inflamed rage, directed their course to the house of Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, who, after vainly attempting resistance, was constrained to depart to save his life. By four in the morning one of the best houses in the province was completely in ruins, nothing remaining but the bare walls and floors. The plate, family pictures, most of the furniture, the wearing apparel, about nine hundred pounds sterling, and the manuscripts and books which Mr. Hutchinson had been thirty years collecting, besides many public papers in his custody, were either carried off or destroyed. The whole damage was estimated at two thousand five hundred pounds.* The town of Boston the next day voted unanimously, that the selectmen and magistrates be desired to use their utmost endeavours, agreeably to law, to suppress the like disorders for the future, and that the freeholders and other inhabitants would do every thing in their power to assist them. The officer appointed to receive

the stamped paper, which was daily expected, having resigned his commission, the governor determined to receive the paper into his own charge at the castle; and, by advice of council, he ordered the enlistment of a number of men to strengthen the garrison. This caused great murmur among the people. To pacify them, he made a declaration in council, that he had no authority to open any of the packages, or to appoint a distributor of stamps; that his views in depositing the stamped paper in the castle, and in strengthening the garrison there, were to prevent imprudent people from offering an insult to the king; and to save the town, or province, as it might happen, from being held to answer for the value of the stamps, as they certainly would be if the papers should be taken away. This declaration the council desired him to publish, but it did not stop the clamour. He was forced to stop the enlistment, and to discharge such men as had been enlisted. The first day of November, on which the stamp act was to begin its operation, was ushered in at Boston by the tolling of bells; many shops and stores were shut; and effigies of the authors and friends of that act were carried about the streets, and afterwards torn in pieces by the populace.

Nor was Massachusetts alone;—the obnoxious act received similar, though less flagrant treatment in the other colonies. On the 24th of August a gazette extraordinary was published at Providence, with *Vox Populi vox Dei*, for a motto: effigies were exhibited, and in the evening cut down and burnt. Three days afterwards, the people of Newport conducted effigies of three obnoxious persons in a cart, with halters about their necks, to a gallows near the town house, where they were hung, and after a while cut down and burnt amidst the acclamations of thousands. On the last day of October, a body of people from the country approached the town of Portsmouth, (New Hampshire,) in the apprehension that the stamps would be distributed; but on receiving assurance that there was no such intention, they quietly returned. All the bells in Portsmouth, Newcastle, and Greenland, were tolled, to denote the decease of Liberty; and in the course of the day, notice was given to her friends to attend her funeral. A coffin, neatly ornamented, and inscribed with "LIBERTY, aged CXLV. years," was prepared for the funeral procession, which began from the state house, attended with two unbraced drums; minute guns were fired until the corpse arrived at the grave, when an oration was pronounced in honour of the deceased; but scarcely was the oration concluded, when, some remains of life having been discovered, the corpse was taken up; and the inscription on the

* Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, from 1749 to 1774, p. 124.

lid of the coffin was immediately altered to "LIBERTY REVIVED;" the bells suddenly struck a cheerful sound, and joy appeared again in every countenance. In Connecticut, Mr. Ingersoll, the constituted distributor of stamps, was exhibited and burnt in effigy in the month of August; and the resentment at length became so general and alarming, that he resigned his office.

The spirit manifested by the citizens of New York produced a similar resignation; and the obnoxious act was contemptuously cried about the streets, labelled, "The Folly of England and Ruin of America." The stamp papers arriving toward the end of October, Lieutenant-Governor Colden took every precaution to secure them. On the 1st of November, many of the inhabitants of New York, offended at the conduct and disliking the political sentiments of the governor, having assembled in the evening, broke open his stable, and took out his coach; and after carrying it through the principal streets of the city, marched to the common, where a gallows was erected, on one end of which they suspended his effigy, with a stamped bill of lading in one hand, and a figure of the devil in the other. When the effigy had hung a considerable time, they carried it in procession suspended to the gallows, to the gate of the fort, whence it was removed to the bowling green, under the muzzle of the guns, and a bonfire made, in which the whole pageantry, including the coach, was consumed, amidst the acclamations of several thousand spectators. The next day, the people insisting upon having the stamps, it was agreed that they should be delivered to the corporation, and they were deposited in the city hall. Ten boxes of stamps, which arrived subsequently, were committed to the flames.

At Philadelphia, on the appearance of the ships having the stamps on board, all the vessels in the harbour hoisted their colours half-mast high, the bells were muffled, and continued to toll until evening. The body of quakers, with a part of the church of England and of the baptists, seemed inclined to submit to the stamp act; but great pains were taken to engage the Dutch and the lower class of people in the opposition, and Mr. Hughes, the stamp master, found it necessary at length to resign. In Maryland, Mr. Hood, the stamp distributor for that colony, to avoid resigning his office, fled to New York; but he was constrained by a number of freemen to sign a paper, declaring his absolute and final resignation. In Virginia, when the gentleman who had been appointed distributor of stamps arrived at Williamsburg, he was immediately urged to resign; and the next day he so handsomely declined acting in his office,

that he received the acclamations of the people; at night the town was illuminated, the bells were rung, and festivity expressed the universal joy.

Associations had already been formed in the colonies, under the title of the Sons of Liberty, and were composed of some of the most respectable of their citizens. The association in New York held a meeting on the 7th of November, at which it was determined that they would risk their lives and fortunes to resist the stamp act. Notice of this being sent to the Sons of Liberty in Connecticut, a union of the two associations was soon after agreed upon, and a formal instrument drawn and signed; in which, after denouncing the stamp act as a flagrant outrage on the British constitution, they most solemnly pledged themselves to march with their whole force whenever required, at their own proper cost and expense, to the relief of all who should be in danger from the stamp act or its abettors; to be vigilant in watching for the introduction of stamped paper, to consider all who are caught in introducing it as betrayers of their country, and to bring them if possible to condign punishment, whatever may be their rank; to defend the liberty of the press in their respective colonies from all violations or impediments on account of the said act; to save all judges, attorneys, clerks, and others, from fines, penalties, or any molestation whatever, who shall proceed in their respective duties without regard to the stamp act; and lastly, to use their utmost endeavours to bring about a similar union with all the colonies on the continent. In pursuance of this plan, circular letters were addressed to the Sons of Liberty in Boston, New Hampshire, and as far as South Carolina, and the proposal was received with almost universal enthusiasm.

Societies were formed also in most of the colonies, including females, and those of the highest rank and fashion, of persons who resolved to forego all the luxuries of life, sooner than be indebted for them to the commerce of England, under the restrictions imposed upon it by parliament. These societies denied themselves the use of all foreign articles of clothing; carding, spinning, and weaving became the daily employment of ladies of fashion; sheep were forbidden to be used as food, lest there should not be found a sufficient supply of wool; and to be dressed in a suit of home-spun was to possess the surer means of popular distinction. So true were these patriotic societies to their mutual compact, that the British merchants and manufacturers soon began to feel the necessity of uniting with the colonies in petitioning parliament for a repeal of the obnoxious law; and the table of the minister was loaded with petitions and remonstrances

from most of the manufacturing and mercantile towns in the kingdom.

CHAPTER III.

THE REVOLUTION—FROM THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT TO THE PASSING THE BILL FOR CLOSING THE PORT OF BOSTON.

WHILE the colonies were thus brought into a state bordering on insurrection by the injudicious and unjust measures of the Grenville administration, the administration itself was rapidly hastening to its dissolution. George III. had ascended the throne not long after the capture of Quebec; and in the following October the patriot Pitt, who had devised and executed the grand scheme of expelling the French from North America, resigned the seals of office. Lord Bute, who appears to have been a personal friend of the new king, was appointed Mr. Pitt's successor; and under his brief administration the peace of Paris was concluded. He was succeeded by Mr. Grenville, whose name will always bear an unhappy notoriety as the author of the stamp act; and whose measures have formed the subject of the preceding chapter. However the king might approve his political sentiments, and the king was a decided tory, Grenville was not personally in favour with his majesty; and the result was, (after some unsuccessful negotiation with Mr. Pitt, who expressed his unwillingness to go to St. James's "without he could carry the constitution along with him,") the formation of the Rockingham administration.

The speech of the king at the opening of parliament in January, 1766, clearly evinced the difference of principle between the men who now formed his cabinet, and his former ministers. He declared "his firm confidence in the wisdom and zeal of parliament, which would, he doubted not, guide them to such sound and prudent resolutions as might tend at once to preserve the constitutional rights of the British legislature over the colonies; and to restore to them that harmony and tranquillity which have lately been interrupted by disorders of the most dangerous nature. He said he had nothing at heart but the assertion of legal authority, the preservation of the liberties of all his subjects, the equity and good order of his government, and the concord and prosperity of all parts of his dominions."—On the motion for an address to the king, the sentiments of the house on the measures of the late administration, and particularly on the stamp act, were given boldly and freely. Mr. Pitt

was the first to offer his sentiments on the state affairs. "It is a long time, Mr. Speaker," said that able statesman and uncorruptible patriot, "since I have attended in parliament: when the resolution was taken in this house to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor to have borne my testimony against it. It is my opinion, that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislature whatsoever. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power; the taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. The concurrence of the peers and of the crown is necessary only as a form of law. This house represents the commons of Great Britain. When in this house we give and grant, therefore, we give and grant what is our own, but can we give and grant the property of the commons of America? It is an absurdity in terms. There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in this house. I would fain know by whom? The idea of virtual representation is the most contemptible that ever entered into the head of man: it does not deserve a serious refutation. The commons in America, represented in their several assemblies, have invariably exercised this constitutional right of giving and granting their own money; they would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time, this kingdom has ever professed the power of legislative and commercial control. The colonies acknowledge your authority in all things, with the sole exception, that you shall not take their money out of their pockets without their consent. Here would I draw the line—*quam ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.*" A profound silence succeeded the address of Mr. Pitt; no one appeared inclined to take the part of the late ministers. At length Mr. Grenville himself, the obstinate author of all the mischief which then so loudly threatened the peace and prosperity of the whole empire, rose in defence of the measures of his administration. "Protection and obedience," said the late minister, "are reciprocal; Great Britain protects America, America is therefore bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me, when were the Americans emancipated? The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this house. We were told we trod on tender ground, we were bid to expect disobedience: what is this but telling America to stand out against the law? to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of

support here? Ungrateful people of America! The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them protection; bounties have been extended to them; in their favour the act of navigation, that palladium of British commerce, has been relaxed; and now that they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion."

In reply to the observations of Mr. Grenville, Mr. Pitt thus addressed himself to the speaker: "Sir, a charge is brought against gentlemen sitting in this house for giving birth to sedition in America. The freedom with which they have spoken their sentiments against this unhappy act is imputed to them as a crime; but the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty which I hope no gentleman will be afraid to exercise; it is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. We are told America is obstinate—America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, *I rejoice that America has resisted*; three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest. I came not here armed at all points with law cases and acts of parliament, with the statute book doubled down in dogsears to defend the cause of liberty;* but for the defence of liberty upon a general constitutional principle, it is a ground on which I dare meet any man. I will not debate points of law: but what, after all, do the cases of Chester and Durham prove, but that under the most arbitrary reigns, parliament were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, and allowed them representatives? A higher and better example might have been taken from Wales; that principality was never taxed by parliament till it was incorporated with England. We are told of many classes of persons in this kingdom not represented in parliament; but are they not all virtually represented as Englishmen within the realm? Have they not the option, many of them at least, of becoming themselves electors? Every inhabitant of this kingdom is necessarily included in the general system of representation. *It is a misfortune that more are not actually represented.*† The honourable gentleman boasts of his bounties to America. Are not these bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no

courtier of America—I maintain that parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. The honourable gentleman tells us, he understands not the difference between internal and external taxation; but surely there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purpose of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of commerce. 'When,' said the honourable gentleman, 'were the colonies emancipated?' At what time, say I, in answer, were they made slaves? I speak from accurate knowledge when I say that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions per annum. This is the fund which carried you triumphantly through the war; this is the price America pays you for her protection; and shall a miserable financier come with a boast that he can fetch a peppercorn into the exchequer at the loss of millions to the nation? I know the valour of your troops—I know the skill of your officers—I know the force of this country: but in such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man: she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution with her. Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheathe the sword in the scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? The Americans have been wronged—they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? No, let this country be the first to resume its prudence and temper; I will pledge myself for the colonies, that, on their part animosity and resentment will cease. Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house in a few words what is really my opinion. It is, that the stamp act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent."

The address of the commons having been voted, Mr. Grenville made an attempt to pledge the house to enforce the obnoxious enactment, but was successfully opposed by the new ministers, who were supported by a majority of one hundred and forty. The house made no delay in entering on the investigation of the papers relative to American affairs, which

* Alluding to Mr. Grenville's having read several statutes in the course of his speech, as precedents for taxation without representation.

† To this declaration the whole nation, with the exception of a small and interested faction, is now yielding its unqualified assent.

were laid before them by command of his majesty. The petition from the congress at New York was not allowed to be read, the parliament having denied their authority to assemble for the purpose alleged. Various other petitions, however, as well from the colonies as from the manufacturing and trading interests of the kingdom, all tending to the same point, received due and patient attention. In the course of this inquiry on American affairs, Dr. Franklin, whose political integrity and moral worth were alike duly estimated by the people of England, was called to the bar of the house, and freely questioned upon many important topics.* The answers which he gave fully confirmed the new ministers in the propriety and expediency of their intention to move for a repeal of the stamp act; and a bill for that purpose was, on the 22d of February, brought in by General Conway, who had so boldly denied the right of parliament to impose it in the first instance. The debate which ensued was warm, interesting, and long; but "the house, by an independent, noble-spirited, and unexpected majority, in the teeth of all the old mercenary *Swiss* of the state, in despite of all the speculators and augurs of political events, in defiance of the whole embattled legion of veteran pensioners and practised instruments of court, gave a total repeal to the stamp act, and if the scheme of taxing the colonies had been totally abandoned, a lasting peace to the whole empire."† The motion was carried by two hundred and seventy-five against one hundred and sixty-seven. During the debate, "the trading interest of the empire crammed into the lobbies of the house of commons with a trembling and anxious expectation, and waited, almost to a winter's return of light, their fate from the resolution of the house. When, at length, that had determined in their favour, and the doors thrown open showed them the figure of their deliverer in the well earned triumph of his important victory, from the whole of that grave multitude there arose an involuntary burst of gratitude and transport. They jump-

* Dr. Franklin's answers to the numerous questions put to him on this occasion, show at once his thorough knowledge of the merits of the cause, and of the views, principles, and spirit of his countrymen. To the question, "Do not you think the people of America would submit to the stamp duty if it was moderated?" he answered, "No, never, unless compelled by force of arms." To the question, "What was the temper of America towards Great Britain before the year 1763?" he replied, "The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the crown, and paid, in their courts, obedience to acts of parliament. Numerous as the people are in the several old provinces, they cost you nothing in forts, citadels, garrisons, or armies, to keep them in subjection. They were governed by this country at the expense only of a little pen, ink, and paper; they were led by a thread. They had not only a respect, but an affection for Great Britain, for its laws, its customs, and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Britain were always treated with

ed upon him like children on a long absent father. They clung about him as captives about their redeemer. All England joined in his applause. Nor did he seem insensible to the best of all earthly rewards, the love and admiration of his fellow-citizens. Hope elevated and joy brightened his crest."‡ The bill having passed the house of commons, went up to the house of lords. Lords Bute and Strange publicly declared that his majesty's wish was not for a repeal. The Marquis of Rockingham and Lord Shelburne went together to the king, and told him what was reported. They were informed that his majesty had expressed his desire that it should be enforced; but if it could not be done peaceably and without bloodshed, it was his sincere desire and intention that it should be totally repealed. The dukes of York and Cumberland, the lords of the bedchamber, and the officers of the household, were for carrying fire and sword to America; and most of the bench of bishops concurred in those hostile sentiments. There were, in the lords, for the repeal one hundred and five, against it seventy-one.

On the 19th of March, his majesty went to the house of peers, and passed the bill for repealing the American stamp act, as also that for securing the dependency of the colonies on the British crown. On this occasion the American merchants made a most numerous appearance to express their gratitude and joy; ships in the river displayed their colours; the city was illuminated; and every method was adopted to demonstrate the sense entertained of the wisdom of parliament in conciliating the minds of the people on this critical occasion. In America, the intelligence was received with acclamations of the most sincere and heartfelt gratitude by all classes of people. Public thanksgivings were offered up in all the churches. The resolutions which had been passed on the subject of importations were rescinded, and their trade with the mother country was immediately renewed with increased vigour. The homespun dresses were

particular regard; to be an Old England-man was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us."—"And what is their temper now?" it was asked. "O, very much altered," he replied. "Did you ever hear the authority of parliament to make laws for America, questioned till lately?"—"The authority of parliament," said he, "was allowed to be valid in all laws, except such as should lay internal taxes. It was never disputed in laying duties to regulate commerce." To the question, "Can you name any act of assembly, or public act of any of your governments, that made such distinction?" he replied, "I do not know that there was any; I think there was never an occasion to make such an act, till now that you have attempted to tax us; that has occasioned resolutions of assembly, declaring the distinction, in which I think every assembly on the continent, and every member in every assembly, have been unanimous."

† Mr. Edmund Burke's speech, April 19, 1774.

‡ Ibid.

given to the poor, and once more the colonists appeared clad in the produce of British looms.

In his circular to the governors of the colonies, Secretary Conway informed them that the king and parliament "seemed disposed not only to forgive but to forget those most unjustifiable marks of an undutiful disposition, too frequent in the late transactions of these colonies;" but at the same time required them strongly to recommend to the assemblies to make full and ample compensation to those who had suffered "for their deference to the act of the British legislature." The transactions referred to in the secretary's letter were those which took place in Boston and New York, in the summer of 1765. In June, 1766, this letter of the British secretary was laid before the assembly of Massachusetts, by Governor Bernard. In communicating it to the assembly of that province, the governor says, "The justice and humanity of this requisition," as he called it, "is so forcible, that it cannot be controverted; the authority with which it is introduced should preclude all disputation about it." This language on the part of the royal governor was considered, by the house of representatives, as interfering with the freedom of deliberation in that body, and was one of the causes which produced delay in complying with the wishes of the king and parliament on this subject. In their answer to this communication, the house observed, "That it was conceived in much higher and stronger terms in the speech than in the letter of the secretary. Whether in thus exceeding, your excellency speaks by your own authority, or a higher, is not with us to determine. However, if this recommendation, which your excellency terms a requisition, be founded on so much justice and humanity that it cannot be controverted; if the authority with which it is introduced should preclude all disputation about complying with it, we should be glad to know what freedom we have in the case." Compensation was not made to the sufferers in Massachusetts until December, 1767; and then in a manner and on conditions highly displeasing to the British government; the act for that purpose also containing "free and general pardon, indemnity, and oblivion, to all offenders in the late times." The act was afterwards disallowed by the king and council, because the assembly had no power to pass a law of general pardon without the previous assent of the crown. The sufferers, however, received the compensation provided by the act, and the rioters were not prosecuted.

The government of Great Britain could not have found an agent less qualified to foster and preserve a spirit of reconciliation in the colonies, than his excel-

lency Governor Bernard. He was haughty, morose and tyrannical, and seemed to take delight in thwarting every measure of the assembly not proposed by his immediate friends and sub-agents. This conduct on the part of the governor, so far from subduing the spirits of what was called the American party, or the friends of liberty, irritated them to more open hostility, and brought continual accessions to their numbers. The town of Boston was at this time represented by James Otis, jun., Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock; men whose subsequent conduct proved that they were not to be driven into any surrender of privilege. It was probably in the power of the governor to have made them friends of the king; but he chose, by every petty act of opposition to their views, to alienate their respect and affection, and confirm them in the character of champions of freedom. At the meeting of the assembly, Mr. Otis was chosen speaker, but the governor refused to confirm the choice; he also refused to sanction the nomination of the council, because the crown officers had been left out. Hitherto the influence of the governor over the assembly had been greatly assisted by the secrecy with which the debates of that house had been carried on; but the friends of liberty were now so numerous there, that their doors were thrown open, and a gallery ordered to be erected for the accommodation of their fellow-citizens. From this moment the court party began to decline, and the cause of the people to acquire additional defenders.

In New York the legislature, by a voluntary act, granted compensation to those who had suffered a loss of property in their adherence to the stamp act; but they refused to carry into execution the act of parliament for quartering his majesty's troops upon them, on account of a clause which they declared involved the principle of taxation.

In the mean time a change took place in the British cabinet. The administration of the Marquis of Rockingham terminated in July, 1766, and a new ministry was formed, under the direction of Mr. Pitt, composed of men of different political principles and parties. The Duke of Grafton was placed at the head of the treasury; Lord Shelburne was joined with General Conway, as one of the secretaries of state; Charles Townshend was made chancellor of the exchequer; Camden lord chancellor; Pitt had the privy seal, and was made a peer, with the title of the Earl of Chatham; and Lord North and George Cooke were joint paymasters. Under this checkered administration, the scheme of taxing America was revived. In May, 1767, the new chancellor of the

exchequer submitted a plan of this kind to parliament. Charles Townshend was a man of genius and talents, but of high passions, eccentric, and versatile. He had warmly supported Grenville in the passage of the stamp act, and had voted with the Marquis of Rockingham in its repeal. The ex-minister Grenville may indeed be considered the real author of the second plan for taxing the colonies, for he was ever urging the subject on the new ministers.*

The measure proposed by Townshend to the house was for imposing duties on glass, paper, pasteboard, white and red lead, painters' colours, and tea imported into the colonies. The preamble declared, "that it was expedient to raise a revenue in America, and to make a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice and the support of the civil government in the provinces, and for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing them." The Earl of Chatham was then confined by sickness in the country, the bill passed both houses without much opposition, and on the 29th of June received the royal assent.

The conduct of the assemblies of Massachusetts and New York had given great dissatisfaction in Great Britain. The refusal of the assembly of the latter to comply with the requisitions of the mutiny act, in particular, had excited the indignation of the ministry and parliament to such a degree, that three days after the passage of the new tax bill an act was passed restraining the legislature of that province from passing any act whatever, until they had furnished the king's troops with all the articles required by the mutiny act. The ministry at the same time determined to establish a new board of custom-house officers in America. An act was therefore passed, enabling the king to put the customs and other duties in America, and the execution of the laws relating to trade there, under the management of commissioners to be appointed for that purpose, and to reside in the colonies. This, as the preamble declares, would "tend to the encouragement of commerce, and to better securing the rates and duties, and the more speedy and effectual collection thereof."

These three acts arrived in America about the same time. The imposition of new taxes, accompanied by the establishment of a board of custom-house officers, not only to enforce the collection of the new

taxes, but the various ancient statutes relating to duties and the colonial trade, again excited great alarm among the colonists. It led them to a more thorough investigation of the nature of their political connexion with the parent country, and to a more strict inquiry into the extent of the power of parliament over them. The ablest heads were engaged in these investigations and inquiries, and the ablest pens employed in defence of American rights.† The legislature of New York were, indeed, frightened into immediate compliance, but a different effect was produced in the other colonies. They saw in it a bold and daring attack upon their chartered privileges; if the parliament of England felt so little scruple in abolishing the legislative power of a colony, they might, with equal indifference, attack some other rights guaranteed to them by their charter, and in the end adopt the advice which had been once given by Governor Bernard, and abolish the charter itself. The uneasiness occasioned by this prohibitory act was, indeed, particularly in Massachusetts, little less than that produced by the stamp act; and their fears were still further increased soon afterwards by the arrival of a body of British troops in Boston, which were hypocritically said to have been driven in by stress of weather. They arrived during the recess of the legislature, and the governor and his council undertook to provide for their support out of the public treasury. The conduct of the troops themselves was by no means calculated to appease the people; on the contrary, it tended to confirm the suspicions, that the alleged cause of their coming into Boston was an insidious fabrication. When the legislature met, they remonstrated, in their usual firmness and dignity of manner, against the appropriations of the public money by the governor; and the governor, with his usual virulence, wrote an exaggerated account of the affair to the ministers at home.‡ The new duties were considered by the Americans only as a new mode of drawing money from them by way of taxes; and the spirit manifested in the case of the stamp act again appeared, while they viewed the appointment of commissioners of the customs to reside in America as a dangerous innovation, and an unnecessary increase of the crown officers.

The appropriation of the new duties to the support of crown officers, and to the maintenance of troops in America, was a subject of serious complaint. It had long

* "Declaiming, as usual, one evening, on American affairs, he addressed himself particularly to the ministers. 'You are cowards,' he said; 'you are afraid of the Americans; you dare not tax America.' This he repeated in different language. Upon this, Townshend took fire, immediately rose, and said, 'Fear! fear! cowards! dare not tax America! I dare tax America.' Grenville stood

silent for a moment, and then said, 'Dare you tax America? I wish to God I could see it.' Townshend replied, 'I will, I will.'"—MSS. papers of Dr. Wm. S. Johnson, then in England as agent for Connecticut, quoted in Pitkin's History, vol. i. p. 217.

† Pitkin, vol. i. p. 218.

‡ Allen's History of the Revolution, vol. i. p. 107.

been a favourite object of the British cabinet to establish in the colonies a fund, from which the salaries of the governors, judges, and other officers of the crown should be paid, independent of the annual grants of the colonial legislatures. As these officers held their places during the pleasure of the king, the people of Massachusetts, it will be remembered, had uniformly resisted such establishment, though repeatedly urged on the part of the crown. On this subject the house of representatives maintained, in resolutions indicative of great firmness, their former purpose. The house, also, during this session addressed a circular letter to the other colonies, stating the difficulties to be apprehended by the operation of the late acts of parliament, and requesting their co-operation for redress. When the question of addressing a circular to the colonies was first presented to the house it was opposed, as seeming to countenance the meeting of another congress, heretofore so offensive to the British government; and the motion was negatived. The subject was afterwards reconsidered, and the letter so worded as to satisfy a large majority of the house. The other colonies approved of the proceedings of Massachusetts, and joined in applying to the king for relief.

The circular letter of Massachusetts created no little alarm in the British cabinet. They viewed it as an attempt to convene another congress, to concert measures in opposition to the authority of parliament. Union and concert among the colonies was a peculiar object of dread with the ministers; and they were determined, if possible, to prevent every measure leading to it. A letter from Lord Hillsborough, secretary of state, was therefore addressed to the governor of Massachusetts, directing him, at the next meeting of the general assembly of that colony, "to require of the house of representatives, in his majesty's name, to rescind the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter of the speaker, and to declare their disapprobation of, and dissent to, that rash and hasty proceeding." If the house refused compliance, he was directed immediately to dissolve the assembly, and to transmit their proceedings to the king, that measures might be taken to prevent for the future "a conduct of so extraordinary and unconstitutional a nature." This being communicated to the house of representatives of Massachusetts in June, 1768, the house, in the most peremptory manner, by ninety-two to seventeen, refused to rescind, or to disapprove of the proceedings of the preceding assembly; declaring their rights as British subjects, in a respectful manner, to petition the king and parliament for a redress of grievances, and to request the other colonies to

unite with them for the same purpose. The house viewed the letter of Lord Hillsborough as an unwarrantable attempt on their rights; and in their answer to the communication of the governor on this subject, express themselves with no little warmth. "If the votes of the house were to be controlled by the direction of a minister," they say, "we have left us but a shadow of liberty." On the question to rescind, Mr. Otis, one of the representatives from Boston, said—"When Lord Hillsborough knows that we will not rescind our acts, let him apply to parliament to rescind theirs. Let Britain rescind their measures, or they are lost for ever." On receiving information of the decision of the house, the governor immediately dissolved the assembly.

The ministerial mandate to the other colonies was equally disregarded. The answer of the house of representatives of Maryland to the message of Governor Sharpe, communicating Lord Hillsborough's letter, evinces the independent and fearless spirit of the people of that province. "We cannot," say they, "but view this as an attempt, in some of his majesty's ministers, to suppress all communication of sentiments between the colonies, and to prevent the united supplications of America from reaching the royal ear. We have the warmest and most affectionate attachment to our most gracious sovereign, and shall ever pay the readiest and most respectful regard to the just and constitutional power of the British parliament; but we shall not be intimidated by a few high-sounding expressions from doing what we think is right." The assemblies of New York, Delaware, Virginia, and Georgia, expressed similar sentiments, in language more or less decided. Indeed, all Americans looked with astonishment at such a system of policy proceeding from a ministry of which Lord Chatham constituted a part. They found it impossible to reconcile the conduct now adopted towards them with their ideas of his lordship's character. They had heretofore regarded him as a friend, in whose honest and liberal principles they might securely trust the management of all that concerned the colonies; but here was a melancholy evidence before their eyes of the insincerity of ministerial professions. In justice to the character of Lord Chatham, however, it must be observed, that he was not in parliament during any part of the time that these measures of Mr. Townshend were under discussion. The state of his health was such as not only to detain him from his seat in the house, but to render him incapable of attending to any of the duties of his high station; and it appears that his opinion weighed but little with the men whom he had raised to power.

Charles Townshend, from whom all the troubles and commotions that were now rapidly spreading through the colonies in a great measure originated, did not live to witness their effects. He died in September, 1767, and was succeeded as chancellor of the exchequer by Frederick Lord North, a young nobleman, who was then but little known in the political world, but who will be found to make a conspicuous figure in the sequel of this history. Very soon afterwards, Lord Chatham, disgusted with the corrupt influence which manifested itself in every act of the court, and sick of the political world, resigned the privy seal, which was immediately put into the hands of the Earl of Bristol. It was thought necessary, about the same time, to create a new office—that of secretary of state for the colonies—which was given to Lord Hillsborough, a circumstance which indicated that they were becoming an object of the highest consideration in the estimation of the cabinet.

The colonists meanwhile were adopting all the peaceable means in their power to show their sense of the wrongs heaped upon them. Petitions, memorials, and remonstrances to the king and parliament, and letters to the individual friends of America, were addressed from all the legislatures; but the most favourable reply which any of them received was an exhortation to suffer with patience and in silence. To suffer tamely, and without seeking redress, however, was not the character of the sturdy sons of freedom who inhabited the colonies. They entered into the same kind of resolutions of non-importation, the effects of which had been so severely felt by the traders in England under the stamp act. Boston, as before, took the lead. At a town meeting held in October, it was voted that measures should be immediately taken to promote the establishment of domestic manufactories, by encouraging the consumption of all articles of American manufacture. They also agreed to purchase no articles of foreign growth or manufacture, but such as were absolutely indispensable. New York and Philadelphia soon followed the example of Boston; and in a short time the merchants themselves entered into associations to import nothing from Great Britain but articles that necessity required.

The new board of commissioners of the customs established at Boston had now entered on the duties of their office. From the great excitement at that place, produced by the late proceedings of parliament,

a collision between the new custom-house officers and the people was by no means improbable. The indignation of the people of Boston was at length excited to open opposition by the seizure of Mr. Hancock's sloop *Liberty*, for a violation of the revenue laws. The popularity of the owner, who was one of the most active friends of the people, added to the abhorrence already felt for the officers of the customs and the whole board of commissioners, combined to give a character of outrage to this seizure in the minds of the populace, which led to an alarming riot. Under the idea that the sloop would not be safe at the wharf in their custody, the custom-house officers had solicited aid from a ship of war which lay in the harbour, the commander of which ordered the sloop to be cut from her fastenings and brought under the guns of his ship. It was to prevent this removal that the mob collected—many of the officers were severely wounded in the scuffle, and the mob being baffled in their attempts to retain the sloop at the wharf, repaired to the house of the collector, comptroller, and other officers of the customs, where they committed many acts of violence and injury to their property. This riotous disposition continued for several days, during which the commissioners applied to the governor for assistance, but his excellency not being able to protect them, advised them to remove from Boston; they consequently retired, first on board the *Romney* man-of-war, and then to Castle William. A committee of the council, in their report on this subject, say, that, although the extraordinary circumstances attending the seizure of the sloop, might, in some measure, extenuate the criminality of the riotous proceedings in consequence of it, yet, being of a very criminal nature, they declared their abhorrence of them, and requested that the governor would direct prosecutions against the offenders. This report was accepted by the council, but in consequence of the dissolution of the assembly, was not acted upon by the house. Such, however, was the state of public feeling, that no prosecutions could be successfully carried on.* The excitement at Boston was greatly increased about this time by the impressment of some seamen belonging to that town by order of the officers of the *Romney*.† The inhabitants of Boston were assembled on this occasion, and their petition to the governor, praying his interference to prevent such outrages for the future, shows to what a state of alarm, anxiety, and even despair, they were then

* Pitkin, vol. i. p. 229.

† This was in direct violation of an act of parliament, (the 6th Anne,) which declared, that "no mariner, or other person, who shall serve on board, or be retained to serve on board, any priva-

teer, or trading ship, or vessel, that shall be employed in America, nor any mariner or person, being on shore in any part thereof, shall be liable to be impressed or taken away by any officer or officers of, or belonging to, her majesty's ships of war."

reduced. They state that, while waiting for a gracious answer to their petitions to the king, they were invaded with an armed force, impressing and imprisoning the persons of their fellow subjects, contrary to an express act of parliament; that menaces had been thrown out fit only for barbarians, affecting them in the most sensible manner, and that, "on account of the obstruction of their navigation, the situation of the town was nearly such as if war had been formally declared against it. To contend," they said, "against our parent state, is, in our idea, the most shocking and dreadful extremity; but tamely to relinquish the only security we and our posterity retain for the enjoyment of our lives and properties without one struggle, is so humiliating and base, that we cannot support the reflection."

The general court of Massachusetts having been dissolved by Governor Bernard, who refused to convene it again without his majesty's command, on the proposal of the selectmen of Boston to the several towns in the colony, a convention met in that town on the 22d of September, to deliberate on constitutional measures to obtain redress of their grievances. The convention, disclaiming legislative authority, petitioned the governor; made loyal professions; expressed its aversion to standing armies, to tumults and disorders, its readiness to assist in suppressing riots, and preserving the peace; recommended patience and good order; and after a short session dissolved itself.

The day before the convention rose, advice was received that a man-of-war and some transports from Halifax, with about nine hundred troops, had arrived at Nantasket harbour. On the day after their arrival, the fleet was brought to anchor near Castle William. Having taken a station which commanded the town; the troops, under cover of the cannon of the ships, landed without molestation, and, to the number of upwards of seven hundred men, marched, with muskets charged, bayonets fixed, martial music, and the usual military parade, into the common. In the evening, the selectmen of Boston were required to quarter the two regiments in the town; but they absolutely refused. A temporary shelter, however, in Fanueil Hall, was permitted to one regiment that was without its camp equipage. The next day, the state-house, by order of the governor, was opened for the reception of the soldiers; and, after the quarters were settled, two field pieces, with the main guard, were stationed just in its front. Every thing was calculated to excite the indignation of the inhabitants. The lower floor of the state-house, which had been used by gentlemen and merchants as an exchange, the re-

presentatives-chamber, the court-house, Fanueil Hall—places with which were intimately associated ideas of justice and freedom, as well as of convenience and utility—were now filled with troops of the line. Guards were placed at the doors of the state-house, through which the council must pass in going to their own chamber. The common was covered with tents. Soldiers were constantly marching and countermarching to relieve the guards. The sentinels challenged the inhabitants as they passed. The sabbath was profaned, and the devotion of the sanctuary disturbed, by the sound of drums and other military music. There was every appearance of a garrisoned town. The colonists felt disgusted and injured, but not overawed, by the presence of such a body of soldiery. After the troops had obtained quarters, the council were required to provide barracks for them, agreeably to act of parliament; but they resolutely declined any measure which might be construed into a submission to that act. In a few weeks several more transports arrived at Boston from Cork, having on board part of the 64th and 65th British regiments, under Colonels Mackey and Pomeroy.

It is evident that the British ministry little understood the true interests of the kingdom in regard to the transatlantic colonies. They had certainly made sufficient experiments to ascertain that the Americans were not to be intimidated into a surrender of any of their rights; and yet they persisted in measures which could only tend to alienate their affections, and to widen the breach which former attempts had created, and which a contrary policy might have healed. These rigorous measures of the ministry, however, received the fullest sanction of both houses of parliament. The lords passed resolutions censuring the votes and proceedings of Massachusetts; and pronounced the election of deputies to sit in convention, and the meeting of that convention, daring insults offered to his majesty's authority, and audacious usurpations of the powers of government. The house of commons concurred in these resolutions; and both houses, in a joint address to his majesty, expressed their satisfaction in the measures that he had pursued; gave the strongest assurances that they would effectually support him in such further measures as might be found necessary to maintain the magistrates in a due execution of the laws in Massachusetts Bay; and besought him "to direct the governor to take the most effectual methods for procuring the fullest information, touching all treasons or misprisions of treason, committed within the government since the 30th day of December, 1767, and to transmit the same, together with the names of the persons who were most active

in the commission of such offences, to one of the secretaries of state, in order that his majesty might issue a special commission for inquiring of, hearing, and determining, the said offences within the realm of Great Britain, pursuant to the provision of the statute of the 35th of Henry the Eighth."

There is no portion of the conduct of the British government, in its contest with the colonies, which betrays stronger indications of tyranny, or evinces more of the blindness happily so often found in connexion with it, than the last of these resolutions. It was evidently intended to terrify the leaders of the patriotic party; but it certainly ought to have been foreseen, that it was far more calculated to give them additional power, by affording another instance of the unjust and oppressive measures which the British legislature was prepared to sanction. If the object of the ministry had been to goad the colonists to resistance before they were overawed by numerous garrisons of royal troops, their conduct was intelligible and consistent; but as that was evidently far from their design, we find in it another occasion of admiring the dispensations of Him "who setteth up one and putteth down another," in allotting so small a portion of prescience to the individuals who at this time counselled his Britannic majesty.

Massachusetts had no general assembly when the address and resolutions of parliament became known in America, it having been dissolved by the governor; but Virginia, uniformly prompt, intelligent, and decided, did not suffer them to pass unobserved. The house of burgesses, alarmed at the general danger, passed several resolutions, which they directed their speaker to transmit without delay to the speakers of the houses of assembly in the other colonies, whose concurrence in similar sentiments was earnestly requested. On the next day, the house, foreseeing the event, met on the instant of the ringing of the bell, and with closed doors received the report of their resolutions, considered, adopted, and ordered them to be entered upon their journals; which they had scarcely done, when they were summoned to attend the governor, and were dissolved. "Mr. Speaker," said he, "and gentlemen of the house of representatives, I have heard of your resolves, and augur ill of their effects; you have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are accordingly dissolved." But the dissolution of the house of burgesses did not change the materials of which it had been composed. The same members were re-elected without a single exception, and the same determined spirit of resistance continued to

diffuse itself from the legislature over the colony which they represented, and to animate by sympathy the neighbouring colonies.* The assembly of South Carolina, the lower house in Maryland and the Delaware counties, and the assembly of North Carolina, adopted similar resolutions. Towards the close of the year, the assembly of New York also passed resolutions in concurrence with those of Virginia.

The general court of Massachusetts was at length convened on the 31st of May, not having been before called together by the governor since his memorable dissolution of it, for refusing to rescind their resolution respecting the circular letter. Their first act was to send a committee to the governor, to declare, "that they claimed that constitutional freedom, which was the right of the assembly, and was equally important as its existence; to assure his excellency, that it was their firm resolution to promote the welfare of the subject, and support his majesty's government in the province; to make a thorough inquiry into the grievances of the people, and to have them redressed; to amend, strengthen, and preserve the laws of the land; to reform illegal proceedings in administration, and to maintain the public liberty." "This resolution," they said, "demanded parliamentary freedom in the debates of the assembly; and therefore they were constrained early to remonstrate to his excellency, that an armament by sea and land investing the metropolis, and a military guard with cannon pointed at the very door of the state-house, where the assembly had convened, was inconsistent with the dignity and freedom with which they had a right to deliberate, consult, and determine. The experience of ages was sufficient to evince that the military power was ever dangerous, and subversive of a free constitution; the council of the province had publicly declared that the aid of the military was unnecessary to support the civil authority in Massachusetts; nor could they conceive that his majesty's service required a fleet and army at Boston, in a time of profound peace; and they had a right to expect that his excellency, as the representative of the king, would give the necessary orders for the removal of the forces, both of the sea and of the land, out of the harbour, and from the gates of the capital, during the sitting of the assembly." To this message of the house the governor replied, "that he had no control of the king's troops stationed in the town or province, and that he had received no orders for their removal."†

From the haughty temper of Governor Bernard, it could not be expected that he would be condescending

* Wirt's Life of Henry, p. 87.

† Bradford's History of Massachusetts, p. 182.

in the exercise of official authority; yet it was hardly to be supposed that he would causelessly give offence, by objecting to many of the best friends of the people elected to the council board. He gave his negative, however, to eleven gentlemen who had been chosen by the assembly, among whom were Bowdoin, Brattle, and Hancock: and after the general court had been some days in session, because they were consulting upon means to preserve the liberties of the people and obtain redress of grievances, instead of giving their attention to the ordinary business of voting salaries and providing for replenishing the treasury, he undertook to dictate to them what were the proper subjects of legislation; charged them with wasting the public money by needless debates, and threatened to adjourn the court to some other place, unless they should proceed in the usual, and, as he pretended, necessary course of business. The general assembly was accordingly removed to Cambridge, where it was very inconvenient to be holden, as the records and the house erected for their accommodation were in Boston. Thus the military were suffered to keep possession of the capital of the province, and the legislative assembly ordered to another place, because they chose not to be surrounded by armed men. They could not, however, be driven from their purpose of boldly remonstrating against all arbitrary measures, especially the obnoxious one of keeping a large military force in the province, and of devising proper means for relief to the people. "The firmness and decision of this assembly," says Mr. Alden Bradford, "are entitled to the highest praise. The resolution and patriotism they exhibited at this critical period have never, perhaps, been exceeded by our most meritorious statesmen." The occasion demanded an energy and zeal which no dangers or threats could subdue. And the men whom the people had then trusted with their dearest rights, proved themselves equal to the peculiar exigencies of the times. Nothing was omitted on their part to show their abhorrence of despotism, their attachment to constitutional liberty, and their determined purpose to deliver the people from oppression.*

On the 6th of July, the governor sent a message to the court, with accounts of the expenditures already incurred by quartering his majesty's troops; desiring funds to be provided for discharging the same, and requiring a provision for the further quartering of the forces in Boston and Castle Island, according to act of parliament. The next day the house of assembly, among other resolutions, passed the following:

"That a general discontent on account of the revenue acts, an expectation of a sudden arrival of a military power to enforce the said acts, an apprehension of the troops being quartered upon the inhabitants, the general court dissolved, the governor refusing to call a new one, and the people almost reduced to a state of despair, rendered it highly expedient and necessary for the people to convene by their committees; to associate, consult, and advise the best means to promote peace and good order; to present their united complaints to the throne; and jointly to pray for the royal interposition in favour of their violated rights—nor can this procedure possibly be illegal, as they expressly disclaim all governmental acts: that the establishment of a standing army in this colony, in time of peace, is an invasion of natural rights: that a standing army is not known as a part of the British constitution: that sending an armed force into the colony under pretence of assisting the civil authority, is highly dangerous to the people, unprecedented, and unconstitutional." On the 12th of July, the governor called on the court to answer, whether they would or would not make provision for the troops. The house, by message, after remarking on the mutiny or billeting act, answered, "As we cannot consistently with our own honour or interest, much less with the duty we owe to our constituents, so we never shall make any provision of funds for the purposes in your several messages." On the reception of this message, the governor prorogued the general court to the 10th of January, to meet at Boston.

On the 1st of August, Sir Francis Bernard was recalled. A few days before his departure, he received letters from the secretary of state, which, being circular to the several governors of the continent, were apparently intended to be made public. One of the last acts of his administration was his directing, or authorizing, the publication of the assurance to the people of the colonies in those letters, "that the administration is well disposed to relieve the colonies from all 'real' grievances arising from the late acts of revenue. And though the present ministers have concurred in the opinion of the whole legislature, that no measures ought to be taken which can derogate from the legislative authority of Great Britain over the colonies, yet they have declared, that they have at no time entertained a design to propose any further taxes upon America for the purpose of a revenue; and that it is their intention to propose, in the next session of parliament, to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colours, upon consideration of such duties being contrary to the true principles of commerce."

* History of Massachusetts, p. 184.

Government in England expected, by this assurance of intended favour, to incline the people to abate their opposition. But it had a very different effect. It was immediately the common language among the advocates for liberty, "Repealing the act upon principles of commerce is a mere pretence, calculated to establish the grievance we complain of. The true reason why the duty upon tea is to continue, is to save the 'right' of taxing. Our acquiescing in the repeal of the rest will be construed into an acknowledgment of this 'right.' The fear of trouble, from the discontent of merchants and manufacturers upon our non-importation agreements, has brought the ministry to consent to this partial repeal. A vigorous enforcement of these agreements will increase the fear, and we shall certainly carry the point we contend for, and obtain the repeal of the whole." A meeting of the trading classes was called in Boston. The repeal of only part of the act was unanimously resolved to be a measure intended merely to quiet the manufacturers in Great Britain, and to prevent the setting up of manufactures in the colonies, and one that would by no means relieve trade from its difficulties; it was, therefore, further resolved, to send for no more goods from Great Britain, a few specified articles excepted, unless the revenue acts should be repealed. A committee was appointed to procure a written pledge from the inhabitants of the town not to purchase any goods from persons who have imported them, or who shall import them, contrary to the late agreement; and another committee to inspect the manifests of the cargoes of all vessels arriving from Great Britain, and to publish the names of all importers, unless they immediately delivered their goods into the hands of a committee appointed to receive them. In the midst of these proceedings, necessarily productive of considerable disorder, Governor Bernard left the administration to Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, and embarked on board the *Rippon*, a man-of-war ordered from Virginia to receive him, and sailed for England. Instead of the marks of respect commonly shown, in a greater or less degree, to governors upon their leaving the province, there were many marks of public joy in the town of Boston. The bells were rung, guns were fired from Mr. Hancock's wharf, the liberty tree was covered with flags, and in the evening a great bonfire was made upon Fort Hill.*

The year 1770 is rendered important by the elevation of Lord North to the premiership. Having been chancellor of the exchequer in the Duke of Grafton's

administration, on his grace's resignation, which took place in the end of January, he succeeded him as first lord of the treasury, a pre-eminence he held till the close of the American revolution. His administration will ever be celebrated by the fact, that during its existence Great Britain lost more territory and acquired more debt than in any previous period of her history. His first measure was partially, and unhappily only partially, of a conciliatory character—a motion for the repeal of the port duties of 1767, with the exception of the duty on tea, which his lordship expressly declared he desired to keep on as an assertion of the supremacy of the parliament. In vain it was contended, that the reservation of this single article would keep up the contention which it was so desirable to allay; that after giving up the prospect of a revenue from the colonies, it was absurd and impolitic to persevere in the assertion of an abstract claim of right, which, if attempted in any mode to be carried into practice, would produce nothing but civil discord and interminable opposition; that, in short, if nothing more was meant by this omission of the tea in the repeal, than the mere declaration of parliamentary supremacy, the law already in existence, under the title of the Declaratory Act, was abundantly sufficient for that purpose, and that the Americans had hitherto silently acquiesced in that law. To all these arguments Lord North replied,—“Has the repeal of the stamp act taught the Americans obedience? Has our lenity inspired them with moderation? Can it be proper, while they deny our legal power to tax them, to acquiesce in the argument of illegality, and, by the repeal of the whole law, to give up that power? No! the most proper time to exert our right of taxation is when the right is denied. To temporize is to yield; and the authority of the mother country, if it is now unsupported, will, in reality, be relinquished for ever. A total repeal cannot be thought of, till America is prostrate at our feet.”

Governor Pownall, who moved, as an amendment, to include the duty on tea, acknowledged, that even the total repeal of the duties in question, though it might be expected to do much, would not restore satisfaction to America. “If,” said he, “it be asked, whether it will remove the apprehensions excited by your resolutions and address of the last year, for bringing to trial in England persons accused of treason in America, I answer, No. If it be asked, if this commercial concession would quiet the minds of the Americans as to the political doubts and fears which have struck them to the heart, throughout the continent, I answer, No. So long as they are left in

* Dr. Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, from 1749 to 1774, chap. ii. p. 254.

doubt whether the habeas corpus act, whether the bill of rights, whether the common law as now existing in England, have any operation and effect in America, they cannot be satisfied. At this hour they know not whether the civil constitutions be not suspended and superseded by the establishment of a military force. The Americans think that they have, in return to all their applications, experienced a temper and disposition that is unfriendly, and that the enjoyment and exercise of the common rights of freemen have been refused to them. Never with these views will they solicit the favour of this house; never more will they wish to bring before parliament the grievances under which they conceive themselves to labour. Deeply as they feel, they suffer and endure with a determined and alarming silence; for their liberty they are under no apprehensions. It was first planted under the auspicious genius of the constitution; it has grown up into a verdant and flourishing tree; and should any severe strokes be aimed at the branches, and fate reduce it to the bare stock, it would only take deeper root, and spring out again more durable than before. They trust to Providence, and wait with firmness and fortitude the issue." The event proved that Mr. Pownall knew, incomparably better than Lord North, the character and state of the colonies. During his residence in America, while successively governor of two of the provinces, he acquired that knowledge which the British ministry could not, and some provincial governors would not, acquire. It might have been supposed that the very unsatisfactory result of the previous half-measures of this kind would have deterred any minister from a repetition of them. It displays as little knowledge of the construction of the human mind, as attention to the history of popular agitations, to intermingle professions of kindness with threats, or concessions with expressions of insult.

The colonies, however, would probably have assumed a less agitated aspect, had not other circumstances existed to ferment and perpetuate feelings of hostility. Among these, the introduction and maintenance of troops of the line in Boston was one of the most aggravating. The inhabitants felt that their presence was designed to overawe and control the expression of their sentiments, and the military appear to have viewed their residence in the town in the same light. Under the excitement that was thus occasioned, affrays were frequently occurring between the populace and the soldiers; and it would appear that, as might be expected, neither party conducted

themselves with prudence or forbearance. On the one hand, the soldiers are represented as parading the town, armed with heavy clubs, insulting and seeking occasion to quarrel with the people;* while, on the other, the populace are declared to be the aggressors, and the military to have acted on the defensive.† Early in the evening of the 5th of March, the inhabitants were observed to assemble in different quarters of the town; parties of soldiers were also driving about the streets, as if both the one and the other had something more than ordinary upon their minds. About eight o'clock, one of the bells of the town was rung in such manner as is usual in case of fire. This called people into the streets. A large number assembled in the market-place, not far from King-street, armed with bludgeons, or clubs. A small fray between some of the inhabitants and the soldiers arose at or near the barracks at the west part of the town, but it was of little importance, and was soon over. A sentinel who was posted at the custom-house, not far from the main guard, was next insulted, and pelted with pieces of ice and other missiles, which caused him to call to the main guard to protect him. Notice was soon given to Captain Preston, whose company was then on guard, and a sergeant with six men was sent to protect the sentinel; but the captain, to prevent any precipitate action, followed them himself. There seem to have been but few people collected when the assault was first made on the sentinel; but the sergeant's guard drew a greater number together, and they were more insulted than the sentinel had been, and received frequent blows from snowballs and lumps of ice. Captain Preston thereupon ordered them to charge; but this was no discouragement to the assailants, who continued to pelt the guard, daring them to fire. Some of the people who were behind the soldiers, and observed the abuse of them, called on them to do so. At length one received a blow with a club, which brought him to the ground; but, rising again, he immediately fired, and all the rest, except one, followed the example. This seems, from the evidence on the trials and the observation of persons present, to have been the course of the material facts. Three men were killed, two mortally wounded, who died soon after, and several slightly wounded. The soldiers immediately withdrew to the main guard, which was strengthened by additional companies. Two or three of the persons who had seen the action ran to the lieutenant-governor's house, which was about half a mile distant, and begged he would go to King-street,

* Bradford's History of Massachusetts, p. 205.

† Hutchinson, p. 270

where they feared a general action would come on between the troops and the inhabitants. He went immediately, and, to satisfy the people, called for Captain Preston, and inquired why he had fired upon the inhabitants without the direction of a civil magistrate. The noise was so great that his answer could not be understood; and some persons, who were apprehensive of the lieutenant-governor's danger from the general confusion, called out, "The town-house, the town-house!" when, with irresistible violence, he was forced up by the crowd into the council chamber. There demand was immediately made of him, to order the troops to withdraw from the town-house to their barracks. He refused; but calling from the balcony to the great body of people who remained in the street, he expressed his great concern at the unhappy event; assured them he would do every thing in his power to obtain a full and impartial inquiry, that the law might have its course; and advised them to go peaceably to their homes. Upon this there was a cry—"Home, home!" and a great part separated, and went home. He then signified his opinion to Lieutenant-Colonel Carr, that if the companies in arms were ordered to their barracks, the streets would be cleared, and the town in quiet for that night. Upon their retiring, the rest of the inhabitants, except those in the council chamber, retired also. Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, at the desire of the lieutenant-governor, came to the council chamber, while several justices were examining persons who were present at the transactions of the evening. From the evidence it was apparent that the justices would commit Captain Preston, if taken. Several hours passed before he could be found, and the people suspected that he would not run the hazard of a trial; but at length he surrendered himself to a warrant for apprehending him, and, having been examined, was committed to prison. The next morning the soldiers who were upon guard surrendered also, and were committed. This was not sufficient to satisfy the people, and early in the forenoon they were in motion again. The lieutenant-governor caused his council to be summoned, and desired the two lieutenant-colonels of the regiments to be present. The select-men of Boston were waiting the lieutenant-governor's coming to council, and, being admitted, made their representation, that, from the contentions arising from the troops quartered in Boston, and above all, from the tragedy of the last night, the minds of the inhabitants were exceedingly disturbed; that they would presently be assembled in a town meeting; and that, unless the troops should be removed, the most terrible consequences were to be expected. The justices also

of Boston and several of the neighbouring towns had assembled, and desired to signify their opinion, that it would not be possible to keep the people under restraint, if the troops remained in town. The lieutenant-governor acquainted both the select-men and the justices, that he had no authority to alter the place of destination of the king's troops; but that he expected the commanding officers of the two regiments, and would let them know the applications which had been made. Presently after their coming, a large committee from the town-meeting presented an address to the lieutenant-governor, declaring it to be the unanimous opinion of the meeting, that nothing could rationally be expected to restore the peace of the town, "and prevent blood and carnage," but the immediate removal of the troops. The committee withdrew into another room to wait for an answer. Some of the council urged the necessity of complying with the people's demand; but the lieutenant-governor declared that he would, upon no consideration whatever, give orders for their removal. Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple then signified, that, as the 29th regiment had originally been designed to be placed at the castle, and was now peculiarly obnoxious to the town, he was content that it should be removed to the castle, until the general's pleasure should be known. The committee was informed of this offer, and the lieutenant-governor rose from council, intending to receive no further application upon the subject; but the council prayed that he would meet them again in the afternoon, and Colonel Dalrymple desiring it also, he complied. Before the council met again, it had been intimated to them that the "desire" of the governor and council to the commanding officer to remove the troops, would cause him to do it, though he should receive no authoritative "order." As soon as they met, a committee from the town-meeting attended with a second message, to acquaint the lieutenant-governor that it was the unanimous voice of the people assembled, consisting, as they said, of near three thousand persons, that nothing less than a total and immediate removal of the troops would satisfy them.* Ultimately the scruples of the lieutenant-governor were overcome, and he expressed his desire that the troops should be wholly withdrawn from the town to the castle, which was accordingly done. The funeral of the victims was attended with extraordinary pomp. Most of the shops were closed, all the bells of the town tolled on the occasion, and the corpses were followed to the grave by an immense concourse of people, arranged six abreast, the proces-

sion being closed by a long train of carriages belonging to the principal gentry of the town.* Captain Preston and the party of soldiers were afterwards tried. The captain and six of the men were acquitted, and two were brought in guilty of manslaughter; a result which reflected great honour on John Adams and Josiah Quincy, the counsel for the prisoners, and on the jury.†

This disastrous occurrence infused additional spirit into the assembly of the province. Accumulated as the public business was, there having been but one session for eighteen months, the lieutenant-governor postponed the assembly from January, the time to which it had been prorogued by Governor Bernard, to the middle of March, and then ordered it to be convened at Cambridge. The reason which he gave for this measure was, that he had been so instructed by the British ministry. At the session in Cambridge, in his message to both houses respecting the state of the province, he said nothing to mitigate the alarm, or to alleviate the distress, of the people. His duty to the king, his royal master, he said, he was resolved faithfully to discharge; and he gave promises of a readiness to unite with the assembly in all proper measures for the welfare of the province; but of the recent tragical event he took no notice.

* Gordon's History, vol. i. p. 290.

† Quincy's Life of Josiah Quincy, p. 31—66, where there is a full account of the trial of Captain Preston.

‡ "When complaints," said they, "are made of riots and tumults, it is the wisdom of government, and it becomes the representatives of the people especially, to inquire into the real causes of them. If they arise from oppression, as is often the case, a thorough redress of grievances will remove the cause, and, probably, put an end to the complaint. It may be justly said of the people of this province, that they seldom, if ever, have assembled in a tumultuous manner, unless they were oppressed. It cannot be expected that a people, accustomed to the freedom of the English constitution, will be patient while they are under the hand of tyranny and arbitrary power. They will discover their resentment in a manner which will naturally displease their oppressors; and in such a case, the severest laws and the most rigorous execution will be to little purpose. The most effectual method to restore tranquillity, would be to remove their burdens, and to punish all those who have been the procurers of their oppression. The instance your honour recommends to our attention, admitting it to be true, cannot be more threatening to government, than those enormities which have been known to be committed by the soldiery of late, and have strangely escaped punishment, though repeated, in defiance of the laws and authority of government. A military force posted among the people without their express consent, is itself one of the greatest grievances, and threatens the total subversion of a free constitution; much more, if designed to execute a system of corrupt and arbitrary power, and even to exterminate the liberties of the country. The bill of rights, passed immediately after the revolution (of 1688,) expressly declares, that the keeping of a standing army within the kingdom, in a time of peace, without the consent of the parliament, is against law: and we take this occasion to say, with freedom, that the keeping of a standing army, within this province, in a time of peace, without the consent of the general assembly, is equally against law. Yet we have seen a standing army procured, posted and kept within this province, in a time of profound peace, not only without the consent of the people, but against the remonstrance of both houses of assembly. Such a standing army must

A few days afterwards he sent a special message to inform the house of a trifling affray at Gloucester, in which a petty officer of the customs was said to have been abused; and called on them to afford assistance in bringing the agents to punishment. The reply of the house clearly indicated their deep sense of injury from their own executive government, as well as from the parent state, and the rapid strides they were making towards open resistance.‡ During a great part of this session, the house of representatives and the council were occupied with remonstrances against the removal of the general court to Cambridge. They contended, that law, usage, and convenience, were in favour of holding it in Boston; that the governor had a discretionary power respecting the place, to be exercised only when the public welfare required it in some peculiar exigency; and that it was highly improper and unjust for ministers to give instructions in the case, founded merely on political considerations. Protesting against the removal as unconstitutional, there being no necessity to justify it, and believing it was designed to harass the representatives of the people, whose deliberations and transactions ought to be perfectly free, they declined proceeding to public business. The lieutenant-governor insisted that he was bound

be designed to subjugate the people to arbitrary measures. It is a most violent infraction of their natural and constitutional rights. It is an unlawful assembly, of all others the most dangerous and alarming; and every instance of its restraining the liberty of any individual, is a crime, which infinitely exceeds what the law intends by a riot. Surely, then, your honour cannot think this house can descend to the consideration of matters, comparatively trifling, while the capital of the province has so lately been in a state of actual imprisonment, and the government is under duress. We shall not enlarge on the multiplied outrages committed by this unlawful assembly, in frequently assaulting his majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects, in beating and wounding the magistrate when in the execution of his office; in rescuing prisoners out of the hands of justice; and finally, in perpetrating the most horrid slaughter of a number of the inhabitants, but a few days before the sitting of this assembly. Yet not the least notice has been taken of these outrageous offences; nor can we find the most distant allusion to the late inhuman and barbarous action, either in your speech at the opening of the session, or in this message to both houses. These violences, so frequently committed, added to the most rigorous and oppressive prosecutions, carried on against the subjects, grounded on unconstitutional acts, and in the courts of admiralty, uncontrolled by the courts of common law, have been justly alarming to the people. The disorder, which your honour so earnestly recommends to the consideration of the assembly, very probably took its rise from such provocations. The use, therefore, which we shall make of the information in your message, shall be to inquire into the grounds of the people's uneasiness, and to seek a radical redress of their grievances. Indeed, it is natural to expect that while the terror of arms continues in the province, the laws will be, in some degree, silent. But when the channels of justice shall be again opened, and the law can be heard, the person who has complained to your honour will have a remedy. We yet entertain hope, that the military power, so grievous to the people, will soon be removed from the province: till then, we have nothing to expect, but that tyranny and confusion will prevail, in defiance of the laws of the land, and the just and constitutional authority of government."

by his instructions; that his commission required it of him; and that it was competent for him at any time to fix the place, as well as the day, for the meeting of the general court. To this statement the house made a long, elaborate, and able reply; but the lieutenant-governor asserted his authority, and absolutely refused to yield to the request of the assembly. Such was the situation of public affairs, that the house concluded it the most prudent to proceed to consult upon the common concerns of the province; but resolved, "that they were induced thereto from absolute necessity," and declared, "that it was not to be considered as the renunciation of their claim to the legal right of sitting in general assembly, at its ancient place, the court-house in Boston." The general court closed its session in November by prorogation, after having resolved, among other things, to promote industry and frugality, and to encourage the use of domestic manufactures throughout the province; and having appointed a committee of correspondence to communicate with the agents in Great Britain, and with the committees of the colonies. The first of these resolutions of the Massachusetts assembly, namely, to discourage the use of foreign articles, had been adopted in consequence of a determination of the merchants of Boston, made during the present session, by which they agreed to alter their non-importation agreement, and to adopt the plan, which had been for some time followed in New York and in Philadelphia, of importing all the usual articles of trade, except tea, which it was unanimously agreed should not be brought into the country, unless it could be smuggled.*

During the year 1771, nothing of moment occurred either in Boston or the colonies. The encouragement given by the agreement of the merchants to smuggling, occasioned continual contests with revenue officers; and it appears that the magistrates, when appealed to, refused to interfere. One circumstance, however, transpired, which must not be omitted. Early in this year, Mr. Hutchinson received his appointment to the office of governor of Massachusetts, an office which his political opponents allege to have always been the darling object of his ambition; while he maintains, that, however, in ordinary times, he might have desired it, he now "determined not only to desire to be excused from the honour intended for him, but to be superseded in his place of lieutenant-governor; and he wrote to the secretary of state accordingly."†

The occurrences of the year 1772, afforded new

sources of mutual animosity. The destruction of his majesty's revenue schooner, *Gaspee*, was one of those popular excesses which highly incensed the British ministry. Lieutenant Doddington, who commanded that vessel, had become very obnoxious to the inhabitants of Rhode Island, by his extraordinary zeal in the execution of the revenue laws. On the 9th of June, the Providence packet was sailing into the harbour of Newport, and Lieutenant Doddington thought proper to require the captain to lower his colours. This the captain of the packet deemed repugnant to his patriotic feelings, and the *Gaspee* fired at the packet to bring her to: the American, however, still persisted in holding on her course, and by keeping in shoal water, dexterously contrived to run the schooner aground in the chase. As the tide was upon the ebb, the *Gaspee* was set fast for the night, and afforded a tempting opportunity or retaliation; and a number of fishermen, aided and encouraged by some of the most respectable inhabitants of Providence, being determined to rid themselves of so uncivil an inspector, in the middle of the night manned several boats, and boarded the *Gaspee*. The lieutenant was wounded in the affray; but, with every thing belonging to him, he was carefully conveyed on shore, as were all his crew. The vessel, with her stores, was then burnt; and the party returned unmolested to their homes. When the governor became acquainted with this event, he offered a reward of five hundred pounds for the discovery of the offenders, and the royal pardon to those who would confess their guilt. Commissioners were appointed also to investigate the offence, and bring the perpetrators to justice; but, after remaining some time in session, they reported that they could obtain no evidence, and thus the affair terminated; a circumstance which forcibly illustrates the inviolable brotherhood which then united the people against the government.

While the conduct of the American populace thus continued to aggravate the exasperation of the British court, the measures of the government had an equal tendency to keep alive the feeling of hostility in the breasts of the Americans. It is vain, and unworthy of the character of any statesman, to urge that the measures adopted would not have given offence in other times; the enactment of laws will ever be regarded not with a view to the principles of abstract propriety, but to the immediate object for which they are promulgated. This plea, however, in extenuation of the plan of rendering the governor, judges, and other officers of the crown, independent of the general court,

* Allen's History of the American Revolution, vol. i. p. 149.

† Hutchinson, p. 290.

could only be raised* by persons inattentive (as, indeed, most English politicians appear to have been) to the political history of the colonies. The arrangement which was now ordered to be carried into effect, that the governor and other officers should receive their salaries from the crown, had hitherto been successfully opposed. The old contest on this subject was not yet forgotten, and the people, now greatly increased in numbers, were as little disposed as their ancestors to yield on this point. Opposition to this measure was not confined to the assembly, but numerous meetings of the people themselves in various towns were held on the subject. At these meetings, not only this particular measure, but all the late ministerial and parliamentary proceedings in relation to the colonies, were examined and discussed with great freedom and boldness. At the suggestion of Samuel Adams, a committee, consisting of twenty-one, was appointed "to state the rights of the colonies, and of this province in particular, as men, as Christians, and as subjects." This committee was also directed to publish the same to the several towns in the province, and to the world, as the sense of the town of Boston on the subject of their rights, with the various infringements and violations which had occurred. In this report, drawn with great ability, they claimed those natural and unalienable rights of man, with which no government could interfere without their consent. As British subjects, they claimed equal rights with their fellow-subjects in England, rights secured to them by the constitution. The Christian religion, they said, not only sanctioned their views of civil liberty, but, in spiritual concerns, secured to them all the freedom and self-direction which they and their fathers had long enjoyed. In their letter to the several towns, the committee tell their fellow-citizens, that they had abundant reason to apprehend that a plan of despotism had been concerted, and was hastening to a completion; that the late measures of administration had a direct tendency to deprive them of every thing valuable as men, as Christians, and as subjects entitled to the rights of native Britons. "We are not afraid of poverty," say the committee, in conclusion, "but we disdain slavery. Let us consider we are

struggling for our best birthrights and inheritance, which, being infringed, renders all our blessings precarious in their enjoyment, and trifling in their value." Most of the towns held meetings, appointed committees of correspondence, and passed resolutions similar to those of Boston, and some of them even in still bolder language.† These proceedings greatly alarmed the governor and his political friends, who had hoped that the opposition to the British ministry would gradually cease; and that, through fear of ministerial and royal resentment, the people would be induced to submit.‡ After the votes and the circular address of Boston were adopted, and before the other towns had meetings to act upon them, endeavours were made in many places to prevent the people from approving the statement and report of the patriots in the capital. But these attempts were generally without effect. There were in every town some intelligent men, who perfectly understood the nature of the dispute with Great Britain, and who saw the evil tendency of the claims of administration to govern the colonies. "They were," says Mr. Bradford, "also a sober, moral, and religious people, who were actuated by principle; and who, while they contended earnestly for that portion of liberty secured to them by their charter, and which they had long enjoyed, were indisposed to all unconstitutional means of redress."§ In his speech at the opening of the assembly, in January, 1773, the governor declared these meetings of the inhabitants to be unwarrantable and of dangerous tendency; and he called upon the assembly "to join in discountenancing such irregularities and innovations." Alluding to these proceedings, and to the disordered state of the province, he says, "at length the constitution has been called in question, and the authority of the parliament of Great Britain to make and establish laws for the inhabitants of this province has been by many denied." He maintained in the most explicit manner the supremacy of parliament over the colonies, agreeably to the principles of the declaratory act; and his speech was conceived to be a challenge to the assembly on the great question between the two countries. This drew answers from the council and house in vindication of the proceedings

* Steadman's History of the American War, p. 81.

† Pitkin, vol. i. p. 247—250.

‡ Mr. Hutchinson himself states that he "was greatly alarmed with so sudden and unexpected a change in the state of affairs; and he was greatly perplexed with doubts concerning his own conduct upon the occasion. He had avoided engaging in a dispute upon the authority of parliament, having good reason to think, that administration in England expected that the colonies would return to their former state of submission to this authority, by lenient measures, without discussing points of right; and he knew that great pains had been taken to persuade the people in England, as well as

the ministry, that this was all the people in America expected or desired; and that suspicions of other views, either in the body of the people, or in men who had influence over them, were groundless, and had been caused by misrepresentations of governors, and other crown officers in the colonies, in order to promote their own sinister views. But now, a measure was engaged in, which, if pursued to effect, must cause, not a return of the colonies to their former submission, but a total separation from the kingdom, by their independency upon parliament, the only band which could keep them united to it."—Hutchinson's History, p. 370.

§ History of Massachusetts, from 1764 to 1775, p. 262.

f the towns, and of the rights of the colonies, and of Massachusetts in particular; to these the governor replied, and to this reply both the council and house rejoined. These state papers, as they may be justly called, were drawn with no ordinary ability on both sides. The governor was a gentleman of talents, as well as research, and no one was better acquainted with the history of the province over which he presided. The answers of the council and house were prepared by committees composed of men of the first talents in the assembly. They evinced not only a thorough knowledge of the rights of the colonists generally, but of their own provincial history, and the various controversies that had subsisted between the parent country and the people of Massachusetts from their first settlement, as well as the views entertained and expressed at different times by their ancestors on the subject of their rights.

Active resistance to the measures of the British government in relation to the colonies, had for some time been principally confined to Massachusetts. The other colonists, however, had not been idle or indifferent spectators of the scenes that had passed in Massachusetts. The leading patriots of America, no doubt, now began seriously to contemplate the mighty struggle to which the present state of things must finally lead. The parent country seemed determined not to relax, and the colonists were equally determined not to submit. To remain long in their present state seemed impossible; and in the event of an opposition by force, unity of action, as well as of sentiment, was all important. To promote this object, the house of burgesses in Virginia originated what ultimately proved a powerful engine of resistance—a committee for corresponding with the legislatures of the several colonies. It was resolved that it should be the business of this committee, “to obtain the most early and authentic intelligence of such acts and resolutions of the British parliament, or proceedings of administration, as may relate to or affect the British colonies; and to keep up and maintain a correspondence and communication with our sister colonies, respecting these important considerations, and the result of their proceedings from time to time, to lay before the house.” It was also resolved, “that the speaker of this house do transmit to the speakers of the different assemblies of the British colonies on this continent, copies of the said resolutions, and desire that they will lay them before their respective assemblies, and request them to appoint some person or persons, of their respective bodies, to communicate from time to time with the said committee.” The request of Virginia was complied with by the dif-

ferent assemblies; and by this means a confidential communication and interchange of opinions was kept up between the colonies.

The appointment of Lord Dartmouth in the room of Lord Hillsborough, as secretary of state for the American department, a person supposed to be more favourable to the colonies, revived the hopes of the colonists for a reconciliation on terms compatible with their rights. Animated with these hopes, both houses of the Massachusetts assembly addressed a letter to the new secretary, in which they declare they should “rejoice at the restoration of the harmony and good will that once subsisted between the parent state and them.” This happiness, however, they should expect in vain, they observed, during the continuance of their grievances, and while their chartered rights, one after another, were wrested from them. “If your lordship should condescend to ask,” they say, “what are the measures of restoring the harmony so much desired, we should answer, in a word, that we are humbly of opinion, if things were brought to the general state in which they stood at the conclusion of the late war, it would restore the happy harmony which at that time subsisted;” and, in conclusion, they most earnestly request his lordship’s influence in bringing about this happy event. But to retrace their steps was too humiliating to the pride of the British cabinet and nation. A change of men did not produce a change of principles, or any permanent change of measures.

The British government, having determined to carry into execution the duty on tea, attempted to effect by policy what was found to be impracticable by constraint. The measures of the colonists had already produced such a diminution of exports from Great Britain, that the warehouses of the East India Company contained about seventeen millions of pounds of tea, for which a market could not readily be procured. The unwillingness of that company to lose their commercial profits, and of the ministry to lose the expected revenue from the sale of the tea in America, led to a compromise for the security of both. The East India Company were authorized by law to export their tea, free of duties, to all places whatever; by which regulation, tea, though loaded with an exceptionable duty, would come cheaper to America than before it had been made a source of revenue. The crisis now approached, when the colonies were to decide whether they would submit to be taxed by the British parliament, or practically support their own principles, and meet the consequences. One sentiment appears to have pervaded the entire continent. The new ministerial plan was universally

considered as a direct attack on the liberties of the colonists, which it was the duty of all to oppose. A violent ferment was every where excited; the corresponding committees were extremely active; and it was very generally declared, that whoever should, directly or indirectly, countenance this dangerous invasion of their rights, would be an enemy to his country. The East India Company, confident of finding a market for their tea, reduced as it now was in its price, freighted several ships to the colonies with that article, and appointed agents for the disposal of it. Cargoes were sent to New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Boston. The inhabitants of New York and Philadelphia sent the ships back to London, "and they sailed up the Thames to proclaim to all the nation that New York and Pennsylvania would not be enslaved." The inhabitants of Charleston unloaded the tea, and stored it in cellars, where it could not be used, and where it finally perished.

At Boston, before the vessels arrived with it, a town-meeting was called to devise measures to prevent the landing and sale within the province. The agreement not to use tea while a duty was imposed, was now solemnly renewed; and a committee was chosen to request the consignees of the East India Company neither to sell nor unlade the tea which should be brought into the harbour. They communicated the wishes of the town to the merchants, who were to have the custody and sale of the tea; but they declined making any such promise, as they had received no orders or directions on the subject. On the arrival of the vessels with the tea in the harbour of Boston, another meeting of the citizens was immediately called. "The hour of destruction," it was said, "or of manly opposition, had now come;" and all who were friends to the country were invited to attend, "to make a united and successful resistance to this last and worst measure of the administration." A great number of people assembled from the adjoining towns, as well as from the capital, in the celebrated Faneuil Hall, the usual place of meeting on such occasions, but the meeting was soon adjourned to one of the largest churches in the town. Here it was voted, as it had been at a meeting before the tea arrived, that they would use all lawful means to prevent its being landed, and to have it returned immediately to England. After several days spent in negotiations, the consignees still refused to return the tea, and, fearing the vengeance of an injured people, they retired to the castle. The owner of the ship which brought the tea was unable to obtain a pass for her sailing, as the officer was in the interest

of the British ministers. Application was then made to the governor, to order that a pass be given for the vessel; but he declined interfering in the affair. When it was found no satisfactory arrangement could be effected, the meeting broke up; but, late in the evening, a number of men, disguised as Mohawk Indians, proceeded to the vessels, then lying at the wharf, which had the tea on board, and in a short time every chest was taken out, and the contents thrown into the sea; but no injury was done to any other part of their cargoes. The inhabitants of the town, generally, had no knowledge of the event until the next day. It is supposed, the number of those concerned in the affair was about fifty; but who they were has been only a matter of conjecture to the present day.

This act of violence, which, in its effects, rapidly advanced the grand crisis, appears rather to have been the result of cool determination, than of a sudden ebullition. The populace appear to have been fully warned by their leaders as to the important consequences which would result from any destruction of the property of the East India Company. "One of the citizens,* equally distinguished as a statesman and a patriot," says Bradford, "addressed the meeting with unusual warmth and solemnity. He seemed deeply impressed with a sense of the serious consequences of their proceedings on this interesting occasion. The spirit then displayed, and the sentiments then avowed, he warned them, should be such as they would be ready to approve and maintain at any future day. For, to retreat from the ground they should then take, would bring disgrace on themselves, and ruin on the country." That Mr. Quincy did not overrate the importance of that memorable day, will be very apparent in the sequel.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REVOLUTION.—FROM THE BOSTON PORT BILL
TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE British ministry appear to have been highly gratified that the town of Boston, which they ever regarded as the focus of sedition in America, had rendered itself, by the violent destruction of the property of the East India Company, obnoxious to their severest vengeance. On the 7th of March, Lord North presented a message from his majesty to both houses of parliament, in which it was stated, that, "in con-

* Josiah Quincy.

sequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston, with a view of obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of its constitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before parliament, recommending it to their serious consideration what further regulations or permanent provisions might be necessary to be established." The minister, on presenting the papers, represented the conduct of Boston in the darkest colours. He said, "that the utmost lenity on the part of the governor, perhaps too much, had been already shown; and that this town, by its late proceedings, had left government perfectly at liberty to adopt any measures they should think convenient, not only for redressing the wrong sustained by the East India Company, but for inflicting such punishment as their factious and criminal conduct merited; and that the aid of parliament would be resorted to for this purpose, and for vindicating the honour of the crown, so daringly and wantonly attacked and contemned." In reply to the royal message, the house voted, "that an address of thanks should be presented to the king, assuring his majesty that they would not fail to exert every means in their power of effectually providing for the due execution of the laws, and securing the dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain." In a few days a bill was introduced "for the immediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection of customs from Boston, and to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise, at Boston, or within the harbour thereof." The bill also levied a fine upon the town, as a compensation to the East India Company for the destruction of their teas, and was to continue in force during the pleasure of the king. The opposition to this measure was very slight, and it was finally carried in both houses without a division.

This, however, was only a part of Lord North's scheme of coercion. He proposed two other bills, which were intended to strike terror into the province of Massachusetts, and to deter the other colonies from following her example. By one of these, the constitution and charter of the province were completely subverted, all power taken out of the hands of the people, and placed in those of the servants of the crown. The third scheme of Lord North was the introduction of "a bill for the impartial administration of justice in Massachusetts." By this act, persons informed against or indicted for any act done for the support of the laws of the revenue, or for the sup-

pression of riots in Massachusetts, might, by the governor, with the advice of the council, be sent for trial to any other colony, or to Great Britain; an enactment which, in effect, conferred impunity on the officers of the crown, however odious might be their violations of the law.

Some distinguished statesmen opposed these plans of administration with great eloquence and zeal. The celebrated Burke declared that "it was only oppressive and unjust laws which the people had opposed; that it was most unreasonable to condemn them without a hearing; and that constitutional principles were not to be settled by the military arm." Pownall observed, that "it was no longer a matter of opinion with the citizens of Massachusetts; that things had come to action; that the Americans would resist all attempts to coerce them, and were prepared to do it; and that if there should be a rebellion in that province, the question would be, who caused it?" The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Rockingham, and other peers, insisted that the charter was a solemn contract, which neither the king nor parliament could justly annul or alter, without the consent of the subjects in Massachusetts, unless they had forfeited their rights by an infraction of its provisions. Lord Chat-ham also opposed these plans of the administration with all his former energy and spirit; although at this time he was in such a debilitated state that he seldom took part in the debates in parliament. He declared himself most decidedly in favour of conciliatory measures; for he was of opinion that the province had been oppressed, and the liberties of the subject therein most flagrantly violated. He believed that just measures on the part of ministers would quiet the colonies, and restore harmony between them and the parent state. He denounced the proposed system as unconstitutional and tyrannical, and predicted that the people of Massachusetts would never submit to such palpable and repeated violations of their political rights. Colonel Barre also addressed the ministry on the last bill, in the following bold and energetic language: "You have changed your ground. You are becoming the aggressors, and offering the last of human outrages to the people of America, by subjecting them to military execution. Instead of sending them the olive branch, you have sent the naked sword. By the olive branch, I mean a repeal of all the late laws, fruitless to you, and oppressive to them. Ask their aid in a constitutional manner, and they will give it to the utmost of their ability. They never yet refused it, when properly required. Your journals bear the recorded acknowledgments of the zeal with which they have con-

tributed to the general necessities of the state. What madness is it that prompts you to attempt obtaining that by force, which you may more certainly procure by requisition? They may be flattered into any thing, but they are too much like yourselves to be driven. Have some indulgence for your own likeness; respect their sturdy English virtue; retract your odious exertions of authority; and remember, that the first step toward making them contribute to your wants, is to reconcile them to your government."

These measures of the British ministry originated partly in mistaken views of the opinions and temper of the people. Great misrepresentations had been made for several years to the administration in England, respecting the state of the colonies. It was declared by the officers of the crown and some other individuals, that it was only a few ambitious persons who objected to the policy of the parent state, while the friends and agents of the people were not permitted to be heard in their attempts to show the general dissatisfaction. It is also true that Lord North, and several other members of the British cabinet at this period, possessed high notions of the supremacy of parliament, and of the sovereign power of the king: the more correct and just principles of civil liberty, recognised in 1689, and still received by many eminent statesmen in England, were not in fashion with the court party. Assuming the doctrine of the supreme and unlimited authority of parliament over all parts of the empire, (which, in a certain sense, restricted and qualified, however, by great constitutional principles, had been generally admitted in the colonies,) ministers insisted that the power of the parent government was entirely without control; and contended for the legitimacy of measures which the patriots in both countries considered most arbitrary, and wholly destructive of the liberties of the subject. With these views of government, they maintained that any measures were justifiable for supporting the authority of the king and parliament; and they calculated upon bringing the refractory and disaffected to ready submission by severity and force. It will soon be apparent, however, that it was not a faction in Boston by which opposition was kept alive in America; and that through this and the other provinces but one sentiment prevailed as to the oppressive and arbitrary conduct of the parent government, and one determination to oppose and prevent the continuance of such a system of policy.

Notwithstanding these successive measures, from which such important results were professedly expected, it is evident that the government entertained serious apprehensions that an appeal to arms was by

no means improbable. The English cabinet sought, therefore, to ingratiate themselves with the newly acquired province of Canada, and the proceedings they adopted with this view appear to have been the only measures which were characterized by the slightest indications of wisdom. The Canadian noblesse had enjoyed great authority under the dominion of their native country, and they had recently been complaining of the abridgment of their privileges, while the inhabitants, who were chiefly catholic, had been viewing with jealousy the superior privileges of the protestants;* Lord North, therefore, did not suffer the session to close without introducing a bill calculated to insure the affections of the Canadians. It erected a legislative council, nominated by the crown, on whom very extensive powers were conferred, which was highly gratifying to the Canadian nobility; the catholic clergy were established in their privileges, and a perfect equality between their religion and that of protestants was established; the French laws were confirmed, and trial without jury permitted in all except criminal cases. To afford a wider field for ministerial manoeuvres, the limits of the province of Quebec were extended to the river Ohio. To these prudent concessions to the sentiments of the Canadians may be attributed, in a great measure, the singular fact of their remaining attached to the British government during the revolutionary contest, when it might not unreasonably have been anticipated that they would have been the first to throw off a foreign yoke, and declare their independence.

As a measure indicative of a determination to conduct the proceedings against the refractory colonists with the utmost vigour, General Gage was appointed, with powers of the most unlimited extent, to supersede Governor Hutchinson. The offices of governor of the province of Massachusetts and commander of his majesty's forces in America were united in his person. The intelligence of the passing of the Boston port bill had preceded General Gage a few days. The new governor, though it appeared that he entertained serious apprehensions of some disorderly or disrespectful conduct on the part of the people, was received by them with every mark of civility. He had soon occasion to perceive, however, that their politeness to him did not proceed from any fear of his authority, or from any relaxation in their purposes of resistance. On the day after his arrival, the general court having been dissolved by the late governor, a town-meeting was convened and very numerous attended. They declared and resolved,

* Botta, edit. Franc., vol. i. p. 270.

"That the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the act, exceed all their powers of expression; and, therefore," they say, "we leave it to the censure of others, and appeal to God and the world."* They also declared it as their opinion, that, "if the other colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importations from, and exportation to, Great Britain, and every part of the West Indies, till the act be repealed, the same would prove the salvation of North America and her liberties."

The idea was probably entertained by the British ministry, that the other colonies would be inclined rather to avail themselves of the commercial advantages which the closing of one of the chief sea-ports would open to them, than to make common cause with Boston, at the hazard of incurring a similar penalty. In this instance, as in most others, the government made a great miscalculation of the American character. The several colonies lost no time in expressing the deepest sympathy for the sufferings of the inhabitants of Boston, and in contributing to their pecuniary necessities, as well as in affording them moral countenance. In this patriotic course Virginia took the lead: her house of burgesses was in session when the act arrived, and they proceeded to pass an order, which, for the sentiments it expresses, well deserves to be introduced at length.

"*Tuesday, the 24th of May, 14 Geo. III. 1774.*"

"This house being deeply impressed with apprehension of the great dangers to be derived to British America, from the hostile invasion of the city of Boston, in our sister colony of Massachusetts Bay, whose commerce and harbour are, on the first day of June next, to be stopped by an armed force, deem it highly necessary that the said first day of June next be set apart by the members of this house, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, devoutly to implore the Divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatens destruction to our civil rights, and the evils of civil war; to give us one heart and one mind, firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means,

every injury to American rights; and that the minds of his majesty and his parliament may be inspired from above with wisdom, moderation, and justice, to remove from the loyal people of America all cause of danger, from a continued pursuit of measures pregnant with their ruin.

"Ordered, therefore, That the members of this house do attend in their places, at the hour of ten in the forenoon, on the said first day of June next, in order to proceed with the speaker and the mace to the church in this city, for the purposes aforesaid; and that the Rev. Mr. Price be appointed to read prayers, and to preach a sermon suitable to the occasion."

In consequence of this order, Governor Dunmore on the following day dissolved the house, with this brief speech:

"Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the house of burgesses:—I have in my hand a paper published by order of your house, conceived in such terms as reflect highly upon his majesty and the parliament of Great Britain, which makes it necessary to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

The members immediately withdrew to the Raleigh tavern, where they formed themselves into a committee to consider of the most expedient and necessary measures to guard against the encroachments which so glaringly threatened them, and immediately adopted the following spirited declaration:

"An association, signed by eighty-nine members of the late house of burgesses. We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the late representatives of the good people of this country, having been deprived, by the sudden interposition of the executive part of this government, from giving our countrymen the advice we wished to convey to them, in a legislative capacity, find ourselves under the hard necessity of adopting this, the only method we have left, of pointing out to our countrymen such measures as, in our opinion, are best fitted to secure our dear rights and liberty from destruction, by the heavy hand of power now lifted against North America. With much grief

*"The Boston port bill," says Mr. Quincy, in his celebrated observations on the act, "condemns a whole town unheard, nay, uncited to answer; involves thousands in ruin and misery, without the suggestion of any crime by them committed; and it is so constituted, that enormous pains and penalties must ensue, notwithstanding the most perfect obedience to its injunctions. The destruction of the tea, which took place without any illegal procedure of the town, is the only alleged ground of consigning thousands of its inhabitants to ruin, misery, and despair. Those charged with the most aggravated crimes are not punishable, till arraigned before disinterested judges, heard in their own defence, and found guilty of the charge; but here a whole people are accused, prosecuted by they know not whom, tried they know not when, proved guilty they know not how, and sentenced to suffer inevitable ruin. Their hard fate cannot be averted by the most servile submission, the

most implicit obedience to this statute. The first intimation of it was on the 10th of May, and it took place on the 1st of June, thence to continue in full force, till it shall sufficiently appear to his majesty, that full satisfaction hath been made by, or in behalf of the inhabitants of Boston, to the East India Company, for the damage sustained by the destruction of their tea; and until it shall be certified to his majesty, by the governor or lieutenant-governor of the province, that reasonable satisfaction has been made to the officers of the revenue and others, for the riots and insurrections mentioned in it. So short a space is given for staying the torrent of threatened evils, that the subject, though exerting his utmost energy, must be overwhelmed and driven to madness by terms of deliverance, which deny relief till his ruin is inevitable."—Pitkin, vol. i. p. 270.

we find, that our dutiful applications to Great Britain for the security of our just, ancient, and constitutional rights, have been not only disregarded, but that a determined system is formed and pressed, for reducing the inhabitants of British America to slavery, by subjecting them to the payment of taxes, imposed without the consent of the people or their representatives; and that, in pursuit of this system, we find an act of the British parliament, lately passed, for stopping the harbour and commerce of the town of Boston, in our sister colony of Massachusetts Bay, until the people there submit to the payment of such unconstitutional taxes; and which act most violently and arbitrarily deprives them of their property, in wharves erected by private persons, at their own great and proper expense; which act is, in our opinion, a most dangerous attempt to destroy the constitutional liberty and rights of all North America. It is further our opinion, that as tea, on its importation into America, is charged with a duty imposed by parliament, for the purpose of raising a revenue without the consent of the people, it ought not to be used by any person who wishes well to the constitutional rights and liberties of British America. And whereas the India Company have ungenerously attempted the ruin of America, by sending many ships loaded with tea into the colonies, thereby intending to fix a precedent in favour of arbitrary taxation, we deem it highly proper, and do accordingly recommend it strongly to our countrymen, not to purchase or use any kind of East India commodity whatsoever, except saltpetre and spices, until the grievances of America are redressed. We are further clearly of opinion, that an attack made on one of our sister colonies, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, is an attack made on all British America, and threatens ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole be applied. And for this purpose it is recommended to the committee of correspondence, that they communicate with their several corresponding committees, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the several colonies of British America, *to meet in general congress*, at such place, annually, as shall be thought most convenient; there to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America may from time to time require. A tender regard for the interest of our fellow-subjects, the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, prevents us from going further at this time; most earnestly hoping, that the unconstitutional principle of taxing the colonies without their consent

will not be persisted in, thereby to compel us, against our will, to avoid all commercial intercourse with Britain. Wishing them and our people free and happy, we are their affectionate friends, the late representatives of Virginia.

"The 27th day of May, 1774."

To give effect to the recommendation of a congress on the part of this colony, delegates were shortly after elected by the several counties, to meet at Williamsburgh on the 1st of August following, to consider further of the state of public affairs, and, more particularly, to appoint deputies to the general congress, which was to be convened at Philadelphia on the 5th of September following. The clear, firm, and animated instructions given by the people of the several counties to their delegates, evince the thorough knowledge of the great parliamentary question which now pervaded the country, and the determined spirit of the colonists to resist the claim of British taxation.

Similar expressions of determined opposition to the port bill, and assurances of support to the disfranchised citizens of Boston, were made wherever the act became known. In some places it was printed upon mourning paper, and hawked about the streets; in others it was publicly burned, with every demonstration of abhorrence. At New York there was a considerable struggle between the friends of administration and the friends of liberty, but the latter at length prevailed by the influence and management of two individuals, who had on several occasions manifested great activity and zeal in their opposition to the obnoxious measures of the ministry. Addresses were also sent from Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, and some other provinces, to the committee of Boston, assuring them of support, and declaring that they considered the cause of Boston as the common cause of the country.

With all these assurances of support and assistance, of sympathy and affection, from their sister colonies, there was still a fearful foreboding in the hearts of the members of the general court, when they assembled at Boston on the 25th of May. Nor was this apprehension lessened by the first official acts of their new governor. At the opening of the court he gave the representatives notice, that, in a few days, he should remove them to Salem; and he also gave his negative to thirteen of the council chosen by the assembly.* The representatives of the people at this critical juncture did not shrink from the high and imperative duties which devolved upon them in defence of political freedom. They had been selected under

* "A censure of this kind, under the circumstances of the times, and by such a character, renders them more deserving of grateful remembrance. They were, J. Bowdoin, S. Dexter, J. Winthrop,

T. Danielson, B. Austin, W. Phillips, M. Farley, J. Prescott, J. Adams, N. Quincy, J. Bowers, E. Freeman, and J. Foster."—Bradford, p. 327.

the belief that a most important crisis was approaching. They adopted resolutions, recommending to the citizens of Boston to be firm and patient, to the people through the province to assist their brethren in the metropolis, and to all to refrain entirely from the use of British goods, and of other foreign articles subject to a duty; conceiving this to be a lawful and most efficient means of convincing the parent government of their opposition to the recent oppressive measures, and of prevailing on ministers to relax in their arbitrary and severe conduct towards Massachusetts. They also requested the governor to appoint a day for public religious worship and prayer. And as he declined doing it, they recommended the observance of a particular day for that solemn service, in imitation of their pious ancestors, who, on all occasions of public distress and danger, humbly sought to the Almighty for guidance and protection. But the most important measure adopted at this eventful period, and in preparing which a large committee was occupied through the greater part of the session, was that of choosing five members of the house as delegates to a general continental congress; and of giving immediate information thereof to all the other colonies, with a request that they would appoint deputies for the same purpose. A measure of this kind had been already suggested, both in Massachusetts and in several of the other colonies, but nothing definite or decisive had been done; nor had any committees or deputies been elected with this design.* The patriots in this province were convinced that the time had arrived for a more efficient and united stand in defence of their rights. They did not, however, even now, contemplate independence; but they were resolved to show the British ministry that a determination prevailed through all the colonies to oppose their arbitrary and oppressive plans of governing America; hoping, probably, for a new administration, whose views would be more conciliatory and just. The preamble to the resolution for choosing delegates to meet in a general congress states concisely the reason which induced the house to adopt this important measure. It was as follows:—

“This house, having duly considered, and being deeply affected with the unhappy differences which have long subsisted and are increasing between Great Britain and the American colonies, are of opinion, that a meeting of committees from the several colonies on this continent is highly expedient and necessary, to consult upon the present state of the country, and the

miseries to which we are and must be reduced by the operation of certain acts of parliament; and to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures, to be by them recommended to all the colonies, for the recovery and establishment of our just rights and liberties, civil and religious; and the restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and America, which is most ardently desired by all good men.”

While the house were engaged in considering this measure, the governor received notice of their design from one of the members politically attached to him, and immediately directed that they should be dissolved. The door-keeper was ordered to admit no person into the house; but soon after the secretary proceeded, by his excellency's command, to the door of the room in which the representatives were sitting, and read a proclamation for dissolving the assembly; and when the resolutions were adopted respecting the delegates to congress, and an order was passed for their compensation, the house separated. In this measure, it was easy to perceive the commencement of a general and open opposition to the parent government; which, without either a great change in the policy of the English cabinet, or servile submission on the part of the colonies, through an apprehension of a more wretched condition under a powerful military force, would produce a struggle, to be determined only by superior physical power.

The two last of the coercive enactments of the British legislature, did not reach Boston till July. By one, the governor alone was authorized to appoint all civil officers; and by the other, the counsellors were to be selected by the king and his ministers in England. A list of those appointed was soon made known, and gave great dissatisfaction, as they were the most unpopular characters in the province. To add to the anxiety which now pervaded every breast, a large military force was ordered into the province, an act of parliament having been passed, which directed the governor to provide quarters for them in any town he might choose. “Thus the charter, the palladium of their rights and privileges, under the shelter of which they had formerly felt themselves safe, at least from systematic tyranny, was wantonly violated by the arbitrary will of a favourite minister. They were to be governed entirely by strangers, and those in whom they had no confidence; and foreign mercenaries were provided to stifle the murmurs occasioned by oppression, and to check the efforts of a

* The proceedings of the delegates in Virginia, already referred to, were a few days subsequent to those of the general court of Massachusetts.

† The resolution was adopted by a vote of one hundred and six-

teen to twelve, and the following distinguished citizens, whose talents and patriotism placed them high in the esteem and confidence of the people, were then appointed: T. Cushing, S. Adams, R. T. Paine, J. Bowdoin, and J. Adams.

generous patriotism, which ministerial threats had not been able to silence or prevent. The intelligent citizens, who composed the committees of correspondence, and others distinguished by their activity and firmness, were openly threatened by the servile tools of despotism, and marked out as victims to appease a tyrannical administration. But, happily for their countrymen, and happily for posterity, they were not moved from their high purpose by the menaces of the corrupt or powerful. Satisfied of the justice of their cause, they resolved to attempt every thing, and hazard every thing for its support.”*

It had been agreed by the delegates which had now been appointed by most of the colonies, that they should meet in general congress in September; and the desire to await the result of its determinations prevented any violent proceedings during the interim; while, however, great attention was given by the inhabitants to military discipline. Independent companies were formed, who elected their own officers, many of whom had served during the French war, and were well able to instruct their pupils in military tactics. On the other hand, General Gage was no less active in adopting measures calculated, in his estimation, to overawe the inhabitants, and to deter them from having recourse to force. With this view, although ostensibly for the purpose of preventing desertion, he fortified the isthmus which connects Boston with the main land, called Boston Neck, the only entrance by land into the town of Boston, and therefore the only route by which, according to the port bill, the merchants and traders could carry on their business. This measure, however, served only the more to exasperate the people, and the subsequent seizure of the gunpowder at Charlestown, added to their alarm.

Before day-break, on the 1st of September, General Gage despatched a party of soldiers to bring into his own custody a quantity of provincial powder from the arsenal at Charlestown. Immediately this transaction became generally known; the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns flew to arms, and agreed on Cambridge as a general rendezvous; and it was with great difficulty that they were dissuaded, by their more prudent leaders, from marching at once to Boston, to require the restoration of the powder, or, in case of refusal, to attack the garrison. Their presence at Cambridge, however, induced several gentlemen to resign their appointments as counsellors under the late act of parliament, and to declare they would not take any part in carrying into execution the obnoxious measures of the ministry. Before the agitation

occasioned by this movement was tranquillized, a rumour was, probably not without design, rapidly circulated throughout the whole province, that the garrison and fleet were firing on the town of Boston; and in a few hours between thirty and forty thousand men, of all arms, were in motion towards the capital; and although they retired when satisfied of the falsity of the rumour, the readiness with which so powerful a demonstration of physical force was effected, gave additional boldness to the leaders of the patriotic cause.

It was under the excitement of these circumstances that, in defiance of the act of parliament, and the governor's proclamation founded upon it, prohibiting public assemblies, the county of Suffolk, of which Boston was the capital, elected delegates to meet for the purpose of taking into consideration the most proper course to be adopted in the present state of affairs. With a boldness and decision surpassing that of any former assembly, they passed resolutions declaring themselves constitutionally exempt from all obedience to the late measures of the British parliament, that the government of the province was in fact dissolved, and that they should consider all persons who dared to act in any official capacity under the new regulations as open enemies of their country. They sent a copy of their resolutions, and of their letter to the governor, with his answer, to the general congress, upon whose judgment they rested the decision of their future conduct.

This congress, which will ever be celebrated in the page of history, and held sacred in the annals of liberty, met at Philadelphia, on the 5th of September. Representatives from eleven of the colonies were present at the opening, and those from North Carolina arrived shortly after; Georgia alone having demurred to send delegates. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was elected president, and Charles Thompson, of Philadelphia, secretary; and after a brief controversy on the mode of voting, which resulted in the determination that each province should have only one vote, whatever number of delegates might be present, the assembly proceeded to business with all the solemnity of an organized legislature. “The most eminent men of the various colonies were now, for the first time, brought together. They were known to each other by fame, but they were personally strangers. The meeting was awfully solemn. The object which had called them together was of incalculable magnitude. The liberties of no less than three millions of people, with that of all their posterity, were staked on the wisdom and energy of their councils. No wonder, then, at the long and

* Bradford's History from 1764 to 1775, p. 332.

deep silence which is said to have followed upon their organization; at the anxiety with which the members looked round upon each other; and the reluctance which every individual felt to open a business so fearfully momentous. In the midst of this deep and death-like silence, and just when it was beginning to become painfully embarrassing, Mr. Henry arose slowly, as if borne down by the weight of the subject. After faltering, according to his habit, through a most impressive exordium, in which he merely echoed back the consciousness of every other heart, in deploring his inability to do justice to the occasion, he launched gradually into a recital of the colonial wrongs.—Rising, as he advanced, with the grandeur of his subject, and glowing at length with all the majesty of the occasion, his speech seemed more than that of mortal man.* Mr. Henry was followed by Mr. Richard Henry Lee, in a speech scarcely less powerful, and still more replete with classic eloquence. One spirit of ardent love of liberty pervaded every breast, and produced a unanimity as advantageous to the cause they advocated, as it was unexpected and appalling to their adversaries.

One of the first acts of this assembly was the appointment of a committee, consisting of two from each colony, to state the rights of the colonies in general, the several instances in which those rights had been violated, and the means most proper to be pursued for obtaining a restoration of them. While these important subjects were before the committee, the proceedings of the delegates of the county of Suffolk, to which we have before alluded, were laid before congress; and on the 8th of October that assembly adopted the following resolutions:

“Resolved,—That this congress do approve of the opposition made by the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay to the execution of the late acts of parliament; and if the same shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such case all America ought to support them in their opposition.

“Resolved,—That it is the opinion of this body, that the removal of the people of Boston into the country, would be not only extremely difficult in the execution, but so important in its consequences as to require the utmost deliberation before it is adopted. But in case the provincial meeting of that colony shall judge it absolutely necessary, it is the opinion of this congress, that all America ought to contribute towards recompensing them for the injury they may thereby sustain; and it will be recommended accordingly.

“Resolved,—That this congress do recommend to the inhabitants of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, to submit to a suspension of the administration of justice, when it cannot be procured in a legal and peaceable manner, under the rules of the charter, and the laws founded thereon, until the effects of our application for a repeal of the acts, by which their charter rights are infringed, is known.

“Resolved, unanimously,—That every person or persons whosoever, who shall take, accept, or act under any commission or authority, in any wise derived from the act passed in the last session of parliament, changing the form of government and violating the charter of the province of Massachusetts Bay, ought to be held in detestation and abhorrence by all good men, and considered as the wicked tools of that despotism which is preparing to destroy those rights which God, nature, and compact, have given to America.”

The congress proceeded with great deliberation; its debates were held with closed doors, and the honour of each member was solemnly engaged not to disclose any of the discussions till such disclosure was declared advisable by the majority. It was not till the 14th of October that the following series of resolutions, which may be regarded as their grand declaration of rights and of grievances, was passed and promulgated. To abridge or analyze them would be an equal injustice to the memory of their authors, and to the fidelity of history; we therefore present them entire.

“Resolved, unanimously,—That the inhabitants of the English colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following rights:

“1. That they are entitled to life, liberty, and property; and they have never ceded to any foreign power whatever a right to dispose of either without their consent.

“2. That our ancestors, who first settled these colonies, were, at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural-born subjects within the realm of England.

“3. That by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost, any of those rights, but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

“4. That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free governments, is a right in the people to parti-

* Wirt's Life of Henry, p. 105, 106.

cipate in their legislative council : and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances cannot properly be represented, in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal policy, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed. But from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament as are, *bona fide*, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefit of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent.

"5. That the respective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and, more especially, to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinity, according to the course of that law.

"6. That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization, and which they have, by experience, respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

"7. That these, his majesty's colonies, are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws.

"8. That they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the king; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments, for the same, are illegal.

"9. That the keeping a standing army in these colonies, in times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

"10. It is indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other; that therefore the exercise of legislative power, in several colonies, by a council appointed during pleasure by the crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

"All and each of which the aforesaid deputies, in behalf of themselves and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on, as their indubitable rights and

liberties, which cannot be legally taken from them, altered, or abridged, by any power whatever, without their consent, by their representatives in their several provincial legislatures.

"In the course of our inquiry," they proceed to say, "we find many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights, which, from an ardent desire that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest may be restored, we pass over for the present, and proceed to state such acts and measures as have been adopted since the last war, which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America.

"Resolved,—That the following acts of parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists, and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great Britain and the American colonies; viz. the several acts of 4 Geo. III. c. 15 and 34, 5 Geo. III. c. 25, 6 Geo. III. c. 52, 7 Geo. III. c. 41 and 46, 8 Geo. III. c. 22, which impose duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extend the power of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages that he might be otherwise liable to, requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized before he shall be allowed to defend his property; and are subversive of American rights.

"Also, 12 Geo. III. c. 24, entitled, 'An act for the better securing his majesty's dock yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores,' which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subject of a constitutional trial by jury of the vicinage, by authorizing the trial of any person, charged with the committing any offence described in the said act, out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm.

"Also, the three acts passed in the last session of parliament, for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston, for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay, and that which is entitled, 'An act for the better administration of justice,' &c.

"Also, the act passed in the same session, for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger (from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government) of the neighbouring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France.

"Also, the act passed in the same session, for the

better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty's service in North America.

"Also, that the keeping a standing army in several of these colonies, in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

"To these grievous acts and measures, Americans cannot submit; but in hopes their fellow-subjects in Great Britain will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, we have, for the present, only resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures: 1. To enter into a non-importation association; 2. To prepare an address to the people of Great Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America; and, 3. To prepare a loyal address to his majesty, agreeably to resolutions already entered into."

An agreement to abstain from commercial intercourse with Great Britain, was signed by all the members of this congress. By this instrument they were bound not to import, directly or indirectly, any goods from Great Britain or Ireland, after the 1st of December, 1774; and in case the acts complained of should not be repealed by the 10th of September, 1775, they agreed not to *export* to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, any commodities or merchandise whatever, except rice to Europe. They at the same time agreed to encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and to promote the agriculture, arts, and manufactures of their own country, especially wool. Committees were to be appointed in every county, city, or town, to see that the agreement was observed; and the names of the violators of it were to be published in the gazettes, as enemies to the rights of America; and in that case no dealings were to be had with them.

Upon the principles, and in the spirit of the preceding resolutions, was composed an address to the people of Great Britain, as also one to the king; a statement to the aggrieved colonies, and an address to the inhabitants of Canada. These documents were drawn up with great ability. The gentlemen selected from the several colonies for this memorable congress, were no less distinguished for their talents than their patriotism; and when perusing these state papers, no one can fail to regret that the speeches delivered on that occasion, by such distinguished statesmen and orators as John Adams, John Jay, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, John Dickinson, Samuel Chase, John Rutledge, and many others of that illustrious band of patriots, are lost to the world.

In their address to the people of Great Britain, after enumerating the several acts of parliament deemed to be violations of their rights, they appeal, with peculiar force of language, to the generosity, to the virtue, and to the justice of the nation, for relief. "You have been told," say they, "that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. Be assured that these are not facts, but calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory, and our greatest happiness; we shall ever be ready to contribute all in our power to the welfare of the whole empire; we shall consider your enemies as our enemies, and your interest as our own. But if you are determined that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind; if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, or the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must then tell you, that we will never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world."

The address of congress to the king was couched in language respectful, and even affectionate; nor is there any just ground to suspect its authors of hypocrisy; they had not yet been driven to familiarize themselves with the idea of separation from the British crown. One extract will afford a specimen of that union of firmness and affection which pervades the whole. "Permit us, then, most gracious sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility, to implore you, for the honour of Almighty God, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of your family, depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses; that your majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendent relation formed by these ties to be further violated, in uncertain expectations of effects that, if obtained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained."

In their address to the inhabitants of Quebec, congress endeavoured to convince them that the late act respecting that province had deprived them of many of their rights and privileges, and to persuade them to unite in obtaining redress, as well as to join the confederacy; while to the inhabitants of the ag-

* Journals of Congress, vol. i. p. 28—30. Pitkin, vol. i. p. 285—288. Allen, vol. i. p. 210.

grieved colonies they presented a detailed account of the violations of their rights since the year 1763, as well as the reasons for the pacific mode of redress adopted by them; and concluded by observing, "From the detail of facts herein before recited, as well as from authentic intelligence received, it is clear beyond a doubt, that a resolution is formed, and now carrying into execution, to extinguish the freedom of these colonies, by subjecting them to a despotic government."

Finally, they resolved upon the expediency of holding another congress at the same place, on the 10th of May, 1775, unless it should be rendered unnecessary by a previous redress of grievances. Having thus completed their important transactions in a session of fifty-two days, they dissolved themselves on the 26th of October.

A majority of the members of this congress had little doubt that the measures taken by them, if supported by the American people, would produce a redress of grievances. Richard Henry Lee said to Mr. Adams, "We shall undoubtedly carry all our points. You will be completely relieved; all the offensive acts will be repealed; the army and fleet will be recalled; and Britain will give up her foolish projects." George Washington was of opinion, that with the aid of both the non-importation and the non-exportation system, America would prevail. Patrick Henry concurred in opinion with Mr. Adams, that the contest must ultimately be decided by force.* "The proceedings of this celebrated congress, the tone and temper of their various resolutions, the style of their addresses, the composition of the several papers that were drawn up by them, were in every particular calculated to excite the admiration of the world. That an assembly of fifty-two men, born and educated in the wilds of a new world, unpractised in the arts of polity, most of them unexperienced in the arduous duties of legislation, coming from distant and distinct governments, differing in religion, manners, customs, and habits, as they did in their views with regard to the nature of their connexion with Great Britain; that such an assembly, so constituted, should display so much wisdom, sagacity, foresight, and knowledge of the world, such skill in argument, such force of reasoning, such firmness and soundness of judgment, so profound an acquaintance with the rights of man, such elevation of sentiment, such genuine patriotism, and, above all, such unexampled union of opinion, was indeed a political phenomenon, to which history has yet furnished no parallel. Nor is it less wonderful that the

whole people of the colonies represented, should have regarded the simple recommendations of this congress with the reverence and obedience due to the strongest ties of law. Even in those colonies where law and authority had been set at defiance, the injunctions of the congress were scrupulously obeyed. The whole country was in that awful calm of expectation, which precedes the bursting of a storm. They were willing to wait the issue of their petitions, but ready to enforce their rights at the risk of life."†

During the session of the congress most of the colonies had adopted the plan of instituting provincial assemblies, regardless of their old form of government. In Massachusetts, General Gage had convoked a general court, to assemble at Salem, on the 5th of October; but events which subsequently transpired, induced him to issue a proclamation dissolving the assembly. The members, however, regarded that proclamation as illegal, and met at Salem on the day appointed. After waiting in vain the whole day for the governor's appearance to administer the oaths, they resolved themselves into a provincial congress, and adjourned to Concord. After appointing John Hancock president, and addressing a communication to the governor, they again adjourned, to meet at Cambridge on the 17th. Here they appointed a committee of safety, and a committee of supplies. They also voted to enlist one fourth of the militia as minute-men, to be frequently drilled, and held in readiness for service at a minute's warning; and after appointing three general officers, they adjourned to the 23d of November. In the mean time the situation of the citizens of Boston was in every respect disagreeable; General Gage, however, seemed to have no disposition to risk an immediate attack upon the Americans. His intention of remaining quiet for the present was evinced by his demand of materials for the construction of winter quarters for his men; but so great was the general detestation of him and his men, that he could procure neither workmen, materials, clothing, nor provisions.

Before the close of the year the busy note of preparation resounded through almost every colony. The Massachusetts committees were indefatigable in providing for the most vigorous defence in the spring. They had procured all sorts of military supplies for the service of twelve thousand men, and had engaged the assistance of the three neighbouring provinces of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

While these hostile preparations were proceeding in America, the British monarch was meeting a new

* Pitkin's Political and Civil History, vol. i. p. 301.

† Allen's History of the American Revolution, vol. i. p. 223.

parliament. Happily for the independence of America, it proved equally servile, and it must be said equally purblind, with its predecessor. The king informed his parliament, that a most daring resistance and disobedience to the law still prevailed in Massachusetts, and had broken out in fresh violences; that these proceedings had been countenanced and encouraged in the other colonies, and that unwarrantable attempts had been made to obstruct the commerce of the kingdom, by unlawful combinations; and he expressed his firm determination to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of parliament over all the dominions of the crown. Addresses in answer to the speech, concurring in the sentiments expressed by the king, were carried in both houses, by large majorities.

The cabinet had determined on coercive measures, in case the colonies persisted in their claims. Mr. Quincy, not long after his arrival in England, had an interview with Lord North, as well as Lord Dartmouth, at their special request. The former, on the 19th of November, in conversation on the subject of American affairs, reminded Mr. Quincy of the power of Great Britain, and declared that they were determined "to exert it to the utmost in order to effect the submission of the colonies." "We must try," said he, "what we can do to support the authority we claim over America. If we are defective in power, we must sit down contented, and make the best terms we can; and nobody can blame us after we have done our utmost; but till we have tried what we can do, we can never be justified in receding." Knowing the principal object of Mr. Quincy's visit to England, it was not to be expected that the minister would use the language of concession to him, even if concession were intended; but rather endeavour to impress him with the idea, that it would be impossible for the colonies to resist with any prospect of success: Mr. Quincy, however, from information obtained from other sources, as well as this conversation with the prime minister, was convinced that the Americans had nothing to hope but from forcible resistance. This conviction was communicated to some of his particular friends in America. "I cannot forbear telling you," says Mr. Quincy, in one of his letters of this date, "that I look to my countrymen with the feelings of one who verily believes they must yet seal their faith and constancy to their liberties with blood."

After the recess, parliament met on the 20th of January, and on the same day Lord Chatham moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to advise and beseech his majesty, that,

in order to open the way towards our happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there; and, above all, for preventing, in the mean time, any sudden and fatal catastrophe at Boston, now suffering under daily irritation of an army before their eyes, posted in their town; it may graciously please his majesty that immediate orders may be despatched to General Gage for removing his majesty's forces from the town of Boston, as soon as the rigour of the season and other circumstances, indispensable to the safety and accommodation of the said troops, may render the same practicable." This motion was supported by one of the most eloquent and impressive speeches ever delivered by that distinguished statesman and orator. "My lords," said that patriot peer, "these papers from America, now laid by administration for the first time before your lordships, have been, to my knowledge, five or six weeks in the pocket of the minister; and, notwithstanding the fate of this kingdom hangs upon the event of this great controversy, we are but this moment called to a consideration of this important subject. My lords, I do not wish to look into one of these papers, I know their contents well enough already; I know that there is not a member in this house but is acquainted with their purport also. There ought, therefore, to be no delay in entering upon this matter; we ought to proceed to it immediately; we ought to seize the first moment to open the door of reconciliation. The Americans will never be in a temper or state to be reconciled—they ought not to be, till the troops are withdrawn. The troops are a perpetual irritation to those people; they are a bar to all confidence and all cordial reconciliation. The way must be immediately opened for reconciliation. It will soon be too late. I know not who advised the present measures; I know not who advises to a perseverance and enforcement of them; but this I will say, that whoever advises them ought to answer for it at his utmost peril. I know that no one will avow that he advised, or that he was the author of these measures; every one shrinks from the charge. But somebody has advised his majesty to these measures, and if he continues to hear such evil counsellors, his majesty will be undone; his majesty may indeed wear his crown, but, the American jewel out of it, it will not be worth the wearing. What more shall I say? I must not say the king is betrayed; but this I will say, the nation is ruined. What foundation have we for our claims over America? What is our right to persist in such cruel and vindictive measures against that loyal, respectable people? They say you have no

right to tax them without their consent. . . They say truly. . . Representation and taxation must go together; they are inseparable. Yet there is scarcely a man in our streets, though so poor as scarcely to be able to get his daily bread, but thinks he is the legislator of America. 'Our American subjects' is a common phrase in the mouths of the lowest orders of our citizens; but property, my lords, is the sole and entire dominion of the owner: it excludes all the world besides the owner. None can intermeddle with it. It is a unity, a mathematical point. It is an atom; untangible by any but the proprietor. Touch it, and the owner loses his whole property. The touch contaminates the whole mass, the whole property vanishes. The touch of another annihilates it; for whatever is a man's own is absolutely and exclusively his own. How have this respectable people behaved under their grievances? With unexampled patience, with unparalleled wisdom. They chose delegates by their free suffrages; no bribery, no corruption, no influence there, my lords. Their representatives meet with the sentiments and temper, and speak the sense of the continent. For genuine sagacity, for singular moderation, for solid wisdom, manly spirit, sublime sentiments, and simplicity of language, for every thing respectable and honourable, the congress of Philadelphia shine unrivalled. This wise people speak out. They do not hold the language of slaves; they tell you what they mean. They do not ask you to repeal your laws as a favour; they claim it as a right—they demand it. They tell you they will not submit to them; and I tell you the acts must be repealed; they will be repealed; you cannot enforce them. The ministry are checkmated; they have a move to make on the board; yet not a move, but they are ruined. Repeal, therefore, my lords, I say. But bare repeal will not satisfy this enlightened and spirited people. What! repeal a bit of paper! repeal a piece of parchment! That alone will not do, my lords. You must go through the work—you must declare you have no right to tax—then they may trust you; then they will have some confidence in you. My lords, deeply impressed with the importance of taking some healing measures at this most alarming, distracted state of our affairs, though bowed down with a cruel disease, I have crawled to this house to give you my best counsel and experience; and my advice is, to beseech his majesty to withdraw his troops. This is the best I can think of. It will convince America that you mean to try her cause, in the spirit, and by the laws of freedom and fair inquiry, and not by codes of blood. How can she now trust you, with the bayonet at her breast? She has

all the reason in the world now to believe you mean her death, or her bondage. Thus entered on the threshold of this business, I will knock at your gates for justice without ceasing, unless inveterate infirmities stay my hand. My lords, I pledge myself never to leave this business. I will pursue it to the end in every shape. I will never fail of my attendance on it at every step and period of this great matter, unless nailed down to my bed by the severity of disease. My lords, there is no time to be lost; every moment is big with dangers. Nay, while I am now speaking, the decisive blow may be struck, and millions involved in the consequences. The very first drop of blood will make a wound that will not easily be skinned over. Years, perhaps ages, may not heal it. It will be *immedicabile vulnus*: a wound of that rankorous, malignant, corroding, festering nature, that, in all probability, it will mortify the whole body. Let us, then, my lords, set to this business in earnest; not take it up by bits and scraps as formerly, just as exigencies pressed, without any regard to general relations, connexions, and dependencies. I would not, by any thing I have said, my lords, be thought to encourage America to proceed beyond the right line. I reprobate all acts of violence by her mobility. But when her inherent constitutional rights are invaded, those rights which she has an equitable claim to enjoy by the fundamental laws of the English constitution, and which are engrafted thereon by the unalterable laws of nature, then I own myself an American, and feeling myself such, shall, to the verge of my life, vindicate those rights against all men who strive to trample upon or oppose them."

Lord Chatham's motion was seconded by Lord Camden, who affirmed that "whenever oppression begins, resistance becomes lawful and right;" and it was ably supported by the Marquis of Rockingham and Lord Shelburne; but, like all other motions opposed to the views of the ministry, it was lost by a large majority. The administration declared their determination never to relax in their measures of coercion, until America was forced into obedience. This, however, did not prevent Lord Chatham from presenting to the house, soon afterwards, a bill, containing his favourite plan "for settling the troubles, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." Though this bill, as it contained a direct avowal of the supreme authority of parliament over the colonies, in all cases except that of taxation, could never have received the assent of the Americans, yet, as it expressly denied the parliamentary power of taxing the colonies, without the consent of their as-

semblies, and made other concessions, it was rejected by a large majority on its first reading.*

Immediately after the rejection of Lord Chatham's bill, the minister proposed, in the house of commons, a joint address to the king on American affairs. In this address, which was carried by large majorities, parliament declared that Massachusetts was in a state of rebellion; and that this colony had been supported by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into by several of the other colonies, to the great injury and oppression of his majesty's subjects in Great Britain. Assuring his majesty of their determination never to relinquish the sovereign authority of the king and parliament over the colonies, they requested him to take the most effectual measures to enforce obedience to that authority, and promised him their support at the hazard of their lives and property. Opposition to the address was made in both houses, but in vain. The king, in his answer, declared his firm determination, in compliance with their request, to enforce obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature of the empire. His answer was followed by a message, requesting an increase of his forces by sea and land. The restriction of the trade of the colonies, and a prohibition of the use of the fisheries, was also a part of the ministerial system of measures. The minister began this part of his system with Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, as being the most obstinate and refractory. On the 10th of February he presented a bill, which soon became a law, restricting the trade of these colonies to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies, and prohibiting their carrying on any fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, and other places, for a limited time; and the same restrictions were soon after extended to all the colonies represented in the congress at Philadel-

* Lord Chatham had shown this bill to Dr. Franklin, before he submitted it to the house of lords, but the latter had not an opportunity of proposing certain alterations which he had sketched. Dr. Franklin, however, at the special request of Lord Chatham, was present at the debates upon it. Lord Dartmouth was at first disposed to have the bill lie upon the table; but Lord Sandwich opposed its being received, and moved that it be immediately "rejected with the contempt it deserved. He could never believe," he said, "that it was the production of a British peer; it appeared to him rather the work of some American." Turning his face towards Dr. Franklin, then standing at the bar, "He fancied," he said, "he had in his eye the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country had ever known." To this part of the speech of Lord Sandwich, the great Chatham replied, by saying, "that it was entirely his own." This declaration," he said, "he thought himself the more obliged to make, as many of their lordships appeared to have so mean an opinion of it; for if it was so weak or so bad a thing, it was proper in him to take care that no other person should unjustly share in the censure it deserved. It had been heretofore reckoned his vice not to be apt to take advice; but he made no scruple to declare,

phia, with the exception of New York and North Carolina. These bills were opposed by the minority in both houses, as unjust and cruel towards the colonists, involving the innocent with the guilty, and unwise and impolitic in regard to the people of Great Britain. By the loss of their foreign trade and the fisheries, the colonists, it was said, particularly those of New England, would be unable to pay the large balances due from them to the British merchants. But every argument, however just or reasonable, was urged in vain against the measures proposed by the minister. An idea prevailed in Great Britain, that the people of New England were dependent on the fisheries for subsistence, and that, when deprived of these, they would be starved into obedience and submission.

It would appear, that at this period there were some individuals in the confidence of the ministry engaged in conferences with Dr. Franklin, having for their object to ascertain whether terms of reconciliation could be devised. Dr. Franklin acted with his usual prudence in this affair, as was very manifest in the title of the plan he sketched for the persons who consulted him, which he termed, "Hints for conversation, upon the subject of terms that might probably produce a durable union between Great Britain and the colonies." This plan embraced, in seventeen propositions, the principal points in dispute; but, as the negotiations were not avowedly official, and led to no practical result, we shall not enter upon the detail of them.†

On the 20th of February, Lord North astonished both his friends and his opponents, by introducing into the house of commons a proposition of a conciliatory character. It provided, "that when the governor, council, and assembly, or general court of any of his majesty's colonies in America, shall propose to

that if he were the first minister of this country, and had the care of settling this momentous business, he should not be ashamed of publicly calling to his assistance a person so perfectly acquainted with the whole of American affairs, as the gentleman alluded to, and so injuriously reflected on; one whom all Europe held in estimation for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked with our Boyles and Newtons; who was an honour, not to the English nation only, but to human nature."—*Franklin's Works*, vol. i. p. 322, 323. Pitkin, vol. i. p. 312. Among the papers which had been laid before the house by Lord Dartmouth, was the petition of the congress to the king, in behalf of which the American agents, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Bollen, and Mr. Lee, petitioned to be heard at the bar of the house. But this privilege was refused to them by the ministers, on the ground that the congress was an illegal body, and their petition was rejected by an unusually large majority.

† Those of our readers who may be desirous of pursuing this subject further, we refer to Pitkin's Political and Civil History, vol. i. p. 315—322. We take this opportunity of acknowledging our obligations to that very valuable work; certainly the most satisfactory extant, in the department which it occupies.

make provision, according to the condition, circumstances, and situation of such province or colony, for contributing their proportion for the common defence, (such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court or assembly of such colony, and disposable by parliament,) and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government and the administration of justice in such colony, it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his majesty and the two houses of parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect to such colony, to levy any duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to levy or impose for the regulation of commerce; the net proceeds of the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such colony respectively."

This unexpected proposition was at first opposed by those who usually acted with the minister, as totally inconsistent with the course of measures just adopted; and they would probably have voted against it, had they not been quieted by explanations, as to its real object, made by his particular friends. By these explanations, in which the minister, whatever might have been his original intentions, concurred, it appeared that the object was to cause a division among the colonies, or, if this should not be the effect, and the reasonable terms offered should be rejected by them, to unite the people of England in strong coercive measures.

The adoption of Lord North's conciliatory scheme did not prevent Mr. Burke and Mr. Hartley from presenting to the house their respective plans of reconciliation. That of the former, founded on the principle of expediency, was to permit the colonies to tax themselves in their assemblies, according to ancient usage, and to repeal all acts of parliament imposing duties in America. Mr. Hartley proposed, that, at the request of parliament, the secretary of state should require a contribution from the colonies for the general expense of the empire, leaving the amount and application to the colonial assemblies. These propositions, though supported by all the eloquence and powerful talents of Mr. Burke, were rejected by the usual ministerial majorities.

["The resolution of the colonists was soon put to a more serious test. A considerable quantity of military stores having been deposited at Concord, an inland town, about eighteen miles from Boston, General Gage purposed to destroy them. For the execution of this design, he, on the night preceding the 19th of April, detached Lieutenant-Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, with 800 grenadiers and light-infantry, who,

at eleven o'clock, embarked in boats at the bottom of the common, in Boston, crossed the river Charles, and landing at Phipps' farm, in Cambridge, commenced a silent and expeditious march for Concord. Although several British officers, who dined at Cambridge the preceding day, had taken the precaution to disperse themselves along the road leading to Concord, to intercept any expresses that might be sent from Boston to alarm the country; yet messengers, who had been sent from that town for the purpose, had eluded the British patrols, and given an alarm, which was rapidly spread by church bells, signal guns, and volleys. On the arrival of the British troops at Lexington, toward five in the morning, about 70 men, belonging to the minute company of that town, were found on the parade, under arms. Major Pitcairn, who led the van, galloping up to them, called out, "Disperse, disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms, and disperse." The sturdy yeomanry not instantly obeying the order, he advanced nearer, fired his pistol, flourished his sword, and ordered his soldiers to fire. A discharge of arms from the British troops, with a huzza, immediately succeeded; several of the provincials fell, and the rest dispersed. The firing continued after the dispersion, and the fugitives stopped and returned the fire. Eight Americans were killed, three or four of them by the first fire of the British; the others, after they had left the parade. Several were also wounded.

"The British detachment proceeded to Concord. The inhabitants of that town, having received the alarm, drew up in order for defence; but, observing the number of the regulars to be too great for them to encounter, they retired over the north bridge, at some distance beyond the town, and waited for reinforcements. A party of British light-infantry followed them, and took possession of the bridge, while the main body entered the town, and proceeded to execute their commission. They disabled two 24 pounders, threw 500 pounds of ball into the river and wells, and broke in pieces about 60 barrels of flour. The militia being re-enforced, Major Buttrick, of Concord, who had gallantly offered to command them, advanced toward the bridge; but, not knowing of the transaction at Lexington, ordered the men not to give the first fire, that the provincials might not be the aggressors. As he advanced, the light-infantry retired to the Concord side of the river, and began to pull up the bridge; and, on his nearer approach, they fired, and killed a captain and one of the privates. The provincials returned the fire; a skirmish ensued; and the regulars were forced to retreat, with some loss. They were soon joined by the main body, and

the whole detachment retreated with precipitancy. All the people of the adjacent country were by this time in arms; and they attacked the retreating troops in every direction. Some fired from behind stone walls and other coverts; others pressed on their rear; and, thus harassed, they made good their retreat six miles back to Lexington. Here they were joined by Lord Percy, who, most opportunely for them, had arrived with a detachment of 900 men, and two pieces of cannon. The enemy, now amounting to about 1800 men, having halted an hour or two at Lexington, recommenced their march; but the attack from the provincials was renewed at the same time; and an irregular, yet very galling fire, was kept up on each flank, as well as in the front and rear. The close firing from behind stone walls, by good marksmen, put them in no small confusion; but they kept up a brisk retreating fire on the militia and minutemen. A little after sunset, the regulars reached Bunker's Hill, where, exhausted with excessive fatigue, they remained during the night, under the protection of the Somerset man-of-war; and the next morning went into Boston." If the Salem and Marblehead regiments had arrived in season to have cut off their retreat, in all probability but few of the detachment would ever have reached Boston. Still the great doctrines of humanity were so deeply impressed upon the minds of the people, already much oppressed, that they forgot, in their sympathy for the distressed, their animosity; and the people of Charlestown, all whigs, still offered the exhausted and dying British soldiers, the same hospitality that they would have afforded friends in distress.

The first act of the great drama was now opened. Blood had flowed, and flowed copiously. The people had now no more doubts on their minds what course they had to pursue. Every workshop, every dwelling-house, every church, was a shrine in which the vows of freemen were made to the God of battles. Cambridge, by a sort of common consent, was fixed upon as a place of general rendezvous, and in a few days twenty thousand freemen were seen in arms, to avenge their wrongs.

The provincial congress of Massachusetts met the next day after the battle of Lexington, and determined the number of men to be raised; fixed on the payment of the troops; voted an issue of paper money; drew up rules and regulations for the army; and all was done in a business-like manner. The other colonies caught the spirit of New England, and the watch-fires of liberty blazed along the whole coast from Falmouth to Charleston. Activity and enterprise were every where conspicuous. A party from Con-

necticut, under the authority of Governor Trumbull, proceeded to the Canada frontiers, and took many pieces of cannon, and, at the same time, the fort at Ticonderoga. Arnold, Allen, and Easton, were conspicuous in this bloodless enterprise; but all agreed that it was one of spirit and discretion. This fort, although in a somewhat dilapidated state, commanded, as it was thought, all our passes to Canada. At this time it was the opinion of several of the officers of the British army, that it would not require a large body of troops to put all things at rest in America. These men reasoned upon general principles, and so far they were correct. An unarmed force, without system or concert, are, in general, but momentary steps to regular troops; but they underrated the military talents and science of the colonists.

At this period, the first minds in Massachusetts were wrought up to a spirit of martyrdom. Adams and Hancock, in the continental congress, instead of flinching at their troubles, spoke out more boldly than ever; and their feelings seemed to pervade the whole people. Gage, by an indiscreet proclamation, kept this fire alive, and little was thought of, but hostile movements. He offered pardon to all but John Hancock and Samuel Adams, whose crimes, he alleged, *deserved condign punishment*. This was to them an enviable elevation, and gave them almost the power of dictators. The military knowledge which was discovered in the provincial officers, astonished the experienced commanders in the British army. From Mystic river to Dorchester heights, a line of fortifications were established, that showed the British that our engineers knew something of the art of war; but still they could not be brought to believe, that such a mass of men, so suddenly collected, could, for a moment, resist British veterans. They were not sanguinary, and hoped that all the difficulties would soon pass away; but in this they were deceived.

The American army had been quartered at Cambridge nearly two months, and no blow had been struck to rid the country of the British troops, or to encourage the natives; some uneasiness seemed to show itself in the camp, and more abroad, that greater energy was not shown; but the wise thought to conquer by *Fabian wisdom*, while others were for decisive measures. The army at Cambridge was known to be large enough to demolish the British, if they could be got at. In this state of feeling, it was thought proper to make some demonstrations of courage, and of an intention of acting *offensively* and *fearlessly*. Col. Prescott was sent with the fragments, or rather, the skeletons of three regiments, on the night of the 16th of June, to occupy a station on Bunker's Hill.

On viewing that eminence, he saw at once that it was an ineligible spot; and he looked along to the right, and found that a spur of that hill, which was now called Breed's Hill, was the most proper situation, in every respect, for a battle-ground. Considering that they were within the limits of their orders, Prescott and Colonel Gridley, the engineers, began a redoubt on the right of Breed's Hill. It was about one hundred and forty feet square, with two open passages for ingress and egress. On the left of the redoubt, running north-easterly, was a breast-work of sods, not much over four feet high; but not, as has been stated, extending to Mystic river; it did not extend one quarter of the way to it. The line from this breast-work was made of two post and rail fences, placed about four feet apart, in parallel lines, and between them was trode the newly mown grass, making quite as good a screen for the militia as the redoubt or the breast work.

General Ward, who commanded the American army, concluding from the firing from Copp's Hill, in Boston, at the early dawn of the morning of the 17th, that the British would make a struggle to get possession of the works, offered to relieve Prescott and his men, but they unanimously declined the offer, but earnestly insisted on re-enforcements. These were reluctantly given, as the commander in chief thought that an attack on his camp was contemplated; and in such case, his camp at Cambridge, indifferently fortified as it was, would be a better place for a general action than Bunker's Hill.

Early in the morning, from the battery on Copp's Hill, one of the men in or near the redoubt was shot, and was instantly buried on the spot; but although the roar of the cannon from Copp's Hill was incessant, no further damage was done by their shots; and in aid of this battery, the *Lively*, a man-of-war, was brought to bear, and in fact she began the cannonade.

General Gage, wishing to drive the provincials from the hill, sent Major-General Howe and Brigadier-General Pigot, with ten companies of grenadiers, and ten of light-infantry, with some artillery, to perform this service. These generals, reconnoitring the American forces, on their arrival at Morton's Point, thought best to wait for re-enforcements from Boston. For these, Howe waited from about noon to three o'clock, P. M. before the battle was commenced. The British began a slow march up the hill in two lines, stopping at times to give the artillery a chance to play. But the angle of elevation was such, that it did but little execution. The provincials wasted no ammunition; they had but a scanty supply. They were ordered to put four

buck-shots to a bullet, and to reserve their fire until the enemy were at blank-point shot distance. At this moment they poured in upon the approaching foe a most destructive volley. The effect was not more destructive than appalling. The British soldiery, expecting nothing but random shots from undisciplined militia, were astounded at such deadly fires, and their line was broken in confusion. Some companies had not twenty soldiers fit for duty when they were about to rally. The British officers had the greatest difficulty to bring their troops into line again. At length, they came up a second time towards the works, but with some wavering; and in less than fifteen minutes, their line broke in still greater confusion than before. Clinton saw this from Boston, and hastened over to assist Howe. Both the generals addressed the soldiers; called to their mind their former wreaths of glory, and the everlasting disgrace of being beaten by raw militia. Howe swore to them, that he would never survive the disgrace, if they were conquered that day. By this time, Charlestown, consisting of four hundred houses, was in a blaze. This Clinton had done to terrify the neighbouring army. On the third attack they were under the necessity of resorting to skill, not daring to put it on the score of bravery a third time. Pigot, with a considerable force, took a circuitous route around the south side of the hill, and came upon the southwestern angle of the redoubt, and instantly scaled the slight works. Pitcairn was with him, and was shot through the body as he was about to leap into the redoubt. Pigot, being a short man, was lifted by his soldiers on to the sods, and jumped into the area without harm. The provincials were now attacked on the east and on the west; their ammunition was exhausted, and they had but few or no bayonets; and after beating their assailants a while with the butts of their guns, Prescott ordered a retreat. Those at the breast-work and in the redoubt retreated, and those at the rail fence followed, over Charlestown neck, northward.

Until the commencement of the retreat, but few of the Americans had been killed. Their unwillingness to leave the ground at the proper time, was the cause of the considerable number of the killed and wounded. Captain Knowlton having a fine large company near Mystic river, moved up in good order, and covered the retreat of the Americans. The battle ended between five and six o'clock. The wind, during the fight, was brisk and westerly, and drove the smoke directly in the face of the enemy; but as the smoke arose over the heads of the British, the Americans, as it were, looking under the cloud, saw

where to fire. Prescott was all the fight in the redoubt; the other portion of the Massachusetts militia at the breast-works. The New Hampshire troops, under Stark, Dearborn, and others, were at the rail-fence. They were marching from their native state towards Cambridge, and went on to the battle ground by their own impulses, not having received any orders from the commander in chief.

The British had between three and four thousand in the fight. They acknowledged ten hundred and fifty-four killed and wounded, with a great proportion of officers. Their number was most unquestionably larger; for they brought between three and four hundred of the slain, and buried them in the corner of the new burying-ground at the bottom of the common in Boston. The others were buried on Breed's Hill, where they fell.

The Americans had fifteen hundred in the fight, but perhaps there were a few more at times, for volunteers came on to the ground, expended their powder, and retreated, when they could do no more service to the cause. The provincials had one hundred and thirty-nine killed, and three hundred and fourteen wounded and missing. The officers who fell on the American side were, Colonel Gardner of Cambridge, Lieutenant-Colonel Parker of Chelmsford, and Majors Moore and McCleary,—all men of distinction and value, and heroes in the cause,—with Major-General Joseph Warren.

General Burgoyne was all the time during the battle seated in the belfry of the North Church of Boston, a most commanding position, to watch the movements of either party. His letter describing the scene was, at that period, considered as one of very graphic power, but it is too general to give the historian much information.

* Joseph Warren was born in Roxbury, near Boston, in the year 1741. His father was a respectable farmer in that place, who had held several municipal offices to the acceptance of his fellow citizens. Joseph, with several of his brothers, was instructed in the elementary branches of knowledge at the public grammar school of the town, which was distinguished for its successive instructors of superior attainments. In 1755 he entered college, where he sustained the character of a youth of talents, fine manners, and of a generous, independent deportment, united to great personal courage and perseverance. An anecdote will illustrate his fearlessness and determination at that age, when character can hardly be said to be formed. Several students of Warren's class shut themselves in a room to arrange some college affairs in a way which they knew was contrary to his wishes, and barred the door so effectually that he could not, without great violence, force it; but he did not give over the attempt of getting amongst them, for, perceiving that the window of the room in which they were assembled was open, and near a spout which extended from the roof of the building to the ground, he went to the top of the house, slid down to the eaves, seized the spout, and, when he had descended as far as the widow, threw himself into the chamber amongst them. At that instant the spout, which was decayed and weak, gave way and fell to the ground. He looked at it without emotion, said that it had served his purpose, and began to take his part in the business. A specta-

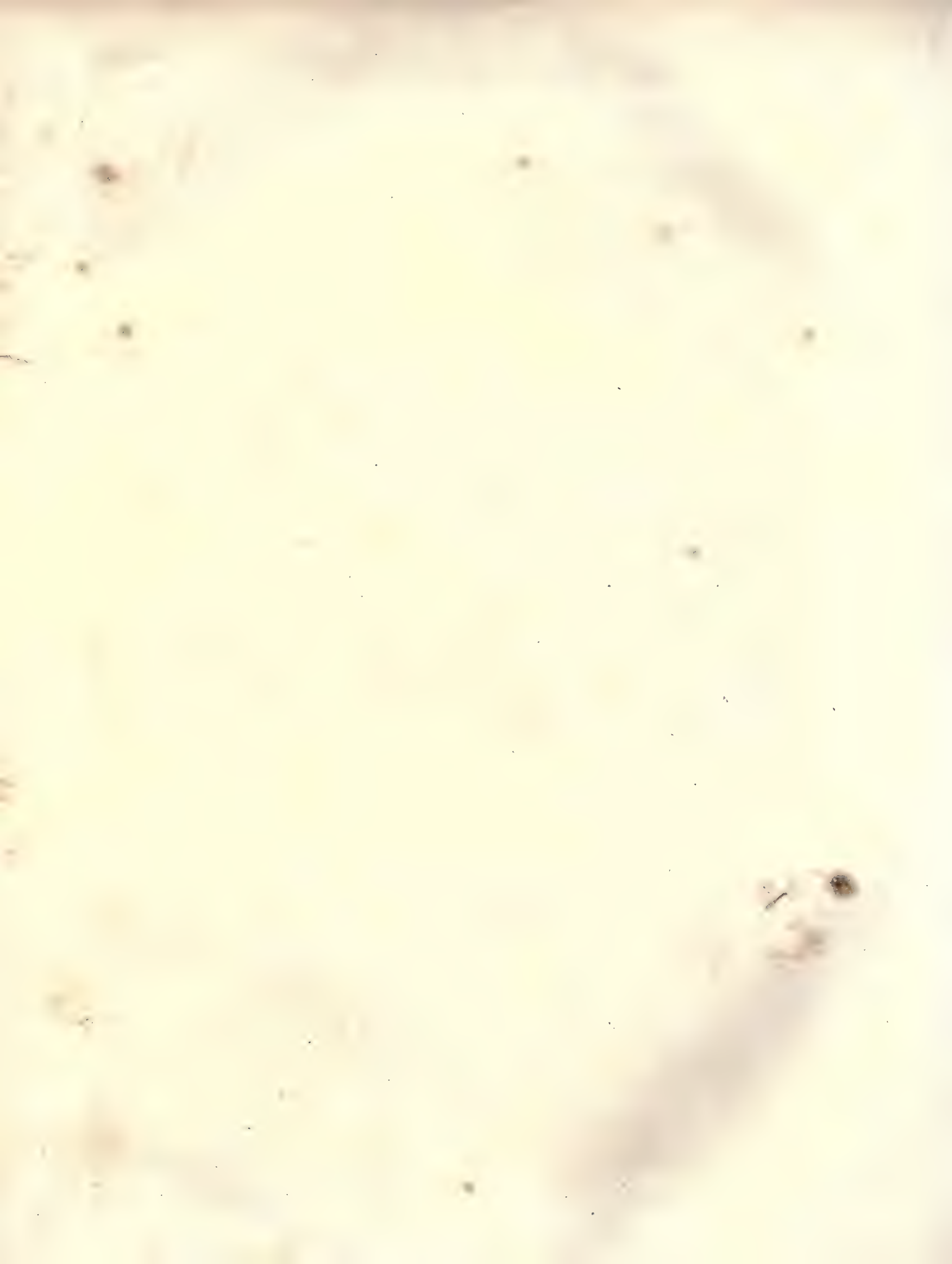
Warren assumed no command on that day. He had been commissioned as a major-general by the Provincial congress, but four days previous, and had not taken any command; nor had he, in fact, been sworn into office, except, as every one had an oath in heaven, to live free, or die. Warren was, at the moment of his fall, president of the provincial congress, and chairman of the committee of safety. He had put some one in the chair, and mounted his horse at Watertown, where the legislature was in session, to come and encourage his fellow-citizens in the fight. When he entered the redoubt, Prescott offered him the command, but he declined it, saying, "I come to *learn war under an experienced soldier, not to take any command.*" He was the martyr of that day's glory. His death was felt as a calamity to the *cause* and to the *nation*. He was in the prime of life, being only thirty-five years of age, with a spirit as bold and dauntless as ever was blazoned in legends, or recorded in history. He was a prudent, cautious, but fearless statesman; made to govern men, and to breathe into them a portion of his own heroic soul. His eloquence was of a high order; his voice was fine, and of great compass, and he modulated it at will. His appearance had the air of a soldier,—graceful and commanding, united to the manners of a finished gentleman. The British thought that his life was of the utmost importance to the American army; of so much importance, that they would no longer hold together after his fall. They sadly mistook the men they had to deal with. His blood was not shed in vain; *it cried from the ground* for vengeance; and his name became a watch word in the hour of peril and glory.* The name of the humblest individual who perished in that fight will be remembered by the

tor of this feat and narrow escape, related this fact to me in the college yard, nearly half a century afterwards, and the impression it made on his mind was so strong, that he seemed to feel the same emotion as though it happened but an hour before.

On leaving college, in 1759, Warren turned his attention to the study of medicine, under the direction of Dr. Lloyd, an eminent physician of that day, whose valuable life has been protracted almost to the present time. Warren was distinguished very soon after he commenced practice; for, when in 1764 the small-pox spread in Boston, he was amongst the most successful in his method of treating that disease, which was then considered the most dreadful scourge of the human race, and the violence of which had baffled the efforts of the learned faculty of medicine, from the time of its first appearance. From this moment he stood high amongst his brethren, and was the favourite of the people; and what he gained in their good will, he never lost. His personal appearance, his address, his courtesy, and his humanity, won the way to the hearts of all, and his knowledge and superiority of talents secured the conquest. A bright and lasting fame in his profession, with the attendant consequences, wealth and influence, were within his reach, and near at hand; but the calls of a distracted country were paramount to every consideration of his own interests, and he entered the vortex of politics, never to return to the peaceful course of professional labour.



THE BATTLE AT BUNKER'S HILL, NEAR BOSTON.



town or parish from whence he came, and be generally enrolled on the books of the corporation. Young, substantial yeomen, or industrious mechanics, they were

The change in public opinion had been gradually preparing the minds of most men for a revolution. This was not openly avowed; amelioration of treatment for the present, and assurance of kindness in future, were all that the colonies asked from Great Britain; but these they did not receive. The mother country mistook the spirit of her children, and used threats when kindness would have been the best policy. When Britain declared her right to direct, govern, and tax us, in any form, and at all times, the colonies reasoned, remonstrated, and entreated, for a while; and, when these means did not answer, they defied and resisted. The political writers of the province had been active and busy, and they were generally screened by fictitious names, or sent their productions anonymously into the world; but the time had arrived when speakers of nerve and boldness were wanted to raise their voices against oppression in every shape. Warren possessed first rate qualities for an orator, and had early declared, in the strongest terms, his political sentiments, which were somewhat in advance of public opinion, for he held as tyranny all taxation which could be imposed by the British parliament upon the colonies. In times of danger the people are sagacious, and cling to those who best can serve them, and every eye was on him in every emergency, for he had not only the firmness and decision they wished for in a leader, but was prudent and wary in all his plans. His first object was to enlighten the people, and then he felt sure of engaging their feelings in the general cause. He knew when once they began, it would be impossible to tread back—independence only would satisfy the country. With an intention of directing public sentiment, without appearing to be too active, he met frequently with a considerable number of substantial mechanics, and others in the middle classes of society, who were busy in politics. This crisis required such a man as they found him to be—one who could discern the signs of the times, and mould the ductile materials to his will, and at the same time seem only to follow in the path of others. His letter to Barnard, which attracted the notice of government, had been written several years before, in 1768; but in some form or other, he was constantly enlightening the people by his pen; but it is now difficult, and of no great importance, to trace him in the papers of that period. The public was not then always right in designating the authors of political essays. In the different situations in which he was called to act, he assumed as many characters as fable has ever given to the tutelary god of his profession, and, like him, in every one of them he retained the wisdom to guide, and the power to charm. At one time he might be found restraining the impetuosity, and bridling the fury of those hotheaded politicians, who felt more than they reasoned, and dared to do more than became men. Such was his versatility, that he turned from these lectures of caution and prudence, to asserting and defending the most bold and undisguised principles of liberty, and defying in their very teeth the agents of the crown.

Twice he was elected to deliver the oration on the fifth of March, in commemoration of the "massacre," and his orations are amongst the most distinguished produced by that splendid list of speakers who addressed their fellow citizens on this subject, so interesting to them all. In these productions generally the immediate causes of this event were overlooked, and the remote ones alone were discussed. Here they were on safe ground, for tyranny in its incipient stages has no excuse from opposition; but in its march it generally finds some plausible arguments for its proceedings, drawn from the very resistance it naturally produces. These occasions gave the orators a fine field for remark, and a fair opportunity for effect. The great orators of antiquity, in their speeches, attempted only to rouse the people to retain what they possessed. Invective, entreaty, and pride, had their effect in assisting these mighty masters to influence the people. They were ashamed to lose what their fathers had left them, won by their blood, and so long preserved by their wisdom, their virtues, and their courage. Our statesmen had a harder task to perform, for they were compelled to call on the people to gain what they had never enjoyed—an independent rank and standing amongst the nations of the world.

owners of the soil for which they fought. The battle scene was imposing;—the ground was in the immediate neighbourhood of a city, whose inhabitants were

His next oration was delivered March 6th, 1775. It was at his own solicitation that he was appointed to this duty a second time. The fact is illustrative of his character, and worthy of remembrance. Some British officers of the army then in Boston had publicly declared that it should be at the price of the life of any man to speak of the event of the 5th of March, 1770, on that anniversary. Warren's soul took fire at such a threat, so openly made, and he wished for the honour of braving it. This was readily granted, for at such a time a man would probably find but few rivals. Many who would spurn the thought of personal fear, might be apprehensive that they would be so far disconcerted as to forget their discourse. It is easier to fight bravely, than to think clearly or correctly in danger. Passion sometimes nerves the arm to fight, but disturbs the regular current of thought. The day came, and the weather was remarkably fine. The Old South Meeting House was crowded at an early hour. The British officers occupied the aisles, the flight of steps to the pulpit, and several of them were within it. It was not precisely known whether this was accident or design. The orator, with the assistance of his friends, made his entrance at the pulpit window by a ladder. The officers, seeing his coolness and intrepidity, made way for him to advance and address the audience. An awful stillness preceded his exordium. Each man felt the palpitations of his own heart, and saw the pale but determined face of his neighbour. The speaker began his oration in a firm tone of voice, and proceeded with great energy and pathos. Warren and his friends were prepared to chastise contumely, prevent disgrace, and avenge an attempt at assassination.

The scene was sublime; a patriot, in whom the flush of youth, and the grace and dignity of manhood, were combined, stood armed in the sanctuary of God, to animate and encourage the sons of liberty, and to hurl defiance at their oppressors. The orator commenced with the early history of the country, described the tenure by which we held our liberties and property, the affection we had constantly shown the parent country, and boldly told them how, and by whom, these blessings of life had been violated. There was in this appeal to Britain, in this description of suffering, agony, and horror, a calm and high-souled defiance, which must have chilled the blood of every sensible foe. Such another hour has seldom happened in the history of man, and is not surpassed in the records of nations. The thunders of Demosthenes rolled at a distance from Philip and his host, and Tully poured the fiercest torrent of his invective when Catiline was at a distance, and his dagger no longer to be feared; but Warren's speech was made to proud oppressors, resting on their arms, whose errand it was to overawe, and whose business it was to fight.

If the deed of Brutus deserved to be commemorated by history, poetry, painting, and sculpture, should not this instance of patriotism and bravery be held in lasting remembrance? If he "that struck the foremost man of all this world," was hailed as the first of freemen, what honours are not due to him, who, undismayed, bearded the British lion, to show the world what his countrymen dared to do in the cause of liberty? If the statue of Brutus was placed amongst those of the gods, who were the preservers of Roman freedom, should not that of Warren fill a lofty niche in the temple reared to perpetuate the remembrance of our birth as a nation?

If independence was not at first openly avowed by our leading men, at that time, the hope of attaining it was fondly cherished, and the exertions of the patriots pointed to this end. The wise knew that the storm, which the political Prosperos were raising, would pass away in blood. With these impressions on his mind, Warren for several years was preparing himself by study and observation to take a conspicuous rank in the military arrangements which he knew must ensue.

On the 18th of April, 1775, by his agents in Boston, he discovered the design of the British commander to seize or destroy our few stores at Concord. He instantly despatched several confidential messengers to Lexington. The late venerable patriot, Paul

watching the progress of events, anxious for their nearest friends;—the roar of cannon from ships of war, and from floating and stationary batteries, followed or commingled with incessant volleys of musketry—a well-built and compact town, seen in

Revere, was one of them. This gentleman has given a very interesting account of the difficulties he encountered in the discharge of this duty. The alarm was given, and the militia, burning with resentment, were, at day break, on the 19th, on the road to repel insult and aggression. The drama was opened about sunrise, within a few yards of the house of God, in Lexington. Warren hastened to the field of action, in the full ardour of his soul, and shared the dangers of the day. While pressing on the enemy, a musket ball took off a lock of his hair close to his ear. The lock was rolled and pinned after the fashion of that day, and considerable force must have been necessary to have cut it away. The people were delighted with his cool, collected bravery, and already considered him as a leader, whose gallantry they were to admire, and in whose talents they were to confide.

On the 14th of June, 1775, the provincial congress of Massachusetts made him a major-general of their forces; but, previous to the date of his commission, he had been unceasing in his exertions to maintain order and enforce discipline amongst the troops, which had hastily assembled at Cambridge, after the battle of Lexington. He mingled in the ranks, and by every method and argument strove to inspire them with confidence, and succeeded in a most wonderful manner in imparting to them a portion of the flame which glowed in his own breast. At such a crisis, genius receives its birth-right, the homage of inferior minds, who for self-preservation, are willing to be directed. Previous to receiving the appointment of major-general, he had been requested to take the office of physician general to the army, but he chose to be where wounds were to be made, rather than where they were to be healed. Yet he lent his aid and advice to the medical department of the army, and was of great service to them in their organization and arrangements.

He was at this time president of the provincial congress, having been elected the preceding year a member from the town of Boston. In this body he discovered his extraordinary powers of mind, and his peculiar fitness for responsible offices at such a juncture. Cautious in proposing measures, he was assiduous in pursuing what he thought, after mature deliberation, to be right, and never counted the probable cost of a measure, when he had decided that it was necessary to be taken. When this congress, which was sitting at Watertown, adjourned for the day, he mounted his horse, and hastened to the camp. Every day "he bought golden opinions of all sorts of men;" and when the troops were called to act on Breed's Hill, he had so often been amongst them, that his person was known to most of the soldiers.

Several respectable historians have fallen into some errors in describing the battle in which he fell, by giving the command of the troops, on that day, to Warren, when he was only a volunteer in the fight. He did not arrive on the battle ground until the enemy had commenced their movements for the attack. As soon as he made his appearance on the field, the veteran commander of the day, Colonel Prescott, desired to act under his direction; but Warren declined taking any other part than that of a volunteer, and added, that he came to learn the art of war from an experienced soldier, whose orders he should be happy to obey. In the battle he was armed with a musket, and stood in the ranks, now and then changing his place, to encourage his fellow soldiers by words and example. He undoubtedly, from the state of hostilities, expected soon to act in his high military capacity, and it was indispensable, according to his views, that he should share the dangers of the field as a common soldier with his fellow citizens, that his reputation for bravery might be put beyond the possibility of suspicion. The wisdom of such a course would never have been doubted, if he had returned in safety from the fight. In such a struggle for independence, the ordinary rules of prudence and caution could not govern those who were building up their names for future usefulness by present exertion. Some maxims drawn from the republi-

one mass of flames,—and all this, but the commencement of troubles,—was a sight appalling to every American, and seemed to shake even the enemy, in both mind and body. The British troops, in considerable numbers, occupied the hill that night,

can writers of antiquity, were worn as their mottos. Some precepts descriptive of the charms of liberty, were ever on their tongues, and some classical model of Greek or Roman patriotism, was constantly in their minds. Instances of great men mixing in the ranks of common soldiers, were to be found in ancient times, when men fought for their altars and their homes. The cases were parallel, and the examples were imposing. When the battle was decided, and our people fled, Warren was one of the last who left the breast-work, and was slain within a few yards of it, as he was slowly retiring. He probably felt mortified at the event of the day; but, had he known how dearly the victory was purchased, and how little honour was gained by those who won it, his heart might have been at rest. Like the band of Leonidas, the vanquished have received by the judgment of nations, from which there is no appeal, the imperishable laurels of victors. His death brought a sickness to the heart of the community, and the people mourned his fall, not with the convulsive agony of a betrothed virgin over the bleeding corpse of her lover, but with the pride of the Spartan mother, who, in the intensity of her grief, smiled to see that the wounds whence life had flown, were on the breast of her son, and was satisfied that he had died in defence of his country. The worth of the victim, and the horror of the sacrifice, gave a higher value to our liberties, and produced a more fixed determination to preserve them.

This eminence has become sacred ground. It contains in its bosom the ashes of the brave, who died fighting to defend their altars and their homes. Strangers from all countries visit this spot, for it is associated in their memories with Marathon and Plataea, and all the mighty struggles of determined freemen. Our citizens love to wander over this field—the aged to awake recollections, and the youthful to excite heroic emotions. The battle-ground is now all plainly to be seen—the spirit of modern improvement, which would stop the streams of Helicon to turn a mill, and cause to be felled the trees of Paradise to make a rafter, has yet spared this hallowed height.

If "the days of chivalry be gone for ever," and the high and enthusiastic feelings of generosity and magnanimity be not so widely diffused as in more heroic ages, yet it cannot be denied but that there have been, and still are, individuals whose bosoms are warmed with a spirit as glowing and ethereal, as ever swelled the heart of "mailed knight," who, in the ecstasies of love, religion, and martial glory, joined the war-cry on the plains of Palestine, or proved his steel on the infidel foe. The history of every revolution is interspersed with brilliant episodes of individual prowess. The pages of our own history, when fully written out, will sparkle profusely with these gems of romantic valour.

The calmness and indifference of the veteran "in clouds of dust and seas of blood," can only be acquired by long acquaintance with the trade of death; but the heights of Charlestown will bear eternal testimony how suddenly, in the cause of freedom, the peaceful citizen can become the invincible warrior; stung by oppression, he springs forward from his tranquil pursuits, undaunted by opposition, and undismayed by danger, to fight even to death for the defence of his rights. Parents, wives, children, and country, all the hallowed properties of existence, are to him the talisman that takes fear from his heart, and nerves his arm to victory. In the requiem over those who have fallen in the cause of their country, which "Time, with his own eternal lips, shall sing," the praises of Warren shall be distinctly heard.

The blood of those patriots who have fallen in the defence of republics, has often "cried from the ground," against the ingratitude of the country for which it was shed. No monument was reared to their fame; no record of their virtues written; no fostering hand extended to their offspring; but they and their deeds were neglected and forgotten. Towards Warren there was no ingratitude—our country is free from this stain. Congress were the guardians of his

and enlarged the redoubt to nearly twice the original extent; yet they did not venture to light their fires, but laboured by the sinking, flickering lights, which shot up from the smouldering ruins of Charlestown. For the Americans, struggling for liberty, the event of this battle was most fortunate. Their troops had done enough for honour; enough to produce an impression of their prowess on the minds of their enemies; enough to give them confidence in themselves; and to show that they had learnt something in the way of preparing themselves to correct the errors of judgment in planning a fight. They suffered enough to feel their loss deeply, and yet not sufficiently in any way to weaken their forces. The wound received was too deep to be healed at once; the sight was too awful to be soon forgotten.

If the army had come down from Cambridge and Roxbury to the succour, the British would have been destroyed altogether; but from the disposition of the king of England at this period, and the spirit of the ministry, the whole force of the British nation would have been brought to crush the Americans at once.

The battle was fought on Saturday afternoon. Before Sunday night the intelligence was spread more than a hundred miles distant from the scene of action. All were roused to the highest pitch of resentment, and set about preparing themselves for a long and bloody struggle. Companies were raised and equipped with the utmost despatch; all hopes of reconciliation were lost. Squads of armed men flocked to head quarters, some of them having travelled eighty miles in twenty-four hours.

To show the character of the men who had entered upon the duties of this important revolution, we need

honour, and remembered that his children were unprotected orphans. Within a year after his death, congress passed the following resolution:—

"That a monument be erected to the memory of General Warren, in the town of Boston, with the following inscription:—

In honour of
JOSEPH WARREN,
Major-General of Massachusetts Bay.

He devoted his life to the liberties of his country,
And in bravely defending them, fell an early victim in the
BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL,
June 17, 1775.

The Congress of the United States, as an acknowledgment of his services and distinguished merit, have erected this monument to his memory."

It was resolved, likewise, "that the eldest son of General Warren should be educated from that time at the expense of the United States." On the first of July, 1780, congress, recognising these former resolutions, further resolved, "that it should be recommended to the executive of Massachusetts Bay, to make provision for the maintenance and education of his three younger children, and that congress would defray the expense to the amount of the half pay of a major-general, to commence at the time of his death, and

only to notice the fact, that the provincial congress, then sitting at Watertown, about six miles from the battle-field, proceeded, as usual, with their business; and no mention is made of the battle on their records, until three days afterwards, when a member moved that the body should proceed to elect a president, as it was believed that Doctor Joseph Warren, who had filled the chair, had been slain on the 17th, at Bunker Hill. His place was supplied, and a committee was appointed to collect and publish all the circumstances of the fight. This was only partially executed at the time. It was reserved for the lapse of half a century, to complete the record for history. When the corner stone of Bunker Hill monument was about to be laid, the legislature of Massachusetts invited, by a resolve of that body, all the survivors of that day's fight, to repair, at the expense of the commonwealth, to Charlestown, to take a part in the ceremonies. This invitation was accepted by more than fifty veterans, who, on their arrival, stated, under the solemnity of an oath, the circumstances within their recollections, of the battle. That which had been doubtful and contradictory, was made plain and satisfactory from comparing all these statements of these honest veterans.]

While most of the colonies afforded sufficient occupation for the watchfulness of the British government, those of New England called forth the most vigorous efforts of the royalists, both by sea and land. The naval forces were frequently engaged in destroying armed American vessels, congress having fitted out several, which were very successful in capturing store ships sent with supplies of provisions and ammunition for the royal army.* At Gloucester, the

continue till the youngest of the children should be of age." The part of the resolutions relating to the education of the children, was carried into effect accordingly. The monument is not yet erected, but it is not too late. The shade of Warren will not repine at this neglect, while the ashes of Washington repose without grave stone or epitaph.—*Knapp's American Biography.*

* After the war had begun in earnest, Washington gave commission and authority to take, and bring in, such vessels as our cruisers could capture, belonging to the British government, on the high seas. By virtue of this authority, several rich prizes were taken, some of them loaded with munitions of war, which came timely to the American army. Several vessels being private property which had been taken by these cruisers, were promptly released. Congress sanctioned his proceedings as justifiable and proper, and at once turned their attention to a naval force. In 1776, they appointed twenty-four captains of the navy, and a few lieutenants, leaving it to the naval committee to appoint the others; and, at the same time, authorized the building of sixteen ships of war, and several smaller vessels. This, with the force which was then already in the possession of the several states, a part of which were sold to congress, soon made a respectable naval force. The work of building went bravely on, for the merchants were deeply interested in it, and readily loaned the money to government for their building, or trusted the national contractor for materials necessary in getting this naval force into effective operation. Some

Falcon sloop of war having chased an American vessel into the harbour, despatched three boats, with about forty men, to bring her off, when the party

of the ships were as large as thirty-two's, and from these down to four's. After this, larger vessels were built, but only one seventy-four, however, and she was never in our service. These were commanded by brave men, and there was no act of cowardice known in the American navy during the revolutionary war. There might have been a few instances of indecorum and want of discretion, but none of cowardice.

But to be a little more minute in this history, as it is important to examine our beginnings as a nation, in November, 1775, the legislature of Massachusetts passed a spirited act, by which they authorized and encouraged the fitting out of private armed vessels, to defend the sea coast of America; and at the same time created a court of admiralty, to try and condemn all vessels that should be found infesting the same. The preamble to this act was written by the late vice-president, Mr. Gerry, and it is a bold and an ingenious exposition of the sovereign rights of the people in such an exigency, founded on the royal charter of William and Mary, under which the affairs of the province of Massachusetts had been administered for more than eighty years. The body of the act was penned by Mr. Sullivan, late governor of Massachusetts, an early and firm patriot of the revolution. On the 16th of December of that year, the government of Massachusetts resolved to fit out ten vessels to go to the West Indies for military stores. On the 29th of this month, John Adams and J. Palmer were appointed by the legislature of Massachusetts, a committee to prepare and report a plan for fitting out armed vessels. On the 8th of January following, eight thousand pounds were voted for the purpose of making a respectable marine force for the province. On the 11th of January, 1776, it was resolved in council, to build two frigates, one of thirty-six, and the other of thirty-two guns. On the 7th of February, it was resolved by the whole court to build ten sloops of war, to carry sixteen guns each. Ten thousand pounds were appropriated to this purpose. Some of these vessels were built, and some others were hired, so that Massachusetts soon had quite a respectable naval force on the high seas at their disposal. At the close of the year 1775, congress commissioned several vessels of war, six sloops, and thirteen galleys; but they were restrained to the taking of public property. After the declaration of independence, when there was no prospect of peace for a season, or at least until Great Britain had tried the strength of the United Colonies, the marine was greatly increased, and twenty-four vessels were put in commission, and additions were made from time to time to this respectable force. These vessels were commanded by high-spirited and intelligent men, who were wonderfully successful; for in the course of three years they had taken more than double the number of their own guns from the enemy, besides a great number of merchantmen of value. More than eight hundred guns had been taken from the enemy during this time, by the marine which congress had fitted out; while that of Massachusetts, and of the other states, were equally successful. The vessels taken by the public and private armed vessels, from the battle of Lexington to the 17th of March, 1776, when the British evacuated Boston, amounted to thirty-four, of considerable size and value, with excellent cargoes. The tonnage of these captured vessels amounted to three thousand six hundred and forty-five tons. In 1776, the British vessels captured by the private armed vessels, alone, amounted to the great number of three hundred and forty-two, of which forty-four were retaken, eighteen released, and five burnt. In the following year, 1777, the success of our privateers was still greater. Vessels were captured to the amount of four hundred and twenty-one. The success continued without any great diminution until 1780. At this time the British merchants made so strong an appeal to their government, that they provided a convoy for every fleet of merchant vessels to every part of the globe. Out of the fleet sailing from England to the West Indies, consisting of two hundred in number, in the year 1777, one hundred and thirty-seven were taken by our privateers; and from a fleet from Ireland to the West Indies, of sixty sail, thirty-five were taken. Taking the years 1775, 6, 7, 8, and 9, say for the first year, thirty-four;

were so warmly received by the militia who had collected on the shore, that the captain thought it necessary to send a re-enforcement, and to commence

second, three hundred and forty-two; third, four hundred and twenty-one; and for the fourth, which has not been accurately given, I believe, in any work, say, and this within bounds, two hundred; and for the fifth, the same, two hundred; and allowing but one hundred for the balance of the time during the war, will make twelve hundred and ninety-seven, without including those taken by public vessels from 1776 to the close of the war; and this latter number, if it could be precisely given, would add greatly to the list of captures. The marine, undoubtedly, fell off towards the close of the war, from several causes; one, the difficulties in the finance of the country, and from the great exertions of the Admiralty of England in capturing our privateers. They had become alarmed from the complaints of their merchants, and the rise of insurance against capture, which reached an extent unknown before or since. The French navy, after that time, joined us in the war, and was in itself so powerful, that our smaller vessels were not wanted to co-operate with the land forces as before. Besides the defence of Charleston and Philadelphia, which were engagements that ought to be ranked among the most memorable events in our revolutionary contest, there were others all along the seaboard, of less note, but in themselves spirited affairs. Rhode Island, Philadelphia, and Charleston, have high claims for naval distinction, and for constant efforts on the high seas, during the war.

Our naval affairs were managed by a marine committee in congress, who were as active and efficient as their limited means would allow. They had the admiralty code of England and Holland before them, and took such parts of it as would answer the purpose of their design. The committee of congress did wonders, considering their means, and the difficulties they had to encounter. John Adams was an efficient member of this committee; and, delighted with the course pursued by the merchants of the Netherlands, in gaining their independence and raising their national character, he studied their state papers, ruminated upon their history, and found it wise to copy their policy. He was born and educated among a mercantile people, and was well acquainted with their true interests. He saw an extended seaboard, and knew it were folly to defend our harbours and seaports without a naval force. To him and his coadjutors are we indebted for the shape our infant navy took, and for the Herculean tasks she performed, as it were, in the cradle. It is not to be denied, however, that he had the cordial co-operation of all the efficient members in congress in every state, whether more or less maritime; for these enlightened men saw what a mighty engine of power this force might be made in a foreign war; and they soon saw, too, how much a matter of gain it was in that day. John Adams has deservedly been considered the father of the American navy. His disposition was of that prompt, effective, and daring character, that made him delight in the naval glories of his country. He knew that Great Britain was henceforth to be separated from us, and that it was only by cherishing a desire for naval distinction, that we were ever to contend upon equal ground with her. This he declared almost as soon as he saw the conflict gathering, and the storm ready to burst, long before he had assisted the people, or their representatives, to brace themselves up for the declaration of independence. A naval force was thought by all to be necessary at that day. It was long since that period, that the establishment of this great engine of national defence, was considered of questionable policy. Then the representatives of all the states concurred most heartily in doing every thing in their power to encourage the increase of our naval force. The success of the privateers gave an elasticity and spirit to the people, that nothing else could have given. It gave them wealth also, through the medium of enterprise and valour. The seaports were full of the bustle of preparation for cruising and reception of prizes. Articles of merchandise were common, and of a quality the frugality and economy of our people had never permitted them to think of before. These articles were of use to citizens and soldiers, and the sale and purchase gave a specious form to business. A great part of the capital on which they were obtained, was the hardihood and daring of the people. This success inspired

cannonading the town. A very smart action ensued, which was kept up for several hours, but resulted in the complete defeat of the assailants, leaving upwards of thirty prisoners in the hands of the Americans. This repulse excited the British to deeds of revenge upon several of the defenceless towns on the coast, and to declare that many of them should be reduced to ashes, unless the inhabitants consented to an unconditional compliance with all their demands. Another occurrence also tended to mutual exasperation. In compliance with a resolution of the provincial congress to prevent Tories from conveying out their effects, the inhabitants of Falmouth, in the north-eastern part of Massachusetts, had obstructed the loading of a mast ship. The destruction of the town was therefore determined on, as an example of vindictive punishment. Captain Mowat, detached for that purpose with armed vessels by Admiral Greaves, arrived off the place on the evening of the 17th of October, and gave notice to the inhabitants that he would allow them two hours "to remove the human species." Upon being solicited to afford some explanation of this extraordinary summons, he replied, that he had orders to set on fire all the seaport towns from Boston to Halifax, and that he supposed New York was already in ashes. He could dispense with his orders, he said, on no terms but the compliance of the inhabitants to deliver up their arms and ammunition, and their sending on board a supply of provisions, and four of the principal persons in the town, as hostages that they should engage not to unite with their country in any kind of opposition to Britain; and

he assured them, that, on a refusal of these conditions, he should lay the town in ashes within three hours. Unprepared for the attack, the inhabitants, by entreaty, obtained the suspension of an answer till the morning, and employed this interval in removing their families and effects. The next day, Captain Mowat commenced a furious cannonade and bombardment; and a great number of people, standing on the heights, were spectators of the conflagration, which reduced many of them to penury and despair. More than four hundred houses and stores were burnt. Newport, Rhode Island, being threatened with a similar attack, was compelled to stipulate for a weekly supply to avert it.

Warlike operations were not confined to the sea ports. Their success in the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point stimulated the Americans to more extensive operations in the north; and the movements of Sir G. Carleton, the governor of Canada, appeared to call for them, congress having reason to believe that a formidable invasion was intended from that quarter. The management of military affairs in this department had been committed to the Generals Schuyler and Montgomery. On the 10th of September, about one thousand American troops effected a landing at St. John's, the first British port in Canada, lying one hundred and fifteen miles only to the northward of Ticonderoga, but found it advisable to retreat to Isle aux Noix, twelve miles south of St. John's. An extremely bad state of health soon after inducing General Schuyler to retire to Ticonderoga, the command devolved on General Montgomery. That enterprising officer, in a

the army likewise; for they saw that sailors of a new creation could meet, and dared fight, the hardy sons of Neptune born in old England, and educated in the best of fleets in the world; and that these veterans were often found to yield to American sailors, of but a few months discipline on the high seas.

In the bustle that privateering created, the loss of lives and limbs was forgotten, and the pride of conquest, and the joy of the possession of property won by daring, concealed the pain of many wounds, and perhaps healed a great many that a want of success might have festered and rendered immedicable. In an army, individual bravery seldom finds an opportunity of display, while in these sea-fights almost every one had an opportunity of showing his prowess. These mariners on board a privateer were sharers in the success of every enterprise, often a better, or stronger motive, for brave deeds, than the sound of a name. It was often that they had an opportunity of selecting the commander under whom they would serve; and men so situated, are generally sagacious in discerning the merits of their superiors; particularly when that merit, in a good measure, consisted in overt acts, of which they were as good judges as men of higher grades of mind, and of higher rank in society. Several of these commanders of privateers were men of original and commanding talent, and deserve to be handed down to posterity, as well as the leaders of small bands in the primitive wars of the classical ages. Manly, Mugford, Jones, Waters, Young, Tucker, Talbot, Nicholson, Williams, Biddle, Hopkins, Robinson, and many others, who were either in the service of one of the state sovereignties at that time, or in the service

of congress, have been noticed by the writers of biography in times past; but there are many more who are equally worthy of notice, who have been neglected, because they were only commanders of privateers. It ought, however, to be considered, that our vessels of war were small, and did not, in general, carry more guns or men than some of our privateers at that time; and the commanders of both classes of vessels, those of the United States and those of private citizens, were educated and trained alike, and had equal sagacity, skill, and success. Scarcely a day passed, from the summer of 1775 to 1780, that the people were not animated with the news of some sea fight, and generally victory was on our side; for these privateers were built for quick sailing, and when they thought the fight would be at odds against them, they out-sailed the enemy, and escaped to annoy them in some other quarter. These commanders, in general, were men of standing, honour, and principle, and never suffered themselves to sink into petty tyrants, or lawless bucaniers, in their manners or feelings. Instances of the most magnanimous conduct among them, might be given. In several cases of capture, when they understood the owners were friendly to the cause of America, the vessels and crews were suffered to depart without losing a particle of property. In the vessels taken by these privateers, as in the public armed ships, the officers were never deprived of their baggage, and often were allowed their adventures, if their owners had allowed them such privileges, and they had any on board. Some few of these commanders of privateers have lived down to our time.—*American Editor.*

few days returned to the vicinity of St. John's, and opened a battery against it; and the reduction of Fort Chamblee, by a small detachment, giving him possession of six tons of gunpowder, enabled him to prosecute the siege of St. John's with vigour. General Carleton advanced against him with about eight hundred men; but, in attempting to cross the St. Lawrence, with the intention of landing at Longueuil, he was attacked by Colonel Warner, at the head of three hundred Green Mountain boys, and compelled to retire with precipitancy. This repulse induced the garrison of St. John's to surrender, on honourable terms of capitulation.

While Montgomery was prosecuting the siege of St. John's, Colonel Ethan Allen, who had been despatched on a service necessary to that object, hearing that Montreal was in a defenceless state, attempted its capture without the knowledge of his superior in command; he was, however, with part of his detachment, taken prisoner, and, to the disgrace of General Carleton, loaded with irons, and in that state sent to England. "It is impossible to think of the fate of this heroic partisan, without regretting that wild spirit of independence which spurned even at the most necessary and proper subordination in the revolutionary fathers. If Colonel Allen had consulted the general, as was unquestionably his duty, the whole fate of the Canadian expedition might have been changed. He would either have received such re-enforcements as would have rendered his object attainable without hazard, or he would have been forbidden to undertake it; and the assistance of his daring courage and skill might have prevented the fate which subsequently befell General Montgomery before Quebec."* After the capture of St. John's, Montgomery directed his attention to Montreal, with different success. On his approach, the few British troops there repaired on board the shipping, in hopes of escaping down the river; but General Prescott, and several officers, with about one hundred and twenty privates, were intercepted, and made prisoners on capitulation; eleven sail of vessels, with all their contents, fell into the hands of the provincials. Governor Carleton was secretly conveyed away in a boat with muffled paddles, and arrived safely at Quebec. General Montgomery, leaving some troops in Montreal, and sending detachments into different parts of the province to encourage the Canadians and to forward provisions, advanced with his little army to Quebec, where he found, to his surprise, that a body of American troops had arrived before.

General Washington, foreseeing that the whole force of Canada would be concentrated about Montreal, had projected an expedition against Quebec in a different direction from that of Montgomery. His plan was to send out a detachment from his camp before Boston, to march by way of Kennebeck River; and, passing through the dreary wilderness lying between the settled parts of the province of Maine and the St. Lawrence, to penetrate into Canada about ninety miles below Montreal. This extraordinary and most arduous enterprise was committed to Colonel Arnold, who, with one thousand one hundred men, consisting of New England infantry, some volunteers, a company of artillery, and three companies of riflemen, commenced his march on the 13th of September. It is almost impossible to conceive the labour, hardships, and difficulties, which this detachment had to encounter in their progress up the rapid stream of the Kennebeck, frequently interrupted by falls, where they were obliged to land and carry the boats upon their shoulders, until they surmounted them, through a country wholly uninhabited, with a scanty supply of provisions, the season cold and rainy, and the men daily dropping down with fatigue, sickness, and hunger. Arnold was indefatigable in his endeavours to alleviate the distresses of his men, but to procure provisions for them was not in his power. They were at one time reduced to so great an extremity of hunger, that the dogs belonging to the army were killed and eaten, and many of the soldiers devoured their leather cartouch boxes. Arnold and his party at length arrived at Point Levi, opposite the town of Quebec; but in consequence of information the British had received, by the treachery of the Indian to whom Arnold had intrusted a letter to General Schuyler, the boats which he expected to find there to transport his troops across the river had been removed, and the enemy were no longer in a state to be surprised. Arnold, however, was not to be deterred from attempting something against the town—he calculated strongly upon the defection of the inhabitants; and having supplied himself with canoes, he crossed the river in the night, and gained possession of the heights of Abraham. Here, though he had no artillery, and scarcely half the number of men that composed the garrison of the town, he made a bold experiment to try the loyalty of the enemy's troops, by sending a flag to summon them to surrender. But no message would be admitted, and Arnold found himself compelled to retire to more comfortable quarters, where he awaited the arrival of General Montgomery.

General Carleton, who it has already been stated

* Allen's History of the American Revolution, vol. i. p. 292.



THE DEATH OF GENERAL MONTGOMERY,

as it appears in *Dunbar's* *Dec. 1775*

W. J. Kneller del.

arrived at Quebec, had taken the best measures for its defence, and was prepared to receive him. In a few days, the American general opened a six-gun battery within about seven hundred yards of the walls; but his artillery was too light to make a breach, and he could do nothing more than amuse the enemy, and conceal his real purpose. After continuing a siege nearly a month, he resolved on a desperate attempt to carry the place by escalade. To distract the garrison, two feigned attacks were made on the upper town by two divisions of the army under Majors Brown and Livingston, while two real attacks on opposite sides of the lower town were made by two other divisions under Montgomery and Arnold. Early in the morning of the last day in the year, the signal was given, and the several divisions moved to the assault in the midst of a heavy fall of snow, which covered the assailants from the sight of the enemy. Montgomery, at the head of the New York troops, advanced along the St. Lawrence, by Aunsee de Mere, under Cape Diamond. The first barrier to be surmounted on that side was defended by a battery, in which were mounted a few pieces of artillery, in front of which were a blockhouse and picket. The guard at the blockhouse, after giving a random fire, threw away their arms and fled to the barrier, and for a time the battery itself was deserted. Enormous piles of ice impeded the progress of the Americans, who, pressing forward in a narrow defile, reached at length the blockhouse and picket. Montgomery, who was in front, assisted in cutting down or pulling up the pickets, and advanced boldly and rapidly at the head of about two hundred men, to force the barrier. By this time one or two persons had ventured to return to the battery, and, seizing a slow match, discharged one of the guns. Casual as this fire appeared, it was fatal to General Montgomery and to two valuable young officers near his person, who, together with his orderly sergeant and a private, were killed on the spot. Colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, precipitately retired with the remainder of the division.—In the mean time, Colonel Arnold, at the head of about three hundred and fifty men, made a desperate attack on the opposite side. Advancing with the utmost intrepi-

dity along the St. Charles, through a narrow path, exposed to an incessant fire of grape shot and musketry, as he approached the first barrier at the Saut des Matelots, he received a musket ball in the leg, which shattered the bone, and he was carried off to the camp. Captain Morgan, who commanded a company of Virginia riflemen, rushed forward to the batteries at their head, and received a discharge of grape shot, which killed one man only. A few rifles were immediately fired into the embrasures, and the barricade was mounted; the battery was instantly deserted, but the captain of the guard, with the greater part of his men, fell into the hands of the Americans. Morgan formed his men, but from the darkness of the night and total ignorance of the situation of the town, it was judged unadvisable to proceed. He was soon joined by Lieutenant-colonel Green and Majors Bigelow and Meigs, with several fragments of companies, amounting collectively to about two hundred men. At daylight this gallant party was again formed; but after a bloody and desperate engagement, in which they sustained the force of the whole garrison three hours, they were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war.*

After this brave but disastrous assault, the commander of the American troops did not muster more than four hundred effective men: in the hope, however, of receiving reinforcements, they maintained a position at a short distance from Quebec; and, although the garrison was very superior in numbers, the bravery the colonists had evinced, and the mixed character of his own troops, disinclined General Carleton from leaving his ramparts to attack the Americans.

The existence of armed vessels in the service of the colonies has already been adverted to. From the peculiar situation of Massachusetts, it was perceived that important advantages might be gained by employing armed vessels on the coasts; to prevent the British from collecting provisions from any places accessible to them, and to capture the enemy's ships loaded with military stores. Before the subject of a naval armament was taken up by congress, it appears that not only Massachusetts, but Rhode Island and Connecticut, had each of them two vessels, at-

the late French war. Congress directed a monument to be erected to his memory, with an inscription expressive of their veneration for his character, and of their deep sense of his "many signal and important services; and to transmit to future ages, as examples truly worthy of imitation, his patriotism, conduct, boldness of enterprise, insuperable perseverance, and contempt of danger and death." A monument of white marble, with emblematic devices, has accordingly been erected to his memory, in front of St. Paul's church, in New York.

* In Montgomery the Americans lost one of the bravest and most accomplished generals that ever led an army to the field. But he was not more illustrious for his skill and courage as an officer, than he was estimable for his private virtues. All enmity to him on the part of the British ceased with his life, and respect to his private character prevailed over all other considerations. His body was taken up the next day, and he was decently interred.—Montgomery was a gentleman of good family in Ireland, who, having married a lady and purchased an estate in New York, considered himself as an American, and had served with reputation in

least, fitted, armed, and equipped by the colonial authorities. Subsequently, the general court of Massachusetts passed an act for encouraging the fitting out of armed vessels to defend the sea coast of America, and for erecting a court to try and condemn all vessels that should be found infesting the same. Shortly afterwards, a committee of congress, appointed to devise ways and means for fitting out a naval armament, brought in their report, which was adopted. It was resolved to fit out for sea thirteen ships, five of thirty-two guns, five of twenty-eight, and three of twenty-four guns; a committee was nominated, with full powers to carry the report into execution with all possible expedition, and Ezekiel Hopkins was appointed commander. Thus commenced the American navy. The advantages that had been anticipated from armed vessels were soon experienced. Captain Manly, of Marblehead, one of the first who put to sea, on the 29th of November took an ordnance brig from Woolwich, containing, besides a large brass mortar, several pieces of fine brass cannon, a large quantity of small arms and ammunition, with all kinds of tools, utensils, and machines, necessary for camps and artillery; and, nine days after, three ships, from London, Glasgow, and Liverpool, with various stores for the British army. A brig, with fifteen thousand pounds of powder, was captured by a vessel fitted out by the council of safety of South Carolina. The supplies obtained by these means were of vast importance to the American army, which was in very great want of ammunition and military stores.

Among other measures tending to promote the general welfare, congress resolved that a line of posts should be appointed from Falmouth, in New England, to Savannah, in Georgia; and Benjamin Franklin was unanimously chosen postmaster-general. They also directed the establishment of an hospital, adequate to the necessities of an army consisting of twenty thousand men; and Dr. Church was appointed director and physician of the establishment.*

General Washington, on his first arrival in camp, had found the materials for a good army; but they were in the crudest state. The troops having been raised by different colonial governments, no uniformity existed among the regiments; and imbued by

the spirit of that very liberty for which they were preparing to fight, and unaccustomed to discipline, they neither felt an inclination to be subject to military rules, nor realized the importance of being so. The difficulty of establishing subordination was greatly increased by the shortness of the terms of enlistment, some of which were to expire in November, and none to continue longer than December. Various causes operated to lead congress to the almost fatal plan of temporary military establishments. Among the most important of these were a prospect of accommodation with the parent state, and the want of experience in the management of war upon an extensive scale. It is true, the revolutionary conflict placed the people of America in a situation in which all the energies of the human mind are brought into action, and in which man makes his noblest efforts; the occasion called upon the public theatre statesmen and warriors, who, by the wise and honourable execution of the complicated duties of their new characters, surprised the world; but even from them errors of inexperience were inevitable. The fear of accumulating expenses which the resources of the country could not discharge, had a further influence to deter the American government from the adoption of permanent military establishments; for, although the recommendations of congress, and the regulations of state conventions had, in the day of enthusiasm, the force of law, yet the ruling power thought it inexpedient to attempt to raise large sums by direct taxes, at a time when the commerce of the country was annihilated, and the cultivators of the ground were subjected to heavy services in the field of war. The only recourse was to a paper medium, without funds for its redemption, or for the support of its credit, and therefore of necessity subject to depreciation, and, in its nature, capable of only a temporary currency; congress, therefore, was justly afraid of the expense of a permanent army. Jealousy of a standing army had also a powerful influence upon the military arrangements of America. Indeed this spirit early insinuated itself into the legislative bodies of the colonies, and was displayed in many of their measures: an indication of this feeling appears in the address presented by the provincial assembly of New York to General Washington, while on his journey

* Not long after his appointment, Dr. Church was detected in a traitorous correspondence with the British in Boston. He had sustained a high reputation as a patriot, and was at this time a member of the Massachusetts house of representatives. He was tried, convicted, and expelled from the house of representatives; and congress afterwards resolved, that he be closely confined in some secure goal in Connecticut, without the use of pen, ink, or

paper; and that no person be allowed to converse with him, except in the presence and hearing of a magistrate, or the sheriff of the county.

Dr. Church was never confined in Connecticut, but was permitted to sail for the West Indies. The vessel he embarked in was lost, and every one on board of her perished. His traitorous intentions, since that period, have become problematical.—*Am. Ed.*

to the American camp. "We have the fullest assurance," say they, "that whenever this important contest shall be decided, by that fondest wish of each American soul, an accommodation with our mother country, you will cheerfully resign the important deposit committed to your hands, and reassume the character of our worthiest citizen." Congress, as a body, unquestionably participated in this jealousy, and was afraid to trust a standing army with the power necessary to conduct the war, lest, at its successful termination, this army should become the master of the country for whose liberties it had fought.

The want of subordination was by no means the only difficulty with which the commander in chief had to contend; he soon made the alarming discovery, that there was not more powder than would furnish each man with nine cartridges. Although this dangerous deficiency was carefully concealed from the enemy, yet the want of bayonets, which was very considerable, could not be kept secret. The army was also so destitute of tents as to be unavoidably lodged in barracks, a circumstance extremely unfavourable to sudden movements, to health, and to discipline. There was no commissary general, and therefore no systematic arrangement for obtaining provisions; and a supply of clothes was rendered peculiarly difficult by the non-importation agreements. Added to this, there was a total want of engineers, and a great deficiency of working tools. The general, happily qualified at once to meet difficulties and to remove them, took immediate care to organize the troops, to fit them for actual service, and to make arrangements for the necessary supplies. Next to these objects, he considered the re-enlistment of the army the most interesting. To this essential point he had early solicited the attention of congress, assuring that body that he must despair of the liberties of his country, unless he were furnished with an army that should stand by him until the conclusion of their enterprise. Congress at length resolved to raise a standing army, to consist of about seventy-five thousand men, to serve for the term of three years, or during the war; and that it should be composed of eighty-eight battalions, to be raised in the colonies, according to their respective abilities. Recruiting orders were accordingly issued; but the progress in raising recruits was by no means proportioned to the public exigencies. On the last day of December, when all the old troops not engaged on the new establishments were disbanded, there had been enlisted for the army of 1776 no more than nine thousand six hundred and fifty men. An ear-

nest recommendation of General Washington to congress to try the influence of a bounty was not acceded to until late in January; but during the winter the number of recruits was considerably augmented. "The history of the winter campaign," says the biographer of Washington, "is a history of continued and successive struggles on the part of the American general, under the vexations and difficulties imposed by the want of arms, ammunition, and permanent troops, on a person in an uncommon degree solicitous to prove himself, by some grand and useful achievement, worthy of the high station to which the voice of his country had called him."

In the space of time between the disbanding the old army, and the constitution of an effective force from the new recruits, the lines were often in a defenceless state; the English must have known the fact, and no adequate reason can be assigned why an attack was not made. "It is not," says General Washington, in his communications to congress, "in the pages of history to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post within musket shot of the enemy, for six months together, without ammunition, and, at the same time, to disband one army and recruit another, within that distance of twenty odd British regiments, is more, probably, than ever was attempted. But if we succeed as well in the last as we have heretofore in the first, I shall think it the most fortunate event of my whole life." Such a measure, with the organization and discipline of the men, will be supposed to have employed every active power of the general; yet this did not satisfy his mind. He knew that congress anxiously contemplated more decisive steps, and that the country looked for events of greater magnitude. The public was ignorant of his actual situation, and conceived his means for offensive operations to be much greater than they were; and they expected from him the capture or expulsion of the British army in Boston. He felt the importance of securing the confidence of his countrymen by some brilliant action, and was fully sensible that his own reputation was liable to suffer if he confined himself solely to measures of defence. To publish to his anxious country the state of his army, would be to acquaint the enemy with his weakness, and to hazard his destruction. The firmness and patriotism of General Washington were displayed, in making the good of his country an object of higher consideration than the applause of those who were incapable of forming a correct opinion of the propriety of his measures. On this, and on many other occasions during the war, he withstood the voice of the populace, rejected the entreaties of the sanguine, and re-

fused to adopt the plans of the rash, that he might ultimately secure the great object of contention. While he resolutely rejected every measure which in his calm and deliberate judgment he did not approve, he daily pondered the practicability of a successful attack upon Boston. As a preparatory step, he took possession of Plowed-hill, Cobble-hill, and Lechmere's Point, and erected fortifications upon them. These posts brought him within half a mile of the enemy's works on Bunker's-hill; and, by his artillery he drove the British floating batteries from their stations in Charles's River. He erected floating batteries to watch the movements of his enemy, and to aid in any offensive operations that circumstances might warrant. He took the opinion of his general officers a second time respecting the meditated attack; they again unanimously gave their opinion in opposition to the measure, and this opinion was immediately communicated to congress. Congress appeared still to favour the attempt, and, that an apprehension of danger to the town of Boston might not have an undue influence upon the operations of the army, resolved, "That if General Washington and his council of war should be of opinion that a successful attack might be made on the troops in Boston, he should make it in any manner he might think expedient, notwithstanding the town, and property therein, might thereby be destroyed."

General Howe had, in October, succeeded General Gage in the command of the British army, and through the winter confined himself to measures of defence. The inability of the American general to accomplish the great object of the campaign, repeatedly pointed out by congress, was doubtless a source of extreme mortification to him; but he indulged the hope of success in some military operations during the winter that would correspond with the high expectations of his country, and procure him honour in his exalted station of commander in chief of the American army. Early in January he summoned a council of war, in which it was resolved, "That a vigorous attempt ought to be made on the ministerial troops in Boston, before they can be reinforced in the spring, if the means can be provided, and a favourable opportunity shall offer."

It was not, however, till the middle of February that the ice became sufficiently strong for General Washington to march his forces upon it into Boston; he was then inclined to risk a general assault upon the British posts, although he had not powder to make any extensive use of his artillery; but his general officers in council voted against the attempt, and in their decision he reluctantly acquiesced. By

the end of the month the stock of powder was considerably increased, and the regular army amounted to fourteen thousand men, which was reinforced by six thousand of the militia of Massachusetts. General Washington now resolved to take possession of the heights of Dorchester, in the prospect that this movement would bring on a general engagement with the enemy under favourable circumstances; or, should this expectation fail, that from this position he would be enabled to annoy the ships in the harbour, and the troops in the town. To mask the design, a severe cannonade and bombardment were opened on the British works and lines for several nights in succession. As soon as the firing began on the night of the 4th of March, a strong detachment marched from Roxbury over the neck of land connecting Roxbury with Dorchester Heights, and, without discovery, took possession of the heights. General Ward, who commanded the division of the army in Roxbury, had fortunately provided fascines before the resolution passed to fortify the place; these were of great use, as the ground was deeply frozen; and, in the course of the night, the party, by uncommon exertions, erected works sufficient for their defence. When the British discovered these works, nothing could exceed their astonishment. Their only alternative was either to abandon the town, or to dislodge the provincials. General Howe, with his usual spirit, chose the latter part of the alternative, and took measures for the embarkation on that very evening of five regiments, with the light infantry and grenadiers, on the important but most hazardous service. The transports fell down in the evening toward the castle with the troops, amounting to about two thousand men; but a tremendous storm at night rendered the execution of the design absolutely impracticable. A council of war was called the next morning, which agreed to evacuate the town as soon as possible. A fortnight elapsed before that measure was effected. Meanwhile, the Americans strengthened and extended their works; and on the morning of the 17th of March, the king's troops, with those Americans who were attached to the royal cause, began to embark; before ten, all of them were under sail. As the rear embarked, General Washington marched triumphantly into Boston, where he was joyfully received as a deliverer.

The issue of the campaign was highly gratifying to all classes; and the gratulation of his fellow-citizens upon the repossession of the metropolis of Massachusetts, was more pleasing to the commander in chief than would have been the honours of a triumph. Congress, to express the public approbation of the

military achievements of their general, resolved, "That the thanks of congress, in their own name, and in the name of the thirteen united colonies, be presented to his excellency General Washington, and the officers and soldiers under his command, for their wise and spirited conduct in the siege and acquisition of Boston; and that a medal of gold be struck, in commemoration of this great event, and presented to his excellency." In his letter, informing congress that he had executed their order, and communicated to the army the vote of thanks, he says, "They were, indeed, at first, a band of undisciplined husbandmen; but it is, under God, to their bravery and attention to their duty, that I am indebted for that success which has procured me the only reward I wish to receive—the affection and esteem of my countrymen."

Although Halifax was mentioned as the destined place of the British armament, General Washington apprehended that New York was their object. On this supposition, he detached several brigades of his army to that city, before the evacuation of Boston; and as soon as the necessary arrangements were made in the latter city, he followed with the main body of his army to New York, where he arrived on the 14th of April. The situation of New York was highly favourable for an invading army, supported by a superior naval force; and General Washington doubted the practicability of a successful defence; but the importance of the place, the wishes of congress, the opinion of his general officers, and the expectation of his country, induced him to make the attempt; and the resolution being formed, he called into action all the resources in his power to effect it, and, with unremitted diligence, pushed on his works. Hulks were sunk in the North and East rivers; forts were erected on the most commanding situations on their banks; and works were raised to defend the narrow passage between Long and York Islands. The passes in the Highlands, bordering on the Hudson, became an object of early and solicitous attention. The command of this river was equally important to the American and the British general. By its possession, the Americans easily conveyed supplies of provision and ammunition to the northern army, and secured an intercourse between the southern and northern colonies essential to the success of the war. If the river were in the hands of the British, this necessary communication would be interrupted, and an intercourse between the Atlantic and Canada opened to them. General Washington ordered the passes to be fortified, and made their security an object of primary importance through every period of his command.

While these operations were carrying on in New England, General Arnold, under all his discouragements, continued the blockade of Quebec; but, in the month of May, in a council of war, it was unanimously determined, that the troops were in no condition to risk an assault, and the army was removed to a more defensible position. The Canadians at this juncture receiving considerable reinforcements, the Americans were compelled to relinquish one post after another, and by the 18th of June they had evacuated Canada.

In Virginia, the zeal and activity which had been excited by the spirited enterprise of Patrick Henry still continued to manifest themselves in various parts of the colony. The governor's family, alarmed by the threatening march of Mr. Henry towards Williamsburgh, had already taken refuge on board the Fowey man-of-war; and only a few weeks elapsed before Lord Dunmore himself adopted the same means of personal safety. Soon after fixing his residence on board the Fowey, his lordship required the house of burgesses to attend him there; but instead of obeying the requisition, they passed sundry resolutions, in which they declared that his lordship's message was "a high breach of the rights and privileges of the house," and that his conduct gave them reason to fear "that a dangerous attack was meditated against the unhappy people of the colony." On the 24th of July, the colonial convention met; they appointed a committee of safety, passed an ordinance for regulating the militia, and for raising a regular force of two regiments, the command of which was given to Patrick Henry, who was also made the commander of all the forces raised, and to be raised, for the defence of the colony. The ships of war belonging to his majesty, which had been cruising in the James and York rivers during the whole summer, had committed many petty acts of depredation and plunder along the shores, which the people now eagerly desired to resent, and an opportunity of gratification soon offered. The captain of the Otter sloop of war, on the 2d of September, ventured upon one of his plundering expeditions in a tender, and was driven ashore near Hampton by a violent tempest. The crew left the vessel on the shore, and made their escape in the night, and next morning the people boarded and set fire to her. This naturally roused Captain Squire's resentment, and he threatened instant destruction to the town; but the committee of safety at Williamsburg, having heard of the affair, detached Colonel Woodford, with three companies, to repel the attack, which was so effectually done, that the assailants were soon glad to make

a precipitate flight, with considerable loss. This affair produced a proclamation from his lordship, (who continued to hold his head-quarters on board one of the ships,) in which he not only declared martial law, but freedom to all the slaves who would join his standard. By this means he soon collected a crew well suited to his designs; and having fortified himself at the Great Bridge, near Norfolk, continued for some time to commit such acts of wanton barbarity and contemptible depredations, as to disgust even those who had until now continued friendly to the cause of the king. The committee of safety finding themselves called upon to put a stop to his lordship's savage warfare, despatched Colonel Woodford to drive him from his hold. Having arrived within cannon shot of Lord Dunmore's position, the Americans halted, and threw up some hasty entrenchments. His lordship, hearing that the provincials amounted only to three hundred men, badly armed, conceived the design of surprising them; and for this purpose Captain Leslie, with the regulars and slaves, crossed the bridge before day-light, and entered the camp of the provincials, just as they were parading under arms. Captain Fordyce advanced to the attack with the grenadiers, and was among the first that fell. The whole number of grenadiers were either killed, wounded, or made prisoners, and the rest of the royal party were obliged to make a rapid retreat. Disappointed in their hopes, the governor's party abandoned their works the following night, and retired to their shipping, leaving Woodford, who was now joined by Colonel Howe from North Carolina, the complete command of Norfolk. After continuing to assail the coasts of Virginia for a considerable time, but almost every where unsuccessfully,* Lord Dunmore was at length compelled to abandon his hostile designs against the colonists. Some of his ships were driven upon that coast, where the wretched fugitives were made prisoners by their own fellow-citizens, and immured in dungeons. To escape a similar fate, Dunmore burnt the ships of least value; and the miserable remains of soldiers and loyalists, assailed at once by tempests, famine, and disease, sought refuge in Florida, Bermudas, and the West Indies.

Notwithstanding the extent to which hostilities had been carried, a large portion of the colonists had hitherto continued to entertain some hope of an amicable termination of the dispute; and it is evident,

from the transactions we are about to record, that many felt sincerely desirous not to frustrate such a result. The want of more regular and stable governments had for some time been felt in those colonies where royal governments had hitherto existed; and in the autumn of 1775, New Hampshire applied to congress for their advice and direction on this subject. In November, congress advised the convention of that colony, to call a full and free representation of the people; when the representatives, if they thought it necessary, should establish such a form of government as, in their judgment, would best promote the happiness of the people, and most effectually secure peace and good order during the continuance of the dispute between Great Britain and the colonies. On this question the members of congress were not unanimous. It was viewed by some as a step necessarily leading to independence; and by some of its advocates it was probably intended as such. To render the resolution less exceptionable, the duration of the government was limited to the continuance of the dispute with the parent country. Soon afterwards, similar directions and advice were given to South Carolina and Virginia.

The last hopes of the colonists for reconciliation rested on the success of their second petition to the king; and the answer of their sovereign to this application was expected with extreme solicitude. Information, however, was soon received from Mr. Penn, who was intrusted with the petition, that no answer would be given. This intelligence was followed by that of great additional preparations to subdue the "American rebels." The king, in his speech at the opening of parliament in October, not only accused the colonists of revolt, hostility, and rebellion, but stated that the rebellious war carried on by them was for the purpose of establishing an independent empire. To prevent this, he declared that the most decisive and vigorous measures were necessary; that he had consequently increased his naval establishment, had augmented his land forces, and had also taken measures to procure the aid of foreign troops. He at the same time stated his intention of appointing certain persons with authority to grant pardons to individuals, and to receive the submission of whole colonies disposed to return to their allegiance. Large majorities in both houses assured the king of their firm support in his measures for reducing the colonists to obedience. The addresses,

* On the 1st day of January, 1776, the town of Norfolk, in Virginia, was set on fire by the British, under the direction of Lord Dunmore, and reduced to ashes. On the arrival of the Liverpool man-of-war from England, a flag was sent on shore to put the question, whether the provincials would supply his majesty's ship with

provisions, and a negative answer being returned, it was determined to destroy the town. The whole loss was estimated at three hundred thousand pounds sterling. The provincials themselves destroyed the houses and plantations near the water, to deprive the ships of every resource of supply.

however, in answer to the speech, were opposed with great ability. The project of employing foreign troops to destroy American subjects, was reprobated by the minority in the strongest terms. The plans of the ministry, however, were not only approved by parliament, but by a majority of the nation. The idea of making the colonists share their burdens, could not easily be relinquished by the people of Great Britain; and national pride would not permit them to yield the point of supremacy. War was now, therefore, to be waged against the colonies, and a force sent out sufficiently powerful to compel submission, even without a struggle. For these purposes the aid of parliament was requisite; and about the last of December an act was passed, prohibiting all trade and commerce with the colonies, and authorizing the capture and condemnation, not only of all American vessels, with their cargoes, but all other vessels found trading in any port or place in the colonies, as if the same were the vessels and effects of open enemies; and the vessels and property thus taken were vested in the captors, and the crews were to be treated, not as prisoners, but as slaves.* The passing of this act shut the door against the application of the colonies for a reconciliation. The last petition of congress to the king had, indeed, been laid before parliament, but both houses refused to hear it, or even to treat upon any proposition coming from such an unlawful assembly, or from those who were then in arms against their lawful sovereign. In the house of lords, on the motion of the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Penn was examined on American affairs. He stated, among other things, that the colonists were desirous of reconciliation, and did not aim at independence; that they were disposed to conform to the acts regulating their trade, but not to taxation; and that on this point a spirit of resistance

was universal. After this examination, the Duke of Richmond moved a resolution, declaring that the petition of congress to the king was a ground for a reconciliation of the differences between the two countries. This motion was negatived, after a warm debate, by eighty-six to thirty-three. These proceedings of the king and parliament, with the employment of sixteen thousand foreign mercenaries, convinced the leading men in each colony, that the sword alone must decide the contest, and that the colonists must now declare themselves totally independent of Great Britain.

Time, however, was still requisite, to convince the great mass of the American people of the necessity of a complete separation from their parent country, and the establishment of independent governments. The ablest pens were employed throughout America, in the winter of 1775-6, on this momentous subject. The propriety and necessity of the measure was enforced in the numerous gazettes, and in pamphlets. Among the latter, "Common Sense," from the popular pen of Thomas Paine, produced a wonderful effect in the different colonies in favour of independence. Influential individuals in every colony urged it as a step absolutely necessary to preserve the rights and liberties, as well as to secure the happiness and prosperity of America.†

When the prohibitory act reached America, congress, justly viewing it as a declaration of war, directed reprisals to be made, both by public and private armed vessels, against the ships and goods of the inhabitants of Great Britain, found on the high seas, or between high and low water mark. They also burst the shackles of commercial monopoly, which had so long kept them in bondage, and opened their ports to all the world, except the dominions of Great Britain. In this state of things, it was pre-

* By a most extraordinary clause in the act, it was made lawful for the commander of a British vessel to take the masters, crews, and other persons, found in the captured vessels, to put them on board any other British armed vessel, and enter their names on the books of the same; and from the time of such entry, such persons were to be considered in the service of his majesty, to all intents and purposes, as though they had entered themselves voluntarily on board of such vessel. By this means the Americans might be compelled to fight even against their own friends and countrymen. This clause in the act excited the indignation of many in both houses of parliament, and drew from them the strongest epithets of reprobation. This treatment of prisoners, they declared not only unjust, but a refinement in cruelty unknown among savage nations. No man, they said, could be despoiled of his goods as a foreign enemy, and at the same time compelled to serve the state as a citizen. Such a compulsion upon prisoners was unknown in any case of war or rebellion; and the only example of the kind that could be produced, must be found among pirates, the outlaws and enemies of human society. Some of the lords, in their protest against the act, described it "as a refinement in cruelty," which, "in a sentence worse than death, obliged the unhappy men who should be

made captives in that predatory war, to bear arms against their families, kindred, friends, and country; and after being plundered themselves, to become accomplices in plundering their brethren." The ministry, on the other hand, pretended to view this treatment of American prisoners rather as an act of grace and favour than of injustice or cruelty.

† The chief justice of South Carolina, William Henry Drayton, appointed under the new form of government just adopted, in his charge to the grand jurors, in April, after justifying the proceedings of that colony, in forming a new government, on the principles of the revolution in England, in 1688, thus concludes: "The Almighty created America to be independent of Great Britain: let us beware of the impiety of being backward to act as instruments, in the Almighty hand, now extended to accomplish his purpose; and by the completion of which alone, America, in the nature of human affairs, can be secure against the crafty and insidious designs of her enemies, who think her power and prosperity already by far too great. In a word, our piety and political safety are so blended, that to refuse our labours in this divine work, is to refuse to be a great, a free, a pious, and a happy people."—Pitkin, vol. i. p. 359.

posterous for the colonists any longer to consider themselves as holding or exercising the powers of government under the authority of Great Britain. Congress, therefore, on the 10th of May, recommended to the assemblies and conventions of the colonies where no sufficient government had been established, "to adopt such government as should, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general." They also declared it necessary, that the exercise of every kind of authority under the crown should be suppressed, and that all the powers of government should be exercised "under the authority of the people of the colonies, for the preservation of internal peace, virtue, and good order, as well as for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations of their enemies." This was a preliminary step to a general declaration of independence. Some of the colonial assemblies and conventions about the same time began to express their opinions on this great question. On the 22d of April, the convention of North Carolina, empowered their delegates in congress "to concur with those in the other colonies in declaring independence." This, it is believed, was the first direct public act of any colonial assembly or convention in favour of the measure.* The convention of Virginia soon afterwards expressed itself still more decidedly. After full deliberation, the following resolutions were passed unanimously :

"That the delegates appointed to represent this colony in general congress, be instructed to propose to that respectable body, to *declare the United Colonies free and independent states*, absolved from all allegiance to, or dependance upon, the crown or parliament of Great Britain; and that they give the assent of this colony to such declaration, and to whatever measures may be thought proper and necessary by the congress for forming foreign alliances, and a confederation of the colonies, at such time and in the manner as to them shall seem best. Provided, that the power of forming governments for, and the regu-

lations of, the internal concerns of each colony, be left to the respective colonial legislatures.

"That a committee be appointed to prepare a declaration of rights, and such a plan of government as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in this colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people."†

Early in the year the British government had prepared a considerable expedition to reduce the southern colonies to obedience. The command was intrusted to Sir Peter Parker and Earl Cornwallis. On the 3d of May, Admiral Parker, with twenty sail, arrived at Cape Fear. They found General Clinton ready to co-operate with them. He had left New York, and proceeded to Virginia, where he had an interview with Lord Dunmore; but finding nothing could be effected in that colony, he repaired to Cape Fear, to await the arrival of the armament from England. Meanwhile, the Carolinians had been making great exertions. In Charleston the utmost energy and activity was evinced. The citizens pulled down the valuable storehouses on the wharfs, barricaded the streets, and constructed lines of defence along the shore. Abandoning their commercial pursuits, they engaged in incessant labour, and prepared for bloody conflicts. The troops, amounting to between five and six thousand men, were stationed in the most advantageous positions. Amidst all this bustle and preparation, lead was so extremely scarce, that the windows of Charleston were stripped of their weights, in order to procure a small supply of that necessary article for bullets. Early in June, the armament, consisting of between forty and fifty vessels, appeared off Charleston Bay, and thirty-six of the transports passed the bar, and anchored about three miles from Sullivan's Island. Some hundreds of the troops landed on Long Island, which lies on the west of Sullivan's Island, and which is separated from it by a narrow channel, often fordable. On the 10th of the month, the Bristol, a fifty gun ship having taken out her guns, got safely over the bar; and on the 25th, the Experiment, a ship of equal force, arrived, and next day passed in the same way.

* Pitkin's Political and Civil History, vol. i. p. 361.

† "This measure was followed by the most lively demonstrations of joy. The spirit of the times is interestingly manifested by the following paragraph from Purdie's paper of the 17th of May, which immediately succeeds the annunciation of the resolutions:—'In consequence of the above resolutions, universally regarded as the only door which will lead to safety and prosperity, some gentlemen made a handsome collection for the purpose of treating the soldiery, who next day were paraded in Waller's grove, before Brigadier-General Lewis, attended by the gentlemen of the committee of safety, the members of the general convention, the inhabitants of this city, &c. The resolutions being read aloud to the army, the following toasts were given, each of them accompanied by a dis-

charge of the artillery and small arms, and the acclamations of all present:—1. The American Independent States.—2. The grand congress of the United States, and their respective legislatures.—3. General Washington, and victory to the American arms.—The union flag of the American states waved upon the capitol during the whole of this ceremony; which, being ended, the soldiers partook of the refreshments prepared for them by the affection of their countrymen, and the evening concluded with illuminations and other demonstrations of joy; every one seeming pleased that the domination of Great Britain was now at an end, so wickedly and tyrannically exercised for these twelve or thirteen years past, notwithstanding our repeated prayers and remonstrances for redress.'"
—Wirt's Life of Henry, p. 195.

On the part of the British, every thing was now ready for action. Sir Henry Clinton had nearly three thousand men under his command. The naval force, under Sir Peter Parker, consisted of the Bristol and Experiment, of fifty guns; the Active, Acteon, Solebay, and Syren frigates; the Friendship, of twenty-two, and the Sphinx, of twenty guns; the Ranger sloop, and Thunder bomb. On the forenoon of the 28th of June, this fleet advanced against the fort on Sullivan's Island, which was defended by Colonel Moultrie, with about three hundred and fifty regular troops, and some militia. The Thunder bomb began the battle. The Active, Bristol, Experiment, and Solebay, followed boldly to the attack, and a terrible cannonade ensued. The fort returned the fire of the ships slowly, but with deliberate and deadly aim; and the contest was carried on during the whole day with unabating fury. The Sphinx, Acteon, and Syren, were ordered to attack the western extremity of the fort, which was in a very unfinished state; but, as they proceeded for that purpose, they got entangled with a shoal, called the Middle Ground. Two of them ran foul of each other: the Acteon stuck fast; the Sphinx and Syren got off; but, fortunately for the Americans, that part of the attack completely failed. It was designed that Sir Henry Clinton, with his corps, should co-operate with the naval operations by passing the narrow channel which separates Long Island from Sullivan's Island, and assail the fort by land; but this the general found impracticable, for the channel, though commonly fordable, was at that time, by a long prevalence of easterly winds, deeper than usual; and even had the channel been fordable, the British troops would have found the passage an arduous enterprise; for Colonel Thomson, with a strong detachment of riflemen, regulars, and militia, was posted on the east end of Sullivan's Island, to oppose any attack made in that quarter. The engagement, which began about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, continued with unabated fury till seven in the evening, when the fire slackened, and about nine entirely ceased on both sides. During the night, all the ships, except the Acteon, which was aground, removed about two miles from the island. Next morning, the fort fired a few shots at the Acteon, and she at first returned them; but, in a short time, her crew set her on fire, and abandoned her. She blew up shortly afterwards. In this obstinate engagement both parties fought with great gallantry. The loss of the British was very considerable, upwards of sixty being killed, and one hundred and sixty wounded; while the garrison lost only ten men killed, and twenty-two wounded. Al-

though the Americans were raw troops, yet they behaved with the steady intrepidity of veterans. One circumstance may serve to illustrate the cool but enthusiastic courage which pervaded their ranks. In the course of the engagement, the flag-staff of the fort was shot away; but Sergeant Jasper leaped down upon the beach, snatched up the flag, fastened it to a sponge-staff, and while the ships were incessantly directing their broadsides upon the fort, he mounted the merlon, and deliberately replaced the flag. The fate of this expedition contributed greatly to establish the popular government it was intended to destroy, while the news of it spread rapidly through the continent, and exercised an equally unfavourable influence on the royal cause: the advocates of the irresistibility of British fleets and armies were mortified and silenced; and the brave defence of Fort Moultrie saved the southern states from the horrors of war for several years.

In South Carolina, the government took advantage of the hour of success to conciliate their opponents in the province. The adherents of royal power, who, for a considerable time, had been closely imprisoned, on promising fidelity to their country, were set at freedom, and restored to all the privileges of citizens. The repulse of the British was also attended with another advantage, that of leaving the Americans at liberty to turn their undivided force against the Indians, who had attacked the western frontier of the southern states with all the fury and carnage of savage warfare. In 1775, when the breach between Great Britain and her colonies was daily becoming wider, one Stuart, the agent employed in conducting the intercourse between the British authorities and the Cherokees and Creeks, used all his influence to attach the savages to the royal cause, and to inspire them with jealousy and hatred of the Americans. He found little difficulty in persuading them that the Americans, without provocation, had taken up arms against Britain, and were the means of preventing them from receiving their yearly supplies of arms, ammunition, and clothing, from the British government. The Americans had endeavoured to conciliate the good will of the Indians, but their scanty presents were unsatisfactory, and the savages resolved to take up the hatchet. Deeming the appearance of the British fleet in Charleston Bay a fit opportunity, the Cherokees invaded the western frontier of the province, marking their track with murder and devastation. The speedy retreat of the British left the savages exposed to the vengeance of the Americans, who, in separate divisions, entered their country at different points, from Virginia and

Georgia, defeated their warriors, burned their villages, laid waste their corn-fields, and incapacitated the Cherokees for a considerable time from giving the settlers further annoyance. Thus, in the south, the Americans triumphed both over the British and the Indians.

On the 7th of June, the great question of independence was brought directly before congress, by Richard Henry Lee, one of the delegates from Virginia. He submitted a resolution, declaring "that the united colonies are, and ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." The resolution was postponed until the next day, and every member enjoined to attend, to take the same into consideration. On the 8th it was debated in committee of the whole house. No question of greater magnitude was ever presented to the consideration of a deliberative body, or debated with more energy, eloquence, and ability. On the 10th it was adopted in committee, by a bare majority. The delegates from Pennsylvania and Maryland were instructed to oppose it, and the delegates from some of the other colonies were without special instructions on the subject. To give time for greater unanimity, the resolution was postponed in the house until the 1st of July. In the mean time, a committee was appointed to prepare a declaration of independence. During this interval, measures were taken to procure the assent of all the colonies.

On the day appointed, the resolution relating to independence was resumed in the general congress, referred to a committee of the whole house, and assented to by all the colonies, except Pennsylvania and Delaware. The committee appointed to prepare a declaration of independence selected Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson as a sub-committee, and the original draft, was made by Mr. Jefferson. This draft, without any amendment by the committee, was reported to congress, and, after undergoing several amendments, received their sanction.

The course of time has now brought us to the decisive hour when a new empire, of a character the most extraordinary, springs into being. The world has known no rest since this grand confederacy took her rank among the nations of the earth; her example infused a power into the principles of liberty which for nearly two centuries had been dormant; although in another hemisphere, it has exercised more influence on the state of the public mind in Europe than did the great struggle in the days of the commonwealth; and the world will know rest no

more, till, under whatever form, the great lessons of freedom which American history enforces, have been listened to, and embodied in action, by every nation of the globe. We are persuaded we shall entirely meet the feelings of our readers, by closing this chapter with that ever memorable document, which gave national existence to an empire whose birth has opened so brilliant a prospect to the world—

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

"A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled."

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves, by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpation, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

"He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

"He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

"He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

"He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

"He has dissolved representative houses, repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

"He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

"He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

"He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judicial powers.

"He has made judges dependant on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

"He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

"He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

"He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

"He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:—

"For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

"For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

"For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

"For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

"For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

"For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

"For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

"For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments:

"For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

"He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

"He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

"He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

"He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

"He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

"In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

"Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt

our connexions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDE-

PENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."*

* This declaration was directed to be engrossed, and on the 2d of August, 1776, was signed by all the members then present, and by some who were not members on the 4th of July.

Authenticated fac-similes of the signatures are given in an engraved plate.

Fac-similes of the Signatures to the Declaration of Independence July 4 1776.

John Penn John Hancock John Hart
 Wm Lloyd Wm Pace
 Geo Read Wm Hooper Sam Adams
 Stephen Hopkins Tho Nelson Geo Clymer
 Charles Carroll of Carrollton Elbridge Gerry
 Tho M. Kean Roger Sherman Sam^r Huntington
 Wm Whipple Thomas Lynch Jun^r
 Geo TAYLOR Josiah Bartlett Benj Franklin
 Wm Williams Rich Stockton John Morton
 Oliver Wolcott Jas Witherspoon Geo Ross
 Tho Stone Samuel Chase Robt Treat Paine
 George Wythe Matthew Thornton
 Fran Lewis Th Jefferson Menj Harrison
 Lewis Morris Abra Clark Phil Livingston
 Arthur Middleton Fra Hopkinson Cesar Rodney
 Geo Walton Carter Braxton James Wilson
 Richard Henry Lee Tho Mifflin Jun^r
 Benjamin Rush John Adams Robt Morris
 Lyman Hall Joseph Hewes Button Gwinnett
 Francis Lightfoot Lee
 William Ellery Edward Rutledge Jas Smith

BOOK III.

FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE FIFTIETH YEAR OF THE REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE CAMPAIGN OF 1776 TO THAT OF 1779.

THE noblest employ of the pen of history, is to develop facts which illustrate the progress of the human mind. The age is passed away, when the record of the operations of brute force, even when presented in the fascinating garb of military achievements, could be dwelt upon with feelings of unmingled satisfaction and delight. The slaughter of man by his fellow-man, the consigning of cities to the flames, the substituting of the cries of the widow and the orphan for the smiles of domestic peace, are deeds which civilized nations would now be well content to obliterate from their history; but if this cannot be, it is better that the desolations of war should be merely sketched in faithful outline, rather than exhibited in a highly wrought picture, tending to excite an admiration of its character, and a perpetuation of its evils. True it is, that the ardour of a disinterested patriot cannot be exhibited in too strong a light; but his glory arises far more from the grandeur of the motives which actuate him, than from exploits in the field of blood, to which he is sometimes inevitably, though reluctantly, borne. Having already dwelt at considerable length on the devoted patriotism of the inhabitants of the American colonies, we shall, in the subsequent pages, rather state the results than the details of their military operations, which, happily for the world, terminated in the establishment and recognition of a republic possessing all the elements of a great empire, and exhibiting a rapidity of progress which ought to excite the admiration, not the envy, of every civilized nation of the earth. We feel the more satisfaction in proposing to notice but concisely the details of

hostilities, as ample justice has already been done to them by several writers, both in America and England,* while that portion of the history most capable of affording moral and political instruction, has, in our own country at least, hitherto received a very partial and inadequate degree of attention. We shall, however, give an outline of military operations amply sufficient to answer all the purposes of the history.

General Washington, after compelling the British to abandon Boston, had made every possible preparation for the defence of New York, where he had fixed his head-quarters. To second his exertions, the congress instituted a flying camp, to consist of an intermediate corps, between regular soldiers and militia; and called for ten thousand men from the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, to be in constant service to the first day of the ensuing December; and for thirteen thousand eight hundred of the common militia, from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. The command of the naval force destined to operate against New York was given to Admiral Howe, while his brother, Sir William, was entrusted with the command of the army; and, in addition to their military powers, the brothers were appointed commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies. General Howe, after waiting two months at Halifax for expected re-enforcements from England, sailed with the force which he had previously commanded in Boston; and, directing his course towards New York, arrived on the 25th of June off Sandy Hook. Admiral Lord Howe, with part of the re-enforcement from England, arrived at Halifax soon after his brother's departure, and, without dropping anchor, followed, and joined him on the 12th of July, at Staten Island. General Clinton arrived there about the same time, with the troops

* In England,—Steadman's History of the American War, 2 vols. 4to.; and Gordon's History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America, 4 vols. 8vo. In America,—Judge Marshall's Life of Washington;

Sanderson's Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, 6 vols. 8vo.; Allen's History of the American Revolution, 2 vols. 8vo., &c.

brought back from the expedition of Charleston and South Carolina; Commodore Hotham also appeared there with a re-enforcement under his escort; and in a short time the British army amounted to about twenty-four thousand men, English, Hessians, and Waldeckers. The royal commissioners, before they commenced military operations, attempted to effect a re-union between the colonies and Great Britain. Lord Howe announced his pacific powers to the principal magistrates of the several colonies. He promised pardon to all, who, in the late times, had deviated from their allegiance, on condition of their speedily returning to their duty; and, in case of their compliance, encouraged their expectation of the future favour of their sovereign. In his declaration, he observed, "that the commissioners were authorized, in his majesty's name, to declare any province, colony, county, district, or town, to be at peace with his majesty; that due consideration should be had to the meritorious services of any who should aid or assist in restoring the public tranquillity; that their dutiful representations should be received, pardons granted, and suitable encouragement to such as would promote the measures of legal government and peace, in pursuance of his majesty's most gracious purposes." These pacific proposals were regarded by the Americans as only an attempt to sow dissensions among them, and were never for a moment seriously regarded by any of the patriotic party. The British forces waited so long to receive accessions from Halifax, the Carolinas, the West Indies, and Europe, that the month of August was far advanced before they commenced the campaign. The commanders, having resolved to make their first attempt on Long Island, landed their troops, estimated at about twenty-four thousand men, at Gravesend Bay, to the right of the Narrows. The Americans, to the amount of fifteen thousand, under Major-General Sullivan, were posted on a peninsula between Mill Creek, a little above Red Hook, and an elbow of East River, called Wallebout Bay. Here they had erected strong fortifications, which were separated from New York by East River, at the distance of a mile. A line of entrenchment from the Mill Creek enclosed a large space of ground, on which stood the American camp, near the village of Brooklyn. This line was secured by abattis, and flanked by strong redoubts. The armies were separated by a range of hills, covered with a thick wood, which intersects the country from west to east, terminating on the east, near Jamaica. Through these hills there were three roads; one near the Narrows, a second by the Flatbush road, and a third by the Bed-

ford road; these were the only passes from the south side of the hills to the American lines, excepting a road which led to Jamaica, round the easterly end of the hills; and General Putnam, agreeably to the instructions of General Washington, had detached a considerable part of his men to occupy them.

On the 26th, the main body of British troops, with a large detachment of Germans, landed under cover of the ships, on the south-western extremity of Long Island, and, advancing in three divisions, took post upon the south skirt of the wood; General Grant upon their left, near the coast; the German general, De Heister, in the centre, at Flatbush; and General Clinton upon their right, at Flatland. Only the range of hills now separated the two armies, and the different posts of the British were distant from the American camp from four to six miles. In the evening, General Clinton, without beat of drum, marched with the infantry of his division, a party of light horse, and fourteen field pieces, to gain the defile on the Jamaica road. During the night he surprised an American party stationed here to give the alarm of an approaching enemy, and, undiscovered by Sullivan, seized the pass. At day-break he passed the heights, and descended into the plain on the side of Brooklyn. Early in the morning, General De Heister, at Flatbush, and General Grant upon the west coast, opened a cannonade upon the American troops, and began to ascend the hill; but they moved very slowly, as their object was to draw the attention of the American commander from his left, and give General Clinton opportunity to gain the rear of the American troops stationed on the heights. General Putnam, in the apprehension that the serious attack would be made by De Heister and Grant, sent detachments to re-enforce General Sullivan and Lord Stirling at the defiles, through which those divisions of the enemy were approaching. When General Clinton had passed the left flank of the Americans, about eight o'clock in the morning of the 27th, De Heister and Grant vigorously ascended the hill; the troops which opposed them bravely maintained their ground, until they learned their perilous situation from the British columns which were gaining their rear. As soon as the American left discovered the progress of General Clinton, they attempted to return to the camp at Brooklyn, but their flight was stopped by the front of the British column. In the mean time, the Germans pushed forward from Flatbush, and the troops in the American centre, under the immediate command of General Sullivan, having also discovered that their flank was turned, and that the enemy was gaining their rear, in haste retreated

towards Brooklyn. Clinton's columns continuing to advance, intercepted them; they were attacked in front and rear, and alternately driven by the British on the Germans, and by the Germans on the British. Desperate as their situation was, some regiments broke through the enemy's columns, and regained the fortified camp; but most of the detachments upon the American left and centre, were either killed or taken prisoners. The detachment on the American right, under Lord Stirling, maintained a severe conflict with General Grant, for six hours, until the van of General Clinton's division, having crossed the whole island, gained their rear. Lord Stirling perceived his danger, and found that his troops could be saved only by an immediate retreat over a creek near the cove. He gave orders to this purpose; and, to facilitate their execution, he in person attacked Lord Cornwallis, who, by this time, having gained the coast, had posted a small corps in a house, just above the place where the American troops must pass the creek. The attack was bravely made with four hundred men; but his lordship being re-enforced from his own column, and General Grant at-

tacking Lord Stirling in the rear, this brave band was overpowered by numbers, and those who survived were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war; but this spirited assault gave opportunity for a large proportion of the detachment to escape. General Washington passed over to Brooklyn in the heat of the action; but, unable to rescue his men from their perilous situation, was constrained to be the inactive spectator of the slaughter of his best troops. The loss of the Americans on this occasion, for the number engaged, was great; General Washington stated it at a thousand men; but his returns probably included only the regular regiments. General Howe, in an official letter, made the prisoners amount to one thousand and ninety-seven. Among these were Major-General Sullivan and Brigadier-General Lord Stirling. Brigadier-General Woodhull (then called *Udall*) is named as having been taken prisoner at the battle. This is however erroneous, he not having been engaged in the conflict, and his capture not having occurred until the following day, at a different part of the island.* The British loss, as stated by General Howe, was twenty-one officers,

* Nathaniel Woodhull, a distinguished martyr to the cause of American liberty, was descended from an English family of great respectability, among some of the branches of which the ancient spelling of the name of *Woodhull*, is yet preserved. He was the eldest son of Nathaniel Woodhull, of Suffolk county, Long Island. His great grandfather, Richard Woodhull, Esq. was one of those whom an abhorrence of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny drove in such numbers to our shores, and he settled at an early period of the history of the colony of New York, at Seatons, on Long Island. After the capture and organization of the province of New York, a grant was issued by Gov. Nicolls, (in 1666,) of the town of Brookhaven, to Richard Woodhull and others. He served in the magistracy and principal offices of the town, until his death, which occurred about thirty years afterwards.

The subject of the present memoir was born on the 30th day of December, 1722, O. S. on an extensive farm at Massie, on the south side of Long Island, now belonging to his daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, which became the property of his grandfather, Richard Woodhull, Jr. partly by purchase from the Indians, and grant from the governor, and partly by transfer from the original settler. His early life was passed in assisting his father in cultivating the possessions which he afterwards inherited. In 1761, he was married to Ruth Floyd, a sister of the Hon. William Floyd, one of the signers of the declaration of American Independence.

Being appointed a major in the provincial forces of New York, Mr. Woodhull, in 1758, served in that capacity, in the army under General Abercrombie, intended for the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. He was engaged in the daring, or rather the rash assault, ordered by the English general before the arrival of his artillery, upon the former place, which, strongly fortified, was defended by a garrison of more than five thousand men, and protected on its only assailable side by fallen trees, with their branches projecting outward, so cut as to answer the purpose of chevaux-de-frise. After an exposure of four hours to the covered fire of the French, during which time every effort of heroic perseverance proved ineffectual in making an impression on the enemy's works, the assailing force was obliged to retire to the southern side of Lake George, with a loss of about 2000 men killed or dangerously wounded.

Desirous of wiping off the stain of this repulse, Gen. Abercrombie detached a portion of his army on an expedition against Cade-

raqui, or Fort Frontenac, (now Kingston,) an important fortress at the communication of Lake Ontario with the river St. Lawrence. Lieut. Col. Bradstreet, with whom the design originated, commanded this enterprise, having a train of eight cannon and three mortars, and a body of 3000 men, of whom, about 150 only were regulars. The rest of the detachment was composed of provincials, from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and New York. Those of the latter province amounted to somewhat more than 1100 men, of whom, one battalion, of 440 men, was placed under the command of Lieut. Col. Charles Clinton, (the grandfather of the late De Witt Clinton;) and the second battalion, of 670 men, was confided to Lieut. Col. Corsa and Major Woodhull. On the 27th of August, 1758, a combined operation against the fort was made by land and water; the conduct of the forces in the boats being committed to Lieut. Col. Corsa and Major Woodhull, with orders to receive the fire of the fort without returning it, until their troops had landed and formed. The resolution with which the operations were conducted, dispirited the enemy, whose forces were insufficient to the defence of their works, and after a feeble resistance, the garrison struck their colours, and capitulated. Immense stores of provisions and merchandise, intended for the supply of the French forces in America, sixty pieces of cannon; sixteen mortars, and nine armed vessels, some of them carrying eighteen guns, were the fruits of this surrender.

Whether Mr. Woodhull was employed in the campaign of the following year, is not ascertained, most of his papers having been accidentally destroyed by fire, a few years after his death. It is believed, however, that he marched either with the force which Gen. Prideaux conducted, in 1759, against Niagara, or with that led by Gen. Amherst against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, both of which enterprises had a successful issue. In 1760, he served as colonel of the third regiment of New York provincials, in the army under Gen. Amherst, which marched against Montreal, and effected the final reduction of Canada. Upon the capitulation of the Marquis of Vaudreuil, Colonel Woodhull, with his troops, returned to New York, and he retired to private life.

The removal of the neighbourhood of French power, so dangerous to the colonists, and the consciousness of the latter that they had efficiently contributed to its achievement, were calculated to produce among them a more free inquiry into the relative rights of the provinces and the mother country, and of their own ability suc-

and three hundred and forty-six privates killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.

The British now encamped in front of the American lines, and on the succeeding night broke

cessfully to assert their privileges. The spirit to which this inquiry gave rise, was stimulated by the pretensions set up at home, which, first assuming that America was to be taxed by the British parliament, for the expenses of whatever attacks the wars of interest, or ambition, in which the parent state engaged, should draw upon the colonists, grew into the assertion of a right, to tax them in all cases whatsoever. Acts of parliament rashly passed, and sometimes timidly repealed, only served to spread the existing discontent, and to hasten the impending crisis. Partaking of the general feeling, the assembly of New York, at the close of December, 1768, unanimously resolved, that no tax could, or ought to be imposed, or levied, on the persons or estates of his majesty's subjects within that colony, but of their own free gift, by their representatives convened in general assembly. The consequence was a dissolution of the body on the 2d of January, 1769, by the royal governor, Sir Henry Moore.

The proceedings of the assembly were highly approved by the people of Suffolk, among whom the primitive manners and republican feelings of their puritan ancestors, were in a remarkable degree preserved.

At the election in the spring of 1769, they returned to that body William Nicoll, Esq. who had been one of its former members, and Col. Nathaniel Woodhull. In the instructions drawn for their representatives, the county emphatically expressed their reliance on the exertions of their newly selected members, "to preserve their freedom, and the command over their own purses." The injunction was faithfully observed by Mr. Woodhull, who, during the six years that followed of the continuance of the royal government, was constant in his devotion to the rights of his countrymen, and his opposition to the party of the court.

In the convention which met in the city of New York, April 10th, 1775, to choose delegates to the continental congress, Mr. Woodhull appeared as a delegate from the county of Suffolk. Pursuant to a recommendation from the New York local committee, a provincial congress was soon afterwards deputed by the several counties of the colony, which met in that city, May 22d, 1775. This body practically asserted its right to entire sovereignty, superseding, in effect, from the time of its organization, and ultimately dissolving and expelling the royal authority. Colonel Woodhull was placed at the head of the delegation from Suffolk county. On the 22d of August, 1775, the provincial congress re-organized the militia of the colony into brigades, directing, "that a brigadier-general, with a major of brigade, be commissioned to the command of each brigade." The militia of Suffolk and Queens constituted one brigade, of which Mr. Woodhull was subsequently appointed to be the general, and Jonathan Lawrence, Esq., (a member of the provincial congress from Queens county,) to be major of brigade.

On the 28th of August, 1775, Gen. Woodhull was elected president of the provincial congress, and held the same office in the body that succeeded it, in 1776. Doubting its powers to conform to the recommendation of the continental congress, by erecting a new form of government, to the exclusion of all foreign control, the provincial congress, on the 31st of May, 1776, recommended to the electors of the several counties, to vest the necessary powers, either in their present delegates, or in others to be chosen in their stead. The British army having, on the 30th of June, appeared off the harbour of New York, the provincial congress, on its adjournment that day, directed that the congress, in which these new powers were vested, and which was to assemble on the 8th of July, should meet at White Plains. They did not, in fact, assemble until the 9th day of July, 1776, when General Woodhull was chosen president.

The declaration of independence, passed on the 4th instant, had not received the unanimous approbation of the colonies in continental congress, the delegates from the colony of New York having declined to vote, because, although they were personally for the measure, and believed their constituents to be so, they were fetter-

ground within six hundred yards of a redoubt on the left. In this critical state of the American army on Long Island,—in front a numerous and victorious enemy, with a formidable train of artillery, the fleet

ed by instructions drawn nearly a twelve month before, when the hope of reconciliation was yet cherished. Immediately on their meeting, the new provincial congress unanimously adopted the declaration, (Gen. Woodhull presiding,) on the part of the people of New York: thus filling the void occasioned by the want of the necessary powers in their delegates at Philadelphia. On the next day they assumed the title of "*the convention of the representatives of the state of New York*," and subsequently formed the first constitution of the state.

The invading army under Lord Howe, had landed on Staten Island, and by the command which their naval force secured over the neighbouring waters, they were enabled to threaten an attack from this point, either on Long Island or the island of New York. Gen. Washington was therefore obliged to divide the force collected to oppose them, a portion of which entrenched themselves at Brooklyn, while the residue were stationed at different parts of York Island. The New York convention had, on the 20th July, ordered one fourth of the militia of Queens and Suffolk to be drafted, and the two regiments thus obtained had marched under the command of Col. Josiah Smith, of Suffolk, and Col. Jeromus Remsen, of Queens, within the lines at Brooklyn, then commanded by Gen. Sullivan. On the 10th August, Gen. Woodhull's concerns requiring his return home, he obtained leave of temporary absence from the convention, whose sittings had been transferred to Harlem, and proceeded to his residence at Mastic, about seventy-five miles from New York. On the 22d of August, the uncertainty that had prevailed as to the first point of attack on the part of the invaders, was dispelled by the landing of a portion of their forces near New Utrecht. Aware of the increasing want of provisions among the enemy, and that, the American army being now confined to their lines, the whole stock and produce of Long Island would be in the power of the hostile troops, unless means were taken to prevent it, the convention of New York adopted a policy since successfully pursued on a larger scale by the Russians. This was to deprive the invading force of supplies, and thus compel their abandonment of the island, by removing the stock and other provisions in the adjacent country, or if that could not be effected, *by destroying them*. Resolutions were accordingly passed on the 24th August, 1776, ordering Gen. Woodhull, or, in his absence, Col. Potter, (who had served as a captain of the New York provincials in the campaigns against the French in 1758 and 1759,) to march without delay one half of the western regiment of militia of Suffolk county, with five days' provisions, into the western parts of Queens county; and that the officers of the militia of Queens should immediately order out the whole militia of that county, to effect the desired objects. An express being sent with these directions to Brigade-Major Lawrence, Col. Potter, and Gen. Woodhull, the latter reached Jamaica on the next day, (Sunday,) apprised the convention of his arrival there, and awaited the approach of the forces intended for his command.

The convention were fully aware, that the militia to be collected on this emergency, would be wholly insufficient to effect the above object, and more particularly to enable the general to station a force, agreeably to their wishes, on the high grounds in the western part of Queens county, to repel the ravaging parties of the enemy.

In the preceding year it had been necessary to despatch from the main, some of the troops under the command of Gen. Wooster, to Suffolk county, in order to prevent depredations along its exposed coast; and its armed inhabitants were not now more than competent to the same purpose. In Queens county a majority of the inhabitants were disaffected to the patriotic cause. They had, in the previous month of December, obtained arms from the Asia man-of-war, and had prevented, by superior numbers at the polls, an election, then attempted, of delegates to the provincial congress; inso-much that a military intervention, under the direction of the continental congress, had been necessary, to deprive the Tories of offensive weapons, and to secure to the Whigs the freedom of election.

indicating an intention to force a passage into East River to make some attempt on New York, the troops lying without shelter from heavy rains, fatigued and dispirited,—it was determined to withdraw from the

island; and this difficult movement was effected with great skill and judgment, and with complete success.

The defeat of the 27th made a most unfavourable impression upon the army. A great proportion of

A large number of the whigs of that county were already imbedded in the regiment of Col. Remsen, and many of those at home were overawed by the neighbourhood of the British force, or were employed in preparations for the flight of their families, if fortune should be favourable to the British arms.

The convention accordingly deputed a committee to Gen. Washington, advising him of their objects; of their apprehension of the insufficiency of the force they had ordered to join Gen. Woodhull; and of their conviction, that it would be most conducive to the public welfare, that the regiments of Colonels Smith and Remsen, should be added. The committee reported, on the 26th, that at the conference with Gen. Washington, he seemed well pleased, but said he was afraid it was too late. He however expressed his willingness to afford every assistance to the convention consistent with the public good, and stated that he would immediately give orders that Smith's and Remsen's regiments should march into Queens county, to join Gen. Woodhull. Notice of this result was forwarded to the latter, as well as of the expectation of the convention, that by the time he received their letter, he would have been joined by the promised re-enforcement.

On the same day, the whole militia force that had been collected, was assembled at Jamaica, and was found to consist only of about one hundred men, led by Col. Potter, from Suffolk county, about forty militia from Queens, and fifty horsemen belonging to the troop of Kings and Queens counties. With this handful of men, Gen. Woodhull advanced to the westward of Queens county, agreeably to his orders. Owing probably to the receipt of information, that increased numbers of the British had disembarked on the preceding day at New Utrecht, the commanding officer at Brooklyn did not detach the two Long Island regiments to join Gen. Woodhull, and by some fatality, the omission was neither communicated to the convention, nor explained to the expecting general. Disappointed in not meeting the additional troops, without whom he could not post any force on the heights, to repel depredations of the enemy, he nevertheless commenced with vigour the execution of the rest of his orders, placed guards and sentries to prevent communication between the Tories and the enemy, and scouring, during this and the succeeding day, the country southward of the hills in Kings, and a considerable part of the towns of Newtown and Jamaica, he sent off an immense quantity of stock, collected there, towards the Great Plains, and ordered off a further quantity from near Hempstead. In the meantime his numbers had dwindled by the anxiety of the militia to reach their homes, and protect or remove their families, to less than one hundred men, who, as well as their horses, were worn down with the fatigue of the duty they had performed. What they had effected demonstrated, that with the force the convention had expected to place under his command, the object to which they attached so much importance, could have been readily accomplished. The subsequent disasters to the American arms would, however, have rendered its accomplishment useless.

Early on the 27th of August, a pass through the hills in Kings county, which had been left unguarded by the American troops, was taken possession of by the enemy. The American outposts were surprised, and the American army driven, after a sanguinary engagement, within their entrenchments at Brooklyn. Numbers of the British troops, during the same day, posted themselves on the hills between Newtown and Jamaica, and parties of the enemy's horse made incursions into the country, within a short distance of the general's force. In this state of things he retired to Jamaica, sending at different times two messages to the convention, apprising them of his situation, of the absolute necessity of re-enforcements, and of his conviction, that the two Long Island regiments could not join him, in consequence of the interruption of the communications. Unfortunately, the convention did not sit on that day, and the general receiving no answer, despatched his brigade-major, who was also a member of that body, to repeat his representa-

tions, and obtain their orders. The convention, at their meeting on the 28th, still adhered to their favourite project, believing that by crossing the East River to York Island, and making a detour to Flushing, the two regiments might still reach Jamaica. They accordingly sent Major Lawrence to General Washington, with a letter expressing that opinion, and referring him to the brigade-major for explanations as to the means. At the same time they directed the necessary preparations for the transportation and landing of the troops, and receiving soon after a reiteration of the call for an immediate re-enforcement, they deputed two of their body, (John Sloss Hobart and James Townsend, Esqrs.) to repair to Gen. Woodhull with instructions and advice. Owing probably to the intermediate roads being in possession of the enemy, these gentlemen, it is believed, never reached him. Whether the express despatched by Major Lawrence, as soon as he was ordered on the mission to Gen. Washington, was more successful, is not known.

On the same morning, the convention forwarded a circular to the committees of the different towns of Connecticut, lying on the Sound, requesting their co-operation in removing the stock from Long Island to that state, and an application to the governor of Connecticut for such force as could be speedily obtained. An application to him had been immediately made by Gen. Washington, to throw over a body of one thousand men upon the island.

In the afternoon, Major Lawrence returned from the American camp, bringing a letter from the commander in chief, declining the request of the convention for the desired re-enforcements, because, in the opinion of himself and his general officers, the men they had were not more than competent to the defence of their lines. The retreat across the river, which was effected on that night, might have been suspected and thwarted, if the passage of the two regiments had been attempted in open day. This no doubt formed an additional reason for non-compliance.

In the meantime, General Woodhull, whose notions of military obedience had been formed in the strictest school, was awaiting the expected orders and re-enforcements. His small body of troops had been directed to proceed eastward in the performance of their duties, he remaining with a few personal attendants at a house on the road side, about two miles from Jamaica, to receive some definitive reply to his messages. Here he was overtaken by a large detachment of the enemy, accompanied by some of the most active of the Tories. After an ineffectual attempt at concealment, he surrendered himself a prisoner of war, giving up his sword, as is customary. Elated by the capture of a rebel general, and the president of the rebel convention, they coarsely and insultingly required him to cry, "God save the King!" His refusal to obey the degrading command, was rewarded by a repetition of the insult, and an accompanying cut of a sabre. At each succeeding denial, a blow of the cutlass, or a thrust of the bayonet, was aimed at the defenceless victim. No compunction of manly feeling, nor sensibility to shame, arose among his captors, to arrest this savage butchery, until his head and body were covered with wounds, when the interference of one of the officers averted the instant fate that had seemed to await him, and reserved him for new indignities and a lingering death.

He was hurried from the scene of this dastardly attack to Jamaica, on foot, and there confined in the stoute church, formerly standing in the middle of the road, exposed, in his blood-stained garments, to the gaze of all whom curiosity, or malignant feeling, or concealed sympathy, attracted thither. On the following morning he was carried to Gravesend, where, with the late Colonel Robert Troup, and other prisoners, he was thrown on board a filthy prison ship, that had been employed to transport cattle for the use of the British army. From this situation he was subsequently released, and provided with accommodations on shore.

The wounds of the general had assumed a promising state, and hopes were entertained of his recovery, when a mortification of the arm ensued, rendering amputation necessary. Believing that this

the troops lost their confidence in their officers, and in themselves. Before this unfortunate event, they met the enemy in the spirit of freemen fighting for their highest interests, and under the persuasion that their thorough use of arms rendered them equal to the disciplined battalions which they were to oppose. But on this occasion, by evolutions which they did not comprehend, they found themselves encompassed with difficulties from which their utmost exertions could not extricate them, and involved in dangers from which their bravery could not deliver them; and entertaining a high opinion of the adroitness of the enemy, in every movement they apprehended a fatal snare.* No sooner had the British secured the possession of Long Island, than they made dispositions to attack New York. It was a serious question whether that place was defensible against so formidable an enemy; and General Washington called a council of general officers, to decide whether it should be evacuated without delay, or longer defended. The general officers, in compliance with the views of congress, were very averse from the abandonment of the city; and it was resolved, contrary to the individual opinion of Washington, to endeavour to defend the city. The army was accordingly arranged into three divisions; one of which, consisting of five thousand men, was to remain in New York; another, amounting to nine thousand, was to be stationed at King's Bridge; and the residue of the army was to occupy the intermediate space, so as to support either ex-

operation would be unavailing, he nevertheless submitted to it, asking leave, at the same time, for his wife to visit him. She arrived soon enough to attend him in his dying moments, and was permitted to remove his dead body, which was opened and prepared for the purpose by the British surgeon. Poignant as her feelings must have been, while accompanying the mangled corpse of her husband in its slow progress over a distance of seventy miles, she had yet the melancholy satisfaction of reflecting, that it was out of the hands of the enemy, and of depositing it on his late possessions, among the remains of his ancestors. A plain marble stone marks the spot, with the following inscription:—

In memory of
GEN. NATHANIEL WOODHULL,

Who, wounded and a prisoner,

Died on the 20th day of September, 1776,

In the 54th year of his age,

Lamented by all who knew how to value his many private virtues,

And that pure zeal for the rights of his country,

To which he perished a victim.

Hoping to negotiate an exchange of General Woodhull, the convention had despatched John Sloss Hobart, Esq., to the camp at Kingsbridge, the more readily to effect that object. He had made some progress in his mission, when he heard of the decease of his colleague, from an inhabitant of Islip, before whose door the sad procession passed.

The massacre of this gallant officer and eminent citizen, aroused in every patriotic breast the feelings due to the atrocity of the act, and to the qualities and station of its subject. Nor can its circumstances ever be recollected without sympathy and admiration for

trene. The unexpected movements of the British soon evinced the correctness of the opinion of the general-in-chief; and in a second council it was determined, by a large majority, that it had become not only prudent, but necessary, to withdraw the army from New York. Several English ships of war passed up North River, on the one side of York Island, and East River on the other side; Sir Henry Clinton, embarking at Long Island, at the head of four thousand men, proceeded through Newtown Bay, crossed East River, and landed, under cover of the ships, at Kipp's Bay, about three miles above New York. Works of considerable strength had been thrown up at this place, to oppose the landing of the enemy; but they were immediately abandoned by the troops stationed in them, who, terrified at the fire of the ships, fled precipitately toward their main body, and communicated their panic to a detachment marching to their support. General Washington, to his extreme mortification, met this whole party retreating in the utmost disorder, and exerted himself to rally them; but, on the appearance of a small corps of the British, they again broke, and fled in confusion. Nothing was now left him but to withdraw the few remaining troops from New York, and to secure the posts on the heights. The retreat from New York was effected with a very inconsiderable loss of men; but all the heavy artillery, and a large portion of the baggage, provisions, and military stores, were unavoidably abandoned.

the lofty spirit whom no extremity of suffering could bend to dishonour; nor without disdain and abhorrence of a coward brutality that vainly seeks for extenuation in the bitter animosities of the times.

General Woodhull had, by his marriage with Miss Floyd, a son, Nathaniel, and a daughter, Elizabeth, the former of whom died in his infancy. The latter, who still survives, was married first to Henry Nicoll, a member of the bar, and after his death to the late John Smith, one of the senators in the congress of the United States, from the state of New York.—*Knapp's American Biography.*

* These melancholy facts were thus narrated by General Washington, in his letter to congress:—"Our situation is truly distressing. The check our detachment sustained on the 27th ultimo, has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their minds with apprehension and despair. The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition, in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, intractable, and impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off; in some instances almost by whole regiments, by half ones, and by companies, at a time. This circumstance of itself, independent of others, when frosted by a well-appointed enemy, superior in number to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable; but when their example has infected another part of the army,—when their want of discipline, and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government, have produced a like conduct, but too common to the whole, and an entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary to the well doing of an army, and which had been inculcated before, as well as the nature of our military establishment would admit of,—our condition is still more alarming; and with the deepest concern I am obliged to confess my want of confidence in the generality of the troops."

The British, taking possession of New York, stationed a few troops in the capital; but the main body of their army was on York Island, at no great distance from the American lines. The day after the retreat from New York, a considerable body of the British appearing in the plains between the two camps, the general ordered Colonel Knöwlton, with a corps of rangers, and Major Leitch, with three companies of a Virginia regiment, to get in their rear, while he amused them by making apparent dispositions to attack their front. The plan succeeded; and a skirmish ensued, in which the Americans charged the enemy with great intrepidity, and gained considerable advantage; but the principal benefit of this action was its influence in reviving the depressed spirits of the whole army. The armies did not long retain their position on York Island. The British frigates having passed up North River under a fire from Fort Washington and the post opposite to it on the Jersey shore, General Howe embarked a great part of his army in flat-bottomed boats, and, passing through Hell Gate into the Sound, landed at Frog's Neck. The object of the British general was, either to force Washington out of his present lines, or to enclose him in them. Aware of this design, General Washington moved a part of his troops from York Island, to join those at King's Bridge, and detached some regiments to West Chester. A council of war was now called, and the system of evacuating and retreating was adopted, with the exception of Fort Washington, for the defence of which nearly three thousand men were assigned. After a halt of six days, the royal army advanced, not without considerable opposition, along the coast of Long Island Sound, by New Rochelle, to White Plains, where the Americans took a strong position behind entrenchments. This post was maintained for several days, till the British having received considerable reinforcements, General Washington withdrew to the heights of North Castle, about five miles from White Plains, where, whether from the strength of his position, or from the British general having other objects in view, no attempt at attack was made.

Immediately on leaving White Plains, General Howe directed his attention to Fort Washington and Fort Lee, as their possession would secure the navigation of the Hudson, and facilitate the invasion of New Jersey. On the 15th of November, General Howe, being in readiness for the assault, summoned the garrison to surrender. Colonel Magaw, the com-

manding officer, in spirited language, replied, that he should defend his works to extremity. On the succeeding morning, the British made the assault in four separate divisions; and having, after a brave and obstinate resistance, surmounted the outworks, again summoned the garrison to surrender. His ammunition being nearly expended, and his force incompetent to repel the numbers which were ready on every side to assail him, Colonel Magaw surrendered himself and his garrison, consisting of two thousand men, prisoners of war. The enemy lost in the assault about eight hundred men, mostly Germans. The conquest of Fort Washington made the evacuation of Fort Lee necessary. Orders were therefore issued to remove the ammunition and stores in it; but, before much progress had been made in this business, Lord Cornwallis crossed the Hudson, with a number of battalions, with the intention to enclose the garrison between the Hackensack and North Rivers. This movement made a precipitate retreat indispensable, which was happily effected with little loss of men; but the greater part of the artillery, stores, and baggage, was left for the enemy. The loss at Fort Washington was heavy. The regiments captured in it were some of the best troops in the army. The tents, camp-kettles, and stores, lost at this place, and at Fort Lee, could not, during the campaign, be replaced, and for the want of them the men suffered extremely. This loss was unnecessarily sustained, as those posts ought, unquestionably, to have been evacuated before Gen. Howe was in a situation to invest them; and this event was the more to be deplored, as the American force was daily diminished by the expiration of the soldiers' term of enlistment, and by the desertion of the militia.

These successes encouraged the British to pursue the remaining American force, with the prospect of annihilating it. Gen. Washington, who had taken post at Newark, on the south side of the Passaic, finding himself unable to make any real opposition, withdrew from that place as the enemy crossed the Passaic, and retreated to Brunswick, on the Rariton; and Lord Cornwallis, on the same day, entered Newark. The retreat was still continued from Brunswick to Princeton; from Princeton to Trenton; and from Trenton to the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. The pursuit was urged with so much rapidity, that the rear of one army was often within shot of the van of the other.* The winter being now set in, the British army went into quarters, between the Dela-

* "On the 7th of December, our army marched from Brunswick at four o'clock in the morning, and about the same hour in the afternoon arrived at Princeton. This place, General Washing-

ton, in person, with Stirling's brigade, left not one hour before the British arrived. At Princeton, the British general waited seventeen hours, marched at nine o'clock in the morning of the 8th, and

ware and the Hackensack. Trenton, the most important post and barrier, was occupied by a brigade of Hessians, under Colonel Rawle. General Howe now issued a proclamation, in the name of his brother and himself, in which pardon was offered to all persons who, within the space of sixty days, should take the oath of allegiance, and submit to the authority of the British government. The effects of this proclamation were soon apparent. People from several quarters availed themselves of it, and threw down their arms. No city or town, indeed, in its corporate capacity, submitted to the British government; but most of the families of fortune and influence discovered an inclination to return to their allegiance. Many of the yeomanry claimed the benefit of the commissioners' proclamation; and the great body of them were too much taken up with the security of their families and their property, to make any exertion in the public cause. Another source of mortification to the Americans, was the capture of General Lee, who had imprudently ventured to lodge at a house three miles distant from his corps.*

This was the most gloomy period of the revolutionary war. It was the crisis of the struggle of the United States for independence. The American army, reduced in numbers, depressed by defeat, and exhausted by fatigue, naked, barefoot, and destitute of tents, and even of utensils with which to dress their scanty provisions, was fleeing before a triumphant enemy, well appointed and abundantly supplied. A general spirit of despondency through New Jersey was the consequence of this disastrous state of public affairs. But in this worst of times congress stood unmoved; their measures exhibited no symptoms of confusion or dismay; the public danger only roused them to more vigorous exertions, that they might give a firmer tone to the public mind, and animate the citizens of United America to a manly defence of their independence. Beneath this cloud of adversity, too, General Washington shone with a brighter lustre than in the day of his highest prosperity. Not dismayed by all the difficulties which encompassed him, he accommodated his measures to his situation, and still made the good of his country the object of his unwearied pursuit. He ever wore the countenance of composure and confidence, by his own ex-

ample inspiring his little band with firmness to struggle with adverse fortune.

While Washington was retreating over the Delaware, the British, under Sir Pelew Parker and General Clinton, took possession of Rhode Island, and blocked up Commodore Hopkins's squadron, and a number of privateers at Providence; but this measure was disadvantageous to the British, as it required the presence of troops which might have been much more advantageously employed.

The neighbourhood of Philadelphia now becoming the seat of war, congress adjourned to Baltimore; resolving at the same time, "that General Washington should be possessed of full powers to order and direct all things relative to the department and the operations of the war." In this extremity, judicious determinations in the cabinet were accompanied with vigorous operations in the field. The united exertions of civil and military officers had by this time brought a considerable body of militia into their ranks. General Sullivan, too, on whom the command of General Lee's division devolved on his capture, promptly obeyed the orders of the commander in chief, and at this period joined him, and General Heath marched a detachment from Peekskill.

The army, with these re-enforcements, amounted to seven thousand men, and General Washington determined to commence active and bold operations. He had noticed the loose and uncovered state of the winter quarters of the British army, and contemplated the preservation of Philadelphia, and the recovery of New Jersey, by sweeping, at one stroke, all the British cantonments upon the Delaware. The present position of his forces favoured the execution of his plan. The troops under the immediate command of General Washington, consisting of about two thousand four hundred men, were ordered to cross the river at M'Konkey's ferry, nine miles above Trenton, to attack that post. General Irvine was directed to cross with his division at Trenton ferry, to secure the bridge below the town, and prevent the retreat of the enemy that way. General Cadwallader received orders to pass the river at Bristol ferry, and assault the post at Burlington. The night of the twenty-fifth was assigned for the execution of this daring scheme. It proved to be severely cold, and so much ice was

arrived at Trenton at four o'clock in the afternoon, just when the last boat of General Washington's embarkation crossed the river, as if he had calculated, it was observed, with great accuracy, the exact time necessary for his enemy to make his escape."—Steadman's History of the American War, vol. i. p. 220.

* General Lee had been a British officer, and had engaged in the American service before the acceptance of the resignation of his commission. Sir William Howe, for this reason, pretended to view him as a traitor, and at first refused to admit him to his parole,

or to consider him as a subject of exchange. Congress directed the commander in chief to propose to Sir William Howe to exchange six field officers for General Lee. In case the proposal was rejected, that body resolved, that these officers should be closely confined, and in every respect receive the treatment that General Lee did. The proposition not being acceded to, the resolution of congress was carried into effect, by the executives of the states in whose custody the selected field officers were, with a degree of severity which even the treatment of General Lee did not warrant.

made in the river, that General Irvine and General Cadwallader, after having strenuously exerted themselves, found it impracticable to pass their divisions, and their part of the plan totally failed. The commander in chief was, however, more fortunate, and, though with much difficulty and considerable loss of time, succeeded in crossing the river, and reached Trenton by eight o'clock in the morning. The brave Colonel Rawle, the commanding officer, assembled his forces for the defence of his post; but he was mortally wounded by the first fire, and his men, in apparent dismay, attempted to file off towards Princeton. General Washington, perceiving their intention, moved a part of his troops into this road, in their front, and defeated the design. Their artillery being seized, and the Americans pressing upon them, they surrendered. Twenty of the Germans were killed, and a thousand made prisoners. By the failure of General Irvine, a small body of the enemy stationed in the lower part of the town, escaped over the bridge to Bordentown. Of the American troops, two privates were killed, and two frozen to death, and one officer and three or four privates were wounded. Could the other divisions have crossed the Delaware, General Washington's plan, in its full extent, would probably have succeeded. Not thinking it prudent to hazard the fruits of this gallant stroke by more daring attempts, the general, the same day, recrossed the Delaware with his prisoners, with six pieces of artillery, a thousand stand of arms, and some military stores.

This display of enterprise and vigour on the part of the Americans, astonished and perplexed General Howe, and, though in the depth of winter, he found it necessary to commence active operations. Such was the reviving influence on the minds of the American soldiers, and such the skill which the commander in chief exercised, that, after several successful operations following that of Trenton, he not only saved Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, but recovered the greatest part of the Jerseys, in defiance of an army vastly superior to his, in discipline, resources, and numbers. Of all their recent extensive possessions in the Jerseys, the English retained now only the posts of Brunswick and Amboy. These successful operations on the part of the Americans were immediately followed by a proclamation, in the name of General Washington, absolving all those who had been induced to take the oaths of allegiance tendered by the British commissioners, and promising them protection on condition of their subscribing to a form of oath prescribed by congress. The effects of this proclamation were almost instantaneous. The in-

habitants of the Jerseys, who had conceived a violent hatred to the British army, on account of their unchecked course of plundering, instantly renounced their allegiance to Great Britain, and attached themselves to the cause of America. Several who were resolved to avenge their wrongs, joined the army under General Washington, while others rendered equal service to the side to which they attached themselves, by supplying the American army with provisions and fuel, and by conveying intelligence of the operations of the British army.

Before entering on the campaign of 1777, it will be proper briefly to notice the state of affairs in Canada. The Americans still possessed Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and were masters of Lake Champlain. To dispossess them of these posts was an arduous and a difficult task, inasmuch as the British had not a vessel on Lake Champlain to oppose the American fleet. Difficult, however, as it was, General Carleton resolved to use every effort to procure an adequate naval force, and at length succeeding in the attainment of his object, he acquired a decided superiority. On the 11th of October, the British fleet discovered that of their opponents very advantageously posted off the island Valicour, with an intention of defending the passage between that island and the western main. A schooner and some gunboats, being considerably ahead of the rest of the fleet, began the engagement, which was continued for some hours on both sides, with great intrepidity. Brigadier-General Waterbury, in the Washington galley, fought with undaunted bravery, until nearly all his officers were killed or wounded, and his vessel greatly injured, when Arnold ordered the remaining shattered vessels to retire up the lake towards Crown Point, to refit. Two days afterwards they were overtaken by the British, and the action was renewed. The Washington galley, crippled in the first action, was soon obliged to strike and surrender. General Arnold, having obstinately defended himself with great judgment and gallantry against a superior force, was at length so closely pressed, that he was compelled to run on shore his own vessel, the Congress galley, which, with five gondolas, was abandoned and blown up. Of sixteen American vessels, eleven were taken or destroyed; of the British, two gondolas were sunk, and one blown up, with sixty men. The loss of men on each side was supposed to be nearly equal; that of the Americans was estimated at about a hundred. The British army and fleet now established themselves at Crown Point, and proceeded to strengthen the old fortifications, originally erected at this place by the French in 1756.

but they very soon abandoned this station, and retired into Canada.

Having secured the Hessian prisoners on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware, Washington recrossed the river two days after the action, and took possession of Trenton. Generals Mifflin and Cadwallader, who lay at Bordentown and Crosswix, with three thousand six hundred militia, were ordered to march up in the night of the first of January, to join the commander in chief, whose whole effective force, including this accession, did not exceed five thousand men. The detachments of the British army which had been distributed over New Jersey, now assembled at Princeton, and were joined by the army from Brunswick, under Lord Cornwallis. From this position they advanced toward Trenton in great force, on the morning of the second of January; and, after some slight skirmishing with troops detached to harass and delay their march, the van of their army reached Trenton about four in the afternoon. On their approach, General Washington retired across the Assumpineck, a rivulet that runs through the town, and by some field pieces, posted on its opposite banks, compelled them, after attempting to cross in several places, to fall back out of the reach of his guns. The two armies, kindling their fires, retained their positions on opposite sides of the rivulet, and kept up a cannonade until night. The situation of the American general was at this moment extremely critical. Nothing but a stream, in many places fordable, separated his army from an enemy in every respect its superior. If he remained in his present position, he was certain of being attacked the next morning, at the hazard of the entire destruction of his little army. If he should retreat over the Delaware, the ice in that river not being firm enough to admit a passage upon it, there was danger of great loss, perhaps of a total defeat; the Jerseys would be in full possession of the enemy; the public mind would be depressed; recruiting would be discouraged; and Philadelphia would be within the reach of General Howe. In this extremity, he boldly determined to abandon the Delaware, and, by a circuitous march along the left flank of the enemy, fall into their rear at Princeton. When it was dark, the army, leaving its fires lighted, and the sentinels on the margin of the creek, decamped with perfect secrecy. About sunrise two British regiments, that were on their march to join the rear of the British army at Maidenhead, fell in with the van of the Americans, conducted by General Mercer, and a very sharp action ensued. The advanced party of Americans, composed chiefly of militia, soon gave way, and the

few regulars attached to them could not maintain their ground. General Mercer, while gallantly exerting himself to rally his broken troops, received a mortal wound. General Washington, however, who followed close in their rear, now led on the main body of the army, and attacked the enemy with great spirit. While he exposed himself to their hottest fire, he was so well supported by the same troops which had aided him a few days before in the victory at Trenton, that the British were compelled to give way; and Washington pressed forward to Princeton. A party of the British that had taken refuge in the college, after receiving a few discharges from the American field-pieces, surrendered themselves prisoners of war; but the principal part of the regiment that was left there, saved itself by a precipitate retreat to Brunswick. In this action upwards of a hundred of the British were killed, and nearly three hundred were taken prisoners. Great was the surprise of Lord Cornwallis when the report of the artillery at Princeton, and the arrival of breathless messengers, apprised him that the enemy was in his rear. Alarmed by the danger of his position, he commenced a retreat; and, being harassed by the militia and the countrymen who had suffered from the outrages perpetrated by his troops on their advance, he did not deem himself in safety till he arrived at Brunswick, from whence, by means of the Rariton, he had communication with New York.

The successes of the American arms at Trenton and at Princeton were followed by important consequences. The affairs of the United States, before these events, appeared to be desperate. Two thousand of the regular troops had a right, on the 1st of January, to demand their discharge. The recruiting service was at an end, and general despondency prevailed. The triumphs of the British through the previous parts of the campaign produced a common apprehension, in the citizens of the middle states, that any further struggle would be useless, and that America must eventually return to her allegiance to Great Britain. Many individuals made their peace with the commissioners, and took protection from the officers of the crown; and more discovered an inclination to do it, when opportunity should present itself. General Howe supposed New Jersey restored to the British government, and thought the war drawing to a close. But these successes were considered as great victories, and produced important effects upon the public mind. The character of the commander in chief proportionably rose in the estimation of the great mass of American people, who now respected themselves, and confided in their persever-

ing efforts to secure the great object of contention—the independence of their country. Other causes had a powerful operation upon the minds of the yeomanry of New Jersey. The British commanders tolerated, or at least did not restrain, gross licentiousness in their army. The inhabitants of the state which they boasted was restored to the bosom of the parent country, were treated not as reclaimed friends, but as conquered enemies. The soldiers were guilty of every species of rapine, and with little discrimination between those who had opposed or supported the measures of Britain. The abuse was not limited to the plundering of property. Every indignity was offered to the persons of the inhabitants, not excepting those outrages to the female sex which are felt by ingenuous minds with the keenest anguish, and excite noble spirits to desperate resistance. These aggravated abuses roused the people of New Jersey to repel that army to which they had voluntarily submitted, in the expectation of protection and security. At the dawn of success upon the American arms, they rose in small bands to oppose their invaders. They scoured the country, cut off every soldier who straggled from his corps, and in many instances repelled the foraging parties of the enemy. Early in this year also the Americans were gratified by the arrival of a vessel from France at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, with upwards of eleven thousand stand of arms, and a thousand barrels of powder; and about the same time ten thousand stand of arms arrived in another part of the United States.

This supply was, however, in some measure counterbalanced. In the month of March the British sent out two detachments to destroy the American stores at Peekskill on the North River, and at Danbury, in Connecticut. Both succeeded in their attempt; and although the stores destroyed did not equal in quantity the report on which the expeditions were planned, yet their loss was sensibly felt by the Americans in the active season of the campaign.

Sir William Howe, having in vain attempted to entice or provoke General Washington to an engagement, had, in June, retired with his army from the Jerseys to Staten Island. After keeping the American general in long and perplexing suspense concerning his intended operations, he at length sailed from Sandy Hook with about sixteen thousand men, entered Chesapeake Bay, and on the 24th of August arrived at the head of Elk river. Generals Grant and Knyphausen having joined him on the 8th of September with the troops under their command, the whole army moved onward in two columns toward Philadelphia, the possession of which was now evi-

dently the object of the British commander. Washington, who regulated his movements by those of the enemy, had by this time, with the whole American army excepting the light infantry, which remained on the lines, taken a position behind Red Clay Creek, on the road leading directly from the enemy's camp to Philadelphia. The British rapidly advanced until they were within two miles of the Americans; while Washington crossed the Brandywine, and took post on a height behind that river. At daybreak on the morning of the 11th it was ascertained that Sir William Howe in person had crossed the Brandywine at the forks, and was rapidly marching down the north side of the river to attack the American army. The commander-in-chief now ordered General Sullivan to form the right wing to oppose the column of Sir William. General Wayne was directed to remain at Chadd's Ford with the left wing, to dispute the passage of the river with Knyphausen. General Greene, with his division, was posted as a reserve in the centre between Sullivan and Wayne, to re-enforce either, as circumstances might require. General Sullivan marched up the river, until he found favourable ground on which to form his men; his left was near the Brandywine, and both flanks were covered with thick wood. At half-past four o'clock, when his line was scarcely formed, the British, under Lord Cornwallis, commenced a spirited attack. The action was for some time severe; but the American right, which was not properly in order when the assault began, at length gave way, and exposed the flank of the troops that maintained their ground to a destructive fire, and continuing to break from the right, the whole line finally gave way. As soon as the firing began, General Washington, with General Greene's division, hastened towards the scene of action, but before his arrival, Sullivan was routed, and the commander-in-chief could only check the pursuit of the enemy, and cover the retreat of the beaten troops. During these transactions General Knyphausen assaulted the works erected for the defence of Chadd's Ford, and soon carried them. General Wayne, by this time learning the fate of the other divisions, drew off his troops. General Washington retreated with his whole force that night to Chester. The American loss in this battle was about three hundred killed and six hundred wounded. Four hundred were made prisoners, but these chiefly of the wounded.

Perceiving that the enemy were moving into the Lancaster-road, towards the city, General Washington took possession of ground near the Warren tavern, on the left of the British, and twenty-three miles from Philadelphia. The protection of his

stores at Reading was one object of this movement. The next morning he was informed of the approach of the British army. He immediately put his troops in motion to engage the enemy. The advance of the two hostile armies met and began to skirmish, when a violent storm came on, which prevented a general engagement, and rendered the retreat of the Americans absolutely necessary. The inferiority of the muskets in the hands of the American soldiery, which had been verified in every action, was strikingly illustrated in this retreat. The gun-locks being badly made, and the cartridge-boxes imperfectly constructed, this storm rendered most of the arms unfit for use; and all the ammunition was damaged. The army was in consequence extremely exposed, and their danger became the greater, as many of the soldiers were destitute of bayonets. Fortunately the tempest, which produced such serious mischief to the Americans, prevented the pursuit of the British. Washington still continued to make every effort to save the capital; but Sir William Howe, having secured the command of the Schuylkill, on the 23d of September, crossed it with his whole army; on the 26th he advanced to Germantown; and on the succeeding day Lord Cornwallis, at the head of a strong detachment, entered Philadelphia in triumph.

The American army, re-enforced to eight thousand continental troops and three thousand militia, took a position at Shippack Creek, on the east side of the Schuylkill, about twenty miles from Philadelphia, and sixteen from Germantown. At the latter place was posted the main body of the British army. The first object of Sir William Howe was to subdue the defences, and remove the impediments of the Delaware, that a communication might be opened with the British shipping. General Washington made every effort to prevent the execution of his enemy's design, in the hope of forcing General Howe out of Philadelphia, by preventing supplies of provisions from reaching him. Of the attainment of this important object, he had no doubt, could the passage of the Delaware be rendered impracticable. For this purpose works had been erected on a bank of mud and sand in the river, near the confluence of the Schuylkill, and about seven miles below Philadelphia. The place, from these works, was denominated Fort Island; and the works themselves Fort Mifflin. On a neck of land on the opposite shore of New Jersey, called Red Bank, a fort was constructed and mounted with heavy artillery, and called Fort Mercer. Fort Island and Red Bank were distant from each other half a mile. In the channel of the Delaware, which ran between them, two ranges of chevaux-de-

frise were sunk. These consisted of large pieces of timber, strongly framed together, and pointed with iron, and they completely obstructed the passage of ships. These works were covered by several galleys, floating batteries, and armed ships.

Sir William Howe having detached a considerable force from Germantown to operate against the works on the Delaware, General Washington thought this a favourable opportunity to attack the British army in their cantonments. The line of the British encampment crossed the village of Germantown at right angles, near its centre, and its flanks were strongly covered. The army, having moved from its ground about seven in the afternoon of the 3d of October, began an attack about sunrise the next morning. The advance of the column, led by Sullivan, and accompanied by the commander in chief, encountered and drove in a picket, which presently gave way; and his main body, soon following, engaged the light infantry and other troops encamped near the picket, and forced them from their ground. Though closely pursued, Lieutenant-colonel Musgrove, with six companies, took post in a strong stone house, which lay in the way of the Americans, and severely galled them by a fire of musketry from the doors and windows. General Washington immediately ordered a brigade to surround the house; but Colonel Musgrove refused to surrender. Four pieces of cannon were brought against him, but he sustained the fire of them until Major-general Gray, with the third brigade, and Brigadier-general Agnew, with the fourth, came to his assistance, and attacked the Americans with great spirit. In the mean time General Greene arrived with his column, and attacked the right wing of the British. Colonel Matthews routed a party of the British opposed to him; but being enveloped in a most extraordinary fog, he lost sight of the brigade to which he belonged, and was taken prisoner, with his whole regiment. At length a part of the right wing of the British attacked the Americans on the opposite side of the town; and the embarrassments among the American troops, occasioned by the darkness, gave the English time to recover from their consternation. Sullivan's division had penetrated far into Germantown; but the main body of the American army now commenced a retreat, and all efforts to rally it proved ineffectual. In this battle the loss of the Americans, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was not less than twelve hundred men, while that of the British did not exceed half that number. The American army encamped again on Shippack Creek, but soon after advanced to White Marsh, while the royal army removed from Germantown to Philadelphia.

The works in the Delaware now engaged the attention of the British and American generals. Lord Howe, by continued exertion, having overcome the obstructions which the Americans had placed in the river at Billingsport, a joint attack by sea and land was planned against Red Bank and Fort Island. The *Augusta*, a sixty-four gun ship, the *Merlin* frigate, and several small armed vessels, moved up the Delaware to assault the works on Fort or Mud Island. Count Donop crossed into New Jersey with twelve hundred Germans, and in the evening of the 22d appeared before Fort Mercer, on Red Bank. His assault was highly spirited, and the defence intrepid and obstinate. Colonel Green, the commandant, whose garrison did not exceed five hundred men, was unable adequately to man the outworks; but he galled the Germans in their advance, and on their near approach he quitted them, and retired within the inner intrenchments. They pressed forward with undaunted bravery, and the Americans poured upon them a deadly fire. Count Donop was himself mortally wounded at the head of his gallant corps; the second in command soon after fell, and the third immediately drew off his forces. The assailants had four hundred men killed and wounded, while the garrison, fighting under cover, had only thirty. In the mean time, Fort Mifflin was attacked by the shipping, and by batteries erected on the Pennsylvania shore. Incessant volleys of bombs and cannon balls were discharged upon it. But at ebb tide the *Augusta* and *Merlin* grounded, and were burnt. The garrison supported this tremendous fire without material injury. The resistance of the forts on the Delaware far exceeding the expectations of the British commanders, they adopted measures to overcome it without the hazard of a second assault. They erected batteries upon Providence Island, within five hundred yards of the American fort. They also brought up their shipping, gun-boats, &c., and from the 10th to the 16th of November, battered the American works. By this time the defences were entirely beaten down, every piece of cannon was dismounted, and one of the ships approached so near Fort Mifflin as to throw hand-grenades from her tops into it, which killed the men upon the platform. The brave garrison received orders to quit the post. Red Bank being no longer useful, its garrison and stores were

also withdrawn, on the approach of Lord Cornwallis with five thousand men to invest it.

While these inauspicious operations were carried on in the south, the northern portion of the country was a theatre of events that more than counterbalanced them. A principal object of the British, in the campaign of this year, was to open a free communication between New York and Canada. The British ministry were sanguine in their hopes, that, by effecting this object, New England, which they considered as the soul of the confederacy, might be severed from the neighbouring states, and compelled to submission. In prosecution of this design, an army of British and German troops, amounting to upwards of seven thousand men, exclusive of artillery, was put under the command of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, an enterprising and able officer. The plan of operations consisted of two parts. General Burgoyne, with the main body, was to advance by way of Lake Champlain, and force his way to Albany, or, at least, so far as to effect a junction with the royal army from New York; and Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, with about two hundred British, a regiment of New York loyalists, raised and commanded by Sir John Johnson, and a large body of Indians, was to ascend the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, and from that quarter to penetrate toward Albany, by the way of the Mohawk river. General Burgoyne arrived at Quebec in May. In the latter end of June he advanced with his army to Crown Point, and from thence proceeded to invest Ticonderoga, which was soon abandoned by the Americans, under General St. Clair, who, after a distressing march, joined General Schuyler at Fort Edward, on the river Hudson. General Burgoyne, having with incredible labour and fatigue conducted his army through the wilderness from Skenesborough, reached Fort Edward on the 30th of July. As he approached that place, General Schuyler, whose forces, even since the junction of St. Clair, did not exceed four thousand four hundred men, retired over the Hudson to Saratoga. Early in August, St. Leger invested Fort Schuyler, and at first obtained some advantages over the Americans; but, by stratagem,* the Indians were induced to desert him, and finding himself abandoned by seven or eight hundred of these important auxiliaries,† he decamped in great confusion, and returned to Montreal,

* Thacher's Military Journal, p. 107.

† It has ever been a source of reproach against the British, that they employed the sanguinary Indians as their allies. The atrocities they committed might be somewhat exaggerated by General Gates and others; but that instances did occur, to the disgrace of their civilized associates, cannot be denied. The melancholy case of Miss McCrea will long be remembered. Captain Jones, her

lover, an officer in the British army, anxious on her account, engaged some Indians, of two different tribes, to convey her away from among the Americans, for the purpose of security; fearing for her, probably, on account of her father being interested in the royal cause, and of her attachment to himself. Having promised to reward the person who should bring her safe to him with a barrel of rum, the two Indians, who had already conveyed her to some

leaving his tents, with most of his artillery and stores, in the field. While St. Leger was thus unsuccessful at Fort Schuyler, a detachment under Colonel Baume,

distance, disputed which of them should present to Captain Jones the object of his affection. Each was anxious for the reward; and that the other might not receive it, one of them killed her with a blow of his tomahawk. Upon the first intelligence of what had happened, Burgoyne obliged the Indians to deliver up the murderer, and threatened to put him to death. Many thought the threat would have been executed; but he was pardoned, upon the Indians agreeing to terms enjoined them by Burgoyne, which the general thought would be more efficacious than an execution, to prevent similar mischiefs.—Gordon, vol. ii. p. 544.

The fate of this young woman has excited the sympathies of her friends, and the whole people of the United States. She was the daughter of James M'Crea, a clergyman of New Jersey, who died before the revolution. After her father's death, she resided with her brother, at Albany, who removed to the neighbourhood of Fort Edward. There are several versions of this story of blood; but the following is drawn from an examination of all of them. August, 1777, is stated to be the time of her death.

She was a young lady twenty-three years of age, amiable and well educated. She was related to one of the American officers who was at Fort Edward, but on the alarm given by the retreat of the American army from the lakes, she had left her home for a safe retreat in Fort Miller; but when the American forces thought it prudent to retire from that fortress to Vermont, she did not think proper to go with them, and returned to Sandy Hill, the place of her usual residence. Rumour after rumour soon reached her here of the approach of the Indians, and she knew not whither to fly. The whole country from the lakes was in great consternation, and she set out for Fort Edward, with some other females. Her fears were increased, for she felt no confidence in either side. She was on American ground, but was betrothed to an American, who had taken sides with the British, and had gone to Canada, where he was made captain of a company. The lovers had managed to keep up a correspondence, and he was informed, when he reached Fort Anne, that his inamorata was concealed in a house a few miles from Sandy Hill. To go there himself would be dangerous to both, as the woods were infested with scouting parties of American troops, and he, as a tory, would have been harshly dealt with, if taken by them; but, to make all sure, he engaged a party of confidential Indians, to take his horse and go to her place of concealment, and bring her to him in safety. The party reached the place, and she received the letter. He urged her in his letter not to hesitate a moment in putting herself under their protection, but she had some sad misgivings. The Indians had been a terror to that part of the country, and the tales she had heard in her childhood, came thickly upon her distracted mind; but the voice of a lover is law to a confiding woman.

She put herself under their guidance, and they had proceeded on their journey, she on horseback and they on foot, to near a small spring, which may now be seen, when they were met by another party of Indians, who had heard of the reward which her lover had offered, or were sent by him, in his impatience to see her out of danger. A quarrel arose between the parties of Indians, which should have the reward, or at least how it should be shared, when an American scouting party came in sight, and commenced a brisk fire on the Indians, who were thus disputing. They instantly fled; but, unwilling she should be taken by the scouting party, one of the Indians, while the others had fled to the bushes, pulled the girl from the horse, struck his tomahawk into her forehead, tore off her scalp, and gashed her breast, and left her under a huge pine. The scouting party found her there in that situation, and they covered her body, and that of an American officer, who had just fallen by the fire of the Indians, as well as they could, with leaves and earth. Some one of the Indians, with their usual regard to truth, made her lover acquainted with the facts, and another proved his assertions by exhibiting the scalp. He knew the long golden tresses of Miss M'Crea, and in defiance of all danger, flew to the spot, to realize the horrid tale. He tore away the thinly spread leaves and earth, clasped the still bleeding body to his arms, and

despatched to seize a large depot in New Hampshire Grants, was also defeated by a body of militia under General Stark.* Meanwhile, General Burgoyne,

wrapping it in his cloak, bore it to the first wagon he could find, and there hid it from the sight of the world, until he could dispose of it according to his affections. The driver was bribed to silence. The lover sat by the wagon all night, in a state but little short of a quiet delirium, now and then rousing himself to a furious determination to immolate the first Indian he could find; but they were all in their lairs. The morning sun arose, and the wagon went on, he having determined to take the corpse on with him to some spot hallowed by the graves of others, and there deposit the sacred relics of the beloved of his soul. But his neglect of duty, and strange demeanor, caused him to be watched by his superior officers, who heard something of the rumour, and they discovered the secret, that the corpse of Miss M'Crea was in the wagon. They instantly ordered the wagon to stop, and the corpse to be buried by the wayside, kindly allowing Captain Jones to stay a few moments, "to see her decent limbs composed," and laid in the bosom of the earth, a coffin having been procured. The grave is about four miles from Fort Edward.

Captain Jones, it is said, survived her but a few years; and this melancholy event is supposed to have brought him to the grave. Perhaps the tragical death of this amiable girl has given a degree of romance to her virtues and personal charms; but it is agreed, by all who knew her, that she was amiable, virtuous, and accomplished. The tomahawk and the scalping knife have nearly become extinct, as weapons of dread to the women and children of our favoured country. To our primitive mothers they were something more than "air drawn daggers," creatures of the imagination; for on their blade and dudgeon were often real gouts of blood.—American Editor.

* "The colonel was furnished with the following curious instructions, which fell into the hands of General Stark: 'To proceed to New Hampshire Grants, cross the mountains, scour the country, with Peter's corps (tories) and the Indians; from Rockingham to Otter Creek, to get horses, carriages, and cattle, and mount Reidesel's regiment of dragoons; to go down Connecticut river as far as Brattleborough, and return by the great road to Albany, there to meet General Burgoyne; to endeavour to make the country believe it was the advanced body of the general's army, who was to cross Connecticut river and proceed to Boston, and that at Springfield they were to be joined by the troops from Rhode Island. All officers, civil and military, acting under the congress, were to be made prisoners. To tax the towns where they halted, with such articles as they wanted, and take hostages for the performance, &c. You are to bring all horses fit to mount the dragoons, or to serve as battalion horses for the troops, with as many saddles and bridles as can be found. The number of horses requisite, besides those for the dragoons, ought to be thirteen hundred; if you can bring more, so much the better. The horses must be tied in strings of ten each, in order that one man may lead ten horses.' This redoubtable commander surely must be one of the happiest men of the age, to imagine that such prodigious achievements were at his command,—that such invaluable resources were within his grasp. But, alas! the wisest of men are liable to disappointment in their sanguine calculations, and to have their favourite projects frustrated by the casualties of war. This is remarkably verified in the present instance."—Thacher's Military Journal, p. 109.

Hinton has dismissed this battle, which deserves a volume; in less than three lines; for it was the prelude to the capture of Burgoyne, an incident more important than any that occurred in the military history of our country. It settled the treatment of prisoners, a great event in our warfare, and secured our independence. John Stark, the hero of this battle, was born at Londonderry, in the state of New Hampshire, in the year 1728. When quite a young man, he was taken, while on a hunting excursion, by the St. Francis Indians, and carried to Canada. From this captivity he was released by the payment of a ransom obtained from his friends. He went on hunting expeditions, after his return, in order to refund the sum paid for his deliverance. When the five companies

having collected about thirty days' provision, and thrown a bridge of boats over the Hudson, crossed that river on the 13th and 14th of September, and

of rangers were raised by Major Rogers, in 1755, Stark was appointed a lieutenant of a company. Distinguishing himself in this body, he was made a captain, and increased his reputation by his prowess in every campaign. The history of the rangers is full of interest; they were the most hardy and invincible of soldiers engaged in a border war—the proper school for heroes. From the peace of 1763 to 75, Stark was engaged as a farmer; but hearing of the battle of Lexington, he at once repaired to Cambridge. There receiving a commission as colonel, he hastened to raise a regiment in his native state, and was marching to join the army at Cambridge, when the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. He led his troops directly on to the hill, and took his position on the left of the breastwork, behind the rail fence. (See battle of Bunker Hill, page 225.) His bravery on this occasion was worthy of his former reputation. In the campaign of 1776, he proceeded from New York to Canada. At the battle of Trenton, he commanded the right wing, and was also at Princeton.

Being overlooked, in a promotion of officers, in the spring of 1777, he retired from the service of the confederation, to his farm. In July of that year, he accepted the command of the New Hampshire troops, on condition that he should not be obliged to serve under any continental officer, and marched to Vermont, to be in readiness to assist in checking Burgoyne in his progress toward Albany, where it was supposed the British army expected to winter. His troops were at Bennington when he received information that a German force had been detached by the British commander in chief to collect cattle and forage. He lost no time in meeting the enemy, and with success. Many accounts of this memorable affair have been given by our historians; we shall subjoin an interesting description of that battle, from the pen of one of the officers under Count Baum: It is true in all its general features, and is a compliment to the bravery of General Stark and his army. For this fight, Stark received the thanks of congress, and was appointed a brigadier-general by that body; and recruiting a new force, was in season to assist in the capture of Burgoyne. General Stark continued in the army until the revolutionary conflict was over, and then retired to his farm again. He enjoyed a green old age, living until he was ninety-three years old. He died in 1822, and over his ashes a monument has been erected by his family. He was a man of robust constitution, and of great firmness of character. He was brave, honest, and direct. He spoke what he thought, without the fear of any one. His mansion was as hospitable as a free heart and liberal hand could make it. To the last years of his life he conversed upon the events of the revolution with energy and patriotism. He detailed his border fights with graphic minuteness. He abhorred hypocrisy and cowardice, and denounced these vices in no measured terms. This race of soldier-patriarchs, who led their sons and sent out their grandsons to battle, have now become nearly extinct.—*American Editor.*

The great object which General Burgoyne sought to obtain, was to force his way down the course of the Hudson, and rallying round him, as he proceeded, as many loyalists as chose to follow his fortunes, to effect a junction with the army of General Howe, then blockaded in New York. To facilitate this measure, by distracting the attention of the enemy, a smaller expedition, under the orders of Colonel St. Leger, had been organized, which, moving through the western part of Chester county, threatened Fort Stanwix, a rudely fortified station upon the Mohawk. Colonel St. Leger's force was extremely weak, particularly in troops of the line, of which no more than four hundred, and those composed of detachments from different regiments, served under him; and the whole, including provincials, Canadians, and some hundreds of Indians, barely came up to twelve hundred men. He pushed forward, however, with diligence, and on the third of August invested the fortress, sending intelligence, at the same time, to the general in chief, of his situation; and in two days afterwards he had the good fortune to surprise and cut to pieces a body of eight hundred Americans, when on their march to relieve the garrison. So far all things had succeeded according to our wish; but Colonel St. Leger

encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga. General Gates, who had recently taken the chief command of the northern department of the Ameri-

gradually found, that in the expectations which he had been led to form respecting the loyalty of the inhabitants of the invaded district, the grossest impositions had been practised on him. Instead of crowds of volunteers, scarcely an individual came to his camp; and of the few who did come, it was more than suspected, that by far the greater proportion came with a treacherous intention.

That these advantages, trifling as they were, might not be wholly wasted, it became incumbent on Gen. Burgoyne to advance without delay; whilst the deplorable deficiency in the means of transport under which he laboured, seemed to render all attempts at moving the army fruitless. Though our troops had toiled without intermission during three whole weeks, there was in camp no greater stock of provisions than promised to suffice for four days' consumption; and to move forward with a supply so slender, into a desert country, appeared to a leader of the old school little better than insanity. I have called it a desert country, not only with reference to its natural sterility,—and heaven knows it was sterile enough,—but because of the pains which were taken, and unfortunately with too great success, to sweep its few cultivated spots of all articles likely to benefit the invaders. In doing this, the enemy showed no clemency either to friend or foe. All the fields of standing corn were laid waste, the cattle were driven away, and every particle of grain, as well as morsel of grass, carefully removed; so that we could depend for subsistence, both for men and horses, only upon the magazines which we might ourselves establish. But our draft animals were so inadequate to the conveyance of stores, that no magazine had as yet been formed farther in advance than Fort George; and Fort George was too much in the rear to be of service as a base of operations, after we should have quitted the position which we now occupied.

I have said that the American army retreated as we advanced, cutting up the roads, and devastating the face of the country over which they passed. They were now, according to the best accounts which we could receive, at Saratoga, a hamlet, or rather farm, on the left bank of the Hudson, and about half way between Fort Edward and the Mohawk. It seemed advisable to General Burgoyne to threaten them there: for if they risked an action, he had no apprehensions as to the result; if they retired, Colonel St. Leger would be in their rear; and should they succeed in escaping both divisions, then was the road to Albany thrown open, and the principal design of the inroad attained. Increased exertions were accordingly used to bring a flotilla from the lakes to the nearest navigable point in the river; and so unremitting were they, that before the close of the first week in August, a considerable number of boats and barges, laden with such stores as could be forwarded, were launched upon the stream, and ready to accompany the army.

Whilst these projects were in contemplation, and the above means adopted for bringing them to an issue, a piece of information was obtained at head-quarters, which promised to bring about the happiest results, by relieving us at once from all the embarrassments attendant upon meagre supplies and inadequate means of transport. About twenty miles to the eastward of the Hudson, lies the obscure village of Bennington—a cluster of poor cottages, situated in a wild country, between the forks of the Housac. Here the enemy had gathered together a considerable depot of cattle, corn, horses, and wheel-carriages, most of which were drawn across the Connecticut river from the provinces of New England; and as it was understood to be guarded by a party of militia only, an attempt to surprise it seemed by no means unjustifiable. It is true, that between Fort Edward and Bennington, the means of communication were exceedingly defective. One prodigious forest, bottomed in swamps and morasses, covered the whole face of the country; through which, no body of men, unless familiarly accustomed to such expeditions, could hope to make their way, at all events with celerity. But the necessities of the army were pressing; the state of the campaign was a critical one; and the risk, though doubtless great, was considered by no means to outweigh the advantages to be derived from success. General Burgoyne

can army, advanced toward the British, and encamped three miles above Stillwater. On the night of the 17th, Burgoyne encamped within four miles

determined to incur it; and a few hours sufficed for the final arrangement of his plan, and drawing up of his instructions.

There were attached to our little army, two hundred German dragoons; men of tried valour and enterprise, but destitute of horses. These the general selected as part of the force to be employed in the surprise of Bennington; not only because he entertained the most perfect confidence in their steadiness, but because he conceived, that in the country into which they were about to penetrate, they might be able to pick up a sufficient number of horses for their own use. In addition to these, the Canadian rangers, a detachment of provincials, about one hundred Indians, and Captain Fraser's marksmen, with two pieces of light cannon, were allotted to this service; and the whole, amounting to five hundred men, were placed under the orders of Lieutenant Colonel Baume. The latter officer received special instructions to proceed with extreme caution. He was particularly enjoined to keep his dragoons together, and to feel his way, foot by foot, with his light troops alone; and whilst it was broadly insinuated that he might look for recruits among the well disposed inhabitants, the greatest care was taken to impress him with the conviction, that they were not to be implicitly trusted. It would have been well both for himself and his followers, had these advices been somewhat more carefully remembered. But there was a fatality attending all our measures, which soon began to develop itself; and perhaps the fate of the present expedition ought to have been taken as a fair warning of the destiny which awaited the army at large.

Though all these arrangements were completed, and the troops destined to fulfil them told off so early as the beginning of August, the middle of the month was approaching ere this attempt, on the success of which so much was supposed to depend, was made. Perhaps there was no great error here; more especially as the column broke up from its bivouac, and advanced to the point where the Hudson was to be crossed. It was a toilsome and a tedious march—a little, and but a little enlivened, by a harmless skirmish, which some straggling Americans chose to maintain with our detached Indians. After enduring great privations with a spirit which failed not to the last, our army at length reached its destined resting place, and took up a position on the eastern bank of the Hudson, immediately opposite to the heights of Saratoga.

This done, and the enemy having withdrawn as far as Stillwater, the general proceeded to carry into execution his projected design against Bennington. At an early hour in the morning of the 12th, our little band, unincumbered with any quantity of baggage besides that which each man could conveniently carry upon his back, set off in the direction of Batten Kill, where it arrived, without meeting with any adventure, by four o'clock in the afternoon. Here we halted for the night, by which means a company of fifty chasseurs overtook us, whom General Burgoyne, distrustful of our strength, sent to re-enforce us; but at five next morning, we were again in motion, and pushed cautiously, though with a quick pace, in the direction of Cambridge. Our journey this day proved in many respects more interesting than any which we had performed since the pursuit from Ticonderoga. The country, as we advanced, exhibited greater signs of cultivation, a field or two interposing here and there amidst the plains, and a few detached cottages lying by the wayside; whilst several of the country people voluntarily joined us, and took the oath of allegiance to the king. From them we learned that a company of Americans had been left in Cambridge as a guard over some cattle which were on their way to Bennington; and as it was deemed of importance to seize such, wherever they could be found, our scouts were commanded to quicken their pace, and surprise them.

I was not one of the party thus sent forward, that duty having been entrusted to thirty provincials and fifty Indians; but the latter attained their object after a trifling skirmish, in which one man only was wounded. Nothing could be finer than the effect produced by the desultory firing which was kept up on that occasion by the retreating enemy and our pursuers. It so happened that the point where they first met, though covered with a deep and ex-

of the American army; and about noon on the 19th advanced in full force against it. The right wing was commanded by General Burgoyne, and covered

tensive forest, was not incumbered by brush wood or other deafening substances; and hence each report, as it rolled from tree to tree and glade to glade, sounded as if not one, but fifty muskets, had been fired. You will easily believe that the first discharge caused us to quicken our pace, and to recover our ranks, which had begun to straggle; but no opportunity was afforded us of joining. The enemy fought only to escape; and hence, when we reached Cambridge, we found it in full occupation of our advance, which had made prizes of no inconsiderable quantity of carts and wagons, as well as of cattle and horses.

The satisfaction arising from this first success was not, however, so great as to render us indifferent to the nature of the intelligence which met us there. Instead of four or five hundred men, it was accurately ascertained that not fewer than eighteen hundred were in Bennington; and though some appeared to be of opinion that they would not wait to receive us, there were others who scrupled not to foretell a widely different result. Now, in spite of our late re-enforcement, our whole strength fell considerably short of six hundred men; and of these, a full hundred were Indians, on whom no great reliance could be placed. Still, Colonel Baume appeared to consider his situation secure. He spoke, as far as we could understand him, in very contemptuous terms of the Americans, and busily employed himself in receiving the submission of the inhabitants, who in great numbers flocked to his standard. Unfortunately, Colonel Baume forgot the cautions which had been so strongly impressed upon him. He considered all persons sincere who professed attachment to the royal cause; alluding in their presence, and without reserve, both to his own numbers and designs; and as by far the greater proportion were in reality traitors to us, every circumstance connected with our dispositions and plans became as well known to the enemy as to ourselves.

It was their leader's intention to march at once upon Bennington; for which purpose his little corps was under arms and in column, long before sunrise on the 14th. For some time our progress was, as it had hitherto been, unimpeded; but as we approached the northern branch of the Hoesae, by the farm and bridge of Sankock, the arrangements of the enemy began gradually to develop themselves.

A flying party of Americans were discovered in front of the farm, which, on the approach of our people, spread themselves along the underwood; and they were not dislodged till after a good deal of firing, which caused us some loss in several of the most forward among the savages. At last, however, they retreated, abandoning a mill which they had previously fortified, and breaking down the bridge; and long before the latter could be repaired, they were safe from further molestation. There was a good deal to excite apprehension even in this unimportant rencontre. The Americans, though they gave way at last, fought like men conscious of their own prowess, and confident in the strength of the support which was behind them; and this, coupled with the rumours which had reached us relative to the amount of the garrison of Bennington, failed not to startle both Colonel Baume and the boldest of his troops. Besides, much time was lost by the destruction of the bridge. It required a full hour so far to repair it as to enable the guns and horses to pass; and when this was done, the day had declined so far as to render any attempt to reach the point of our destination before sunset fruitless. We accordingly bivouacked at the farm of Walmscott, about four miles from Sankock, and three from Bennington; where the night was spent, if not in a sense of absolute security, at all events without the occurrence of any accident capable of exciting alarm.

The morning of the 15th came in with heavy rains, and a perfect hurricane of wind; consequently, the little column, instead of pressing forward, was fain to keep under shelter of the farm building. But it was not permitted to remain long in a situation so comfortable. Our early parade had just been dismissed, when a few shots in the direction of the advanced sentries gave notice that the Americans, instead of waiting to be attacked, were on the move; and in a few minutes afterwards, a general commotion at

by General Fraser and Colonel Breyman, with the grenadiers and light infantry, who were posted along some high grounds on the right: The front and

the outposts, indicated more by the shouts of the Indians than the report of their arms, warned us to make ready for an immediate attack. Colonel Baume lost no time in preparing to meet it. Forming his dismounted dragoons in close column among the homestead, he directed the provincials, supported by Fraser's marksmen, to advance to the assistance of the pickets, with orders to dispute every inch of ground to the utmost, and finally to retire upon the reserve, should all their efforts to maintain themselves prove ineffectual.

In an instant we were in motion, and a few minutes sufficed to bring us to the scene of action. We found our Indians threatened, rather than seriously assailed, by a considerable body of militia men, before whom they were falling back, leisurely and in order; but such was the violence of the storm, that not one out of a dozen muskets would explode, and hence the skirmish was neither very animated nor very bloody. On seeing us, our savage allies uttered a yell, which seemed to strike panic into the bosoms of their assailants: for the latter instantly paused, hung back as it were irresolute, and finally retired. We followed for a time, briskly and impetuously; but we likewise felt the bad effects of the weather too much to seek a general engagement; and as the movements of the enemy seemed to indicate a wish on their parts to draw us on, we were of course extremely shy in trusting ourselves beyond our own limits. We accordingly halted as soon as we had recovered the ground which the savages had lost, and, lying down behind the trees, contented ourselves with watching the result during many hours, and striving, as well as we could, to keep the priming of our rifles from the rain.

Whether the Americans ever entertained any serious intention of attacking this day, I cannot pretend to determine; but if they did, the state of the weather compelled them to relinquish it. Yet they ventured to advance, from time to time, in considerable numbers, as if resolved to try how far our position was tenable; and on each occasion a little firing took place; but no impression was made upon us, and the rain continuing to fall without intermission, they at last desisted from their efforts, and withdrew. Their proceedings were not, however, of a nature to be disregarded, or held in contempt, by a force so insignificant as ours. Colonel Baume immediately despatched a messenger to the rear, for the purpose of bringing up an additional corps which General Burgoyne had stationed at Bauen Kill to support us; whilst he set sedulously to the task of fortifying a position in which he might await the coming up of supplies, of which he began now to be conscious that he stood in need.

The farm of Walmscott lies upon both banks of the Hossae, and consisted at this time of some six or eight log built huts, scattered here and there over the narrow expanse of cultivated ground. To the left was a height, which Colonel Baume hastened to occupy: he posted here the dragoons, with a portion of the marksmen on their right, in rear of a little zigzag breastwork, composed of logs and loose earth. Such of the detached houses as came within the compass of his position, he filled with Canadians, supporting them with detachments of chasseurs and grenadiers, likewise entrenched behind breastworks; and he kept the whole, with the exception of about a hundred men, on the north side of the stream, holding the woods upon his flanks, in his front and rear, by the Indians.

To complete these arrangements, and throw up the few works which were to render them efficient, occupied the entire day, and some portion of the night of the 15th; and seldom have men undergone hardships more severe than our people endured whilst thus employed. Let it be borne in mind, that the 15th was a day of continued rain; not such rain as we are accustomed to witness in this country, but an absolute torrent, to afford shelter against which human ingenuity has yet devised no covering. Under this, the men toiled on, the earth which they threw up being repeatedly washed down again, and the holes and ditches which they dug out filled in a moment, and so rendered worse than useless. But their patience equalled the difficulties which it was called upon to sur-

flanks were covered by Indians, provincials, and Canadians. The left wing and artillery were commanded by Major-Generals Phillips and Reidesel,

mount. Each man felt, too, that he was labouring for his own personal safety, not less than for the benefit of the whole; and all were, in consequence, inspired with a principle of perfect heroism and self-devotion. Poor fellows! their spirit and perseverance were, on the present occasion, of little avail. They sufficed, indeed, to save their possessors from dishonour, and enabled them to sell their lives dearly; but they were quite inadequate to secure victory, or even to ward off defeat.

As soon as darkness fairly set in, our corps, which had kept its station on the opposite side of the stream, was silently withdrawn, and took ground beside Reidesel's dragoons, on the little hill above alluded to. There we passed the night, not very comfortably, as may be well supposed, seeing that no fires were lighted, and that we were all impressed with a powerful sense of impending danger; but if there was an absence of mirth from amongst us, there was no approximation to terror; for we held our own valour at the highest, and rated that of our opponents somewhat too cheaply. Yet there were few amongst us that slept very soundly. We could not but remember, that we were cut off, by a wide tract of desolate country, from all communication with our friends, and exposed to attacks on every side from a numerous enemy; and the whoop which the savages raised from time to time, as well as an occasional musket shot, gave notice, that even now that enemy was not inactive. Our anxiety for the return of day was greater by far than perhaps any of us would have been willing to acknowledge, even to his dearest friend; and the feeling of satisfaction was general, when the gradual reddening of the eastern sky denoted that it was fast approaching.

The morning of the 16th rose beautifully serene. The storm of the preceding day having expended itself, not a cloud was left to darken the face of the heavens; whilst the very leaves hung motionless, and the long grass waved not, under the influence of a perfect calm. Every object around, too, appeared to peculiar advantage; for the fields looked green and refreshed, the river was swollen and tumultuous, and the branches were all loaded with dew-drops, which glittered in the sun's early rays like so many diamonds. Nor would it be easy to imagine any scene more rife with peaceful and even pastoral beauty. Looking down from the summit of the rising ground, I beheld immediately beneath me a wide sweep of stately forest, interrupted at remote intervals by green meadows or yellow corn fields; whilst here and there a cottage, a shed, or some other primitive edifice, reared its modest head, as if for the purpose of reminding the spectator, that man had begun his inroads upon nature, without as yet taking away from her simplicity and grandeur. I hardly recollect a scene which struck me at the moment more forcibly, or which has left a deeper or more lasting impression on my memory.

I have said that the morning of the 16th rose beautifully serene; and it is not to the operations of the elements alone that my expression applies. All was perfectly quiet at the outposts, not an enemy having been seen; nor an alarming sound heard, for several hours previous to sunrise. So peaceable, indeed, was the aspect which matters bore, that our leaders felt warmly disposed to resume the offensive, without waiting the arrival of the additional corps for which they had applied; and orders were already issued for the men to eat their breakfasts, preparatory to more active operations. But the arms were scarcely piled, and the haversacks unslung, when symptoms of a state of affairs different from that which had been anticipated, began to show themselves, and our people were recalled to their ranks in all haste, almost as soon as they had quitted them. From more than one quarter scouts came in to report, that columns of armed men were approaching; though whether with a friendly or hostile intention, neither their appearance nor actions enabled our informants to ascertain.

It has been stated, that during the last day's march our little corps was joined by many of the country people; most of whom demanded and obtained arms, as persons friendly to the royal cause. How Colonel Baume became so completely duped as to place reliance on these men, I know not; but having listened with compla-

who proceeded along the great road. Colonel Morgan, who was detached to observe their motions, and to harass them as they advanced, soon fell in with

cency to their previous assurances, that in Bennington a large majority of the populace were our friends, he was somehow or other persuaded to believe, that the armed bands of whose approach he was warned, were loyalists on their way to make a tender of their services to the leader of the king's troops. Filled with this idea, he despatched positive orders to the outposts, that no molestations should be offered to the advancing columns; but that the pickets retiring before them should join the main body, where every disposition was made to receive either friend or foe. Unfortunately for us, these orders were but too faithfully obeyed. About half past nine o'clock, I, who was not in the secret, beheld, to my utter amazement, our advanced parties withdraw without firing a shot, from thickets which might have been maintained for hours against any superiority of numbers; and the same thickets quickly occupied by men, whose whole demeanour, as well as their dress and style of equipment, plainly and incontestably pointed them out as Americans.

I cannot pretend to describe the state of excitation and alarm into which our little band was now thrown: With the solitary exception of our leader, there was not a man amongst us who appeared otherwise than satisfied that those to whom he had listened were traitors; and that unless some prompt and vigorous measures were adopted, their treachery would be crowned with its full reward. Captain Fraser, in particular, seemed strongly imbued with the conviction, that we were wilfully deceived. He pointed out, in plain language, the extreme improbability of the story which these deserters had told, and warmly urged our chief to withdraw his confidence from them; but all his arguments proved fruitless. Colonel Baume remained convinced of their fidelity. He saw no reason to doubt that the people whose approach excited so much apprehension, were the same of whose arrival he had been forewarned; and he was prevented from placing himself entirely in their power, only by the positive refusal of his followers to obey orders given to that effect, and the rash impetuosity of the enemy.

We might have stood about half an hour under arms, watching the proceedings of a column of four or five hundred men, who, after dislodging the pickets, had halted just at the edge of the open country, when a sudden trampling of feet in the forest on our right, followed by the report of several muskets, attracted our attention. A patrol was instantly sent in the direction of the sound; but before the party composing it had proceeded many yards from the lines, a loud shout, followed by a rapid though straggling fire of musketry, warned us to prepare for a meeting the reverse of friendly. Instantly the Indians came pouring in, carrying dismay and confusion in their countenance and gestures. We were surrounded on all sides; columns were advancing everywhere against us, and those whom we had hitherto treated as friends, had only waited till the arrival of their support might justify them in advancing. There was no falsehood in these reports, though made by men who spoke rather from their fears than their knowledge. The column in our front no sooner heard the shout, than they replied cordially and loudly to it; then, firing a volley with deliberate and murderous aim, rushed furiously towards us. Now then, at length, our leader's dreams of security were dispelled. He found himself attacked in front and flank by thrice his numbers, who pressed forward with the confidence which our late proceedings were calculated to produce; whilst the very persons in whom he had trusted, and to whom he had given arms, lost no time in turning them against him. These fellows no sooner heard their comrades cry, than they deliberately discharged their muskets amongst Reidesel's dragoons; and dispersing before any steps could be taken to seize them, escaped, with the exception of one or two, to their friends.

If Colonel Baume had permitted himself to be duped into a great error, it is no more than justice to confess, that he exerted himself manfully to remedy the evil, and avert its consequences. Our little band, which had hitherto remained in column, was instantly ordered to extend, and the troops lining the breastwork replied to the fire of the Americans with extreme celerity and considerable effect. So close and destructive, indeed, was our first volley, that the assail-

their pickets in front of their right wing, attacked them sharply, and drove them in. A strong corps was brought up to support them, and, after a severe

ants recoiled before it, and would have retreated, in all probability, within the wood; but ere we could take advantage of the confusion produced, fresh attacks developed themselves, and we were warmly engaged on every side, and from all quarters. It became evident that each of our detached posts was about to be assailed at the same instant. Not one of our dispositions had been concealed from the enemy, who, on the contrary, seemed to be aware of the exact number of men stationed at each point; and they were one and all threatened by a force perfectly adequate to bear down opposition, and yet by no means disproportionably large, or such as to render the main body inefficient. All, moreover, was done with the sagacity and coolness of veterans, who perfectly understood the nature of the resistance to be expected, and the difficulties to be overcome, and who, having well considered and matured their plans, were resolved to carry them into execution at all hazards, and at every expense of life.

It was at this moment, when the heads of columns began to show themselves in rear of our right and left, that the Indians, who had hitherto acted with spirit, and something like order, lost all confidence, and fled. Alarmed at the prospect of having their retreat cut off, they stole away, after their own fashion, in single files, in spite of the strenuous remonstrances of Baume, and of their own officers, leaving us more than ever exposed, by the abandonment of that angle of the intrenchments which they had been appointed to maintain. But even this spectacle, distressing as it doubtless was, failed in affecting our people with a feeling at all akin to despair. The vacancy which the retreat of the savages occasioned, was promptly filled up by one of our two field-pieces, whilst the other poured destruction among the enemy in front, as often as they showed themselves in the open country, or threatened to advance.

In this state things continued upwards of three quarters of an hour. Though repeatedly assailed in front, flanks, and rear, we maintained ourselves with so much obstinacy, as to inspire a hope that the enemy might even yet be kept at bay till the arrival of Breyman's corps, now momentarily expected; when an accident occurred, which at once put an end to this expectation, and exposed us, almost defenceless, to our fate. The solitary tumbril which contained the whole of our spare ammunition, became ignited, and blew up with a violence, which shook the very ground under our feet, and caused a momentary cessation in firing, both on our side and that of the enemy. But the cessation was only for a moment. The American officers, guessing the extent of our calamity, cheered their men on to fresh exertions. They rushed up the ascent with redoubled ardour, in spite of the heavy volley which we poured in to check them; and finding our guns silent, they sprang over the parapet, and dashed within our works. For a few seconds the scene which ensued defies all power of language to describe. The bayonet, the butt of the rifle, the sabre, the pike, were in full play; and men fell, as they rarely fall in modern war, under the direct blows of their enemies. But such a struggle could not, in the nature of things, be of long continuance. Outnumbered, broken, and somewhat disheartened by late events, our people wavered, and fell back, or fought singly and unconnectedly, till they were either cut down at their posts, obstinately defending themselves, or compelled to surrender. Of Reidesel's dismounted dragoons, few survived to tell how nobly they had behaved; Colonel Baume, shot through the body by a rifle ball, fell mortally wounded; and all order and discipline being lost, flight, or submission, was alone thought of. For my own part, whether the feeling arose from desperation or accident I cannot tell, but I resolved not to be taken. As yet I had escaped almost unhurt, a slight flesh wound in the left arm having alone fallen to my share; and gathering around me about thirty of my comrades, we made a rush where the enemy's ranks appeared weakest, and burst through. This done, each man made haste to shift for himself, without pausing to consider the fate of his neighbour; and losing one third of our number from the enemy's fire, the remainder took refuge, in groups of two or three, within the forest.—*Glick*,

encounter, Morgan was compelled to give way; but a regiment was ordered to assist him, and the action became more general. The commanders on both sides supported and re-enforced their respective parties; and about four o'clock, Arnold, with nine continental regiments and Morgan's corps, was completely engaged with the whole right wing of the British army. The engagement began at three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till after sunset, when the Americans thought proper to retire, and leave the British masters of the field of battle. The loss on each side was nearly equal, six hundred being killed and wounded on the part of the British, and the same number on the side of the Americans. No advantages resulted to the British troops from this encounter; while the conduct of the Americans fully convinced every one, "that they were able to sustain an attack in open plains with the intrepidity, the spirit, and the coolness of veterans. For four hours they maintained a contest hand to hand; and when they retired, it was not because they were conquered, but because the approach of night made a retreat to their camp absolutely necessary."* Both armies lay some time in sight of each other, each fortifying its camp in the strongest manner possible. Meanwhile, the difficulties of the British general were daily increasing; his auxiliary Indians deserted him soon after the battle of Stillwater; and his army, reduced to little more than five thousand men, was limited to half the usual allowance of provisions; the stock of forage also was entirely exhausted, and his horses were perishing in great numbers; the American army had become so augmented as to render him diffident of making good his retreat; and, to aggravate his distress, no intelligence had yet been received of the approach of General Clinton, or of any diversion in his favour from New York. In this exigency,

General Burgoyne resolved to examine the possibility of dislodging the Americans from their posts on the left, by which means he would be enabled to retreat to the lakes. For this purpose he drew out fifteen hundred men, which he headed himself, attended by Generals Phillips, Reidesel, and Fraser. This detachment had scarcely formed, within less than half a mile of the American intrenchments, when a furious attack was made, which, though bravely resisted, was decidedly to the advantage of the assailants. General Burgoyne now became convinced that it was impossible to conduct any further offensive operations, and endeavoured to make good his retreat to Fort George. Artificers were accordingly despatched, under a strong escort, to repair the bridges, and open the roads, but they were compelled to make a precipitate retreat. The situation of General Burgoyne becoming every hour more hazardous, he resolved to attempt a retreat by night to Fort Edward; but even this retrograde movement was rendered impracticable. While the army was preparing to march, intelligence was received that the Americans had already possessed themselves of the fort, and that they were well provided with artillery. No avenue to escape now appeared. Incessant toil and continual engagements had worn down the British army; its provisions were nearly exhausted, and there were no means of procuring a supply; while the American army, which was daily increasing, was already much greater than the British in point of numbers, and almost encircled them. In this extremity, the British general called a council of war; and it was unanimously resolved to enter into a convention with General Gates. Preliminaries were soon settled, and the royal army, to the number of five thousand seven hundred and fifty, surrendered prisoners of war.†

* Steadman; vol. i. p. 337.

† Burgoyne had, on his entrance into the territory of New York, published a manifesto, which did not evince that good taste for which the general had been distinguished; but probably he mistook the taste and feelings of those he came to subdue. This manifesto was answered by Washington in a very forcible manner. This answer contains satire and argument conveyed in the most elegant language. Its spirit is also fine and bold; the gasconade of the English commander is met with manly defiance, and he was worsted before the battle commenced, in a way he hardly expected. Burgoyne was said to have been a natural son of Lord Bingley; some, however, think that he had still more important relations. In 1762, he had a command in Portugal. After his return to England; he was chosen a member of parliament, and became a privy councillor. Gallant, gay, learned, eloquent, and in the full sunshine of patronage, he had taken the command of the northern army, and indulged the hope of a brilliant campaign. The fates were against him, and he was obliged to give up all his splendid visions of glory, and prepare to defend himself before his king and country. In this he was able; and one would think that he had offered a sufficient excuse for every thing but his ignorance of the foe he was to meet, and his staying so long on the frontiers after St. Clair's

retreat; but for this also he had a plausible excuse. The British ministry were mortified and distressed at this unexpected failure; and to turn the popular indignation from themselves, they were obliged to sacrifice their favourite. They ordered him to return forthwith to America as a prisoner; but this was not insisted upon; yet, he was obliged to resign all his offices and emoluments, which were very considerable. He was still returned to parliament, and held his seat there from a previous election, and joined in the opposition to the continuance of the war, warmly contending that America would prevail. From the peace of 1783, he lived a retired life, until the 4th of August, 1792, when he died, as it was stated in the papers of that day, by a fit of the gout in the stomach. An American royalist, who was in England, and resided within a few doors of his dwelling, informed me that he fell by his own hand, a prey to disappointment and neglect. There never arose a man in Great Britain, who for a time held so many important offices, and on whom so much reliance was placed, of whom the world knew so little. A mystery hung about him from the cradle to the grave, and that, too, in a country where there are but few secrets of any domestic or political nature.

The American army engaged in this enterprise, contained many fine officers. Schuyler was a man of great good sense and experi-

The capture of an entire army was justly viewed as an event that must essentially affect the contest between Great Britain and America; and while it excited the highest joy among the Americans, it could not but have a most auspicious influence on their affairs in the cabinet and in the field. The thanks

ence, having been an officer in the war of 1755 to 1763. He preferred to assist in saving his country, rather than to put it in jeopardy by resentment at losing the honour of commanding the army in the campaign of 1777, after he had prepared the forces for it. General Morgan, the bold and intrepid Virginian, was there, and most efficient in the discharge of his duties, as he was throughout the whole war. Arnold was also one of the most intrepid soldiers in the campaign. Lincoln was there also; he was one of the most bold and discreet of the revolutionary generals. Brooks, whose share in this event every historian of the war has celebrated, and with whose merits the present generation have been made acquainted, lived to give us many minute circumstances of the taking of Burgoyne, which otherwise would have been lost; Dearborn and Hull had their share in the honours of that day; and many more who deserve the meed of honour from the future historians, who may arise to give to distant ages the deeds of the men who fought and bled to achieve the liberties we now enjoy.—*American Editor.*

* The following is from a tour of General Hoyt, of Massachusetts, made to the battle ground forty-eight years after the surrender of Burgoyne. It was given to the American editor in 1825. It is the best description of the affair extant, in a military point of view.

From Troy we proceeded up the Hudson, in an extra stage, through Waterford, Mechanicville, and Stillwater village; to Ketchum's tavern, at Bemis' Heights, the position taken up by General Gates' army, September 12th, 1777, where we found good accommodations. At this place there are now several houses, and among others, the handsome residence of Dr. Willard, of Albany, standing near the site of Bemis' house, which gave name to Gates' camp.

Resolving to give the battle grounds a thorough reconnoissance, in the morning we set out on foot, and traversed the fields in various directions. My companion, one of the heroes of the battle of the 7th of October, appeared alive to the many associations connected with that important event. We first traced the lines of Gates' camp, which in some places still furrow the ground, particularly on the extreme left, where the curtains and bastions are distinctly to be seen. The old red house, not far from the centre of the camp, now fast going to decay, where Gates had his head quarters, was not passed without notice. This my companion well recollected, and he pointed to the spot where he had been planted as a sentinel. A small distance east of the house, at the time of the battles, stood a barn, in which many of the wounded were deposited; but the foundation only remains to mark the spot. The fields adjacent, once the scene of bustle and military preparation, now present a calm and solitary aspect; and here the bones of many a patriot, who died of wounds received in the two actions of the 19th of September and 7th of October, rest in obscurity. My companion pointed out the spot where twenty-eight of these heroes were interred in one grave; and near this spot, the veteran Colonel Breyman and Sir Francis Clark, Burgoyne's aid-de-camp, mortally wounded and taken prisoners in the second action, mixed their remains with their brave conquerors.

After noticing the ground occupied by the different regiments and brigades, and listening to the many anecdotes of my companion, we continued our route across Nelson's farm, on an eminence, in advance of Gates' camp, the frequent post of Morgan's riflemen, and passing a ravine and an open field beyond, we reached a wood, where his regiment was drawn up, on the right of Gates' line, where they hoisted a slight work of logs, in the battle of the 7th of October. From this point, crossing other fields, westerly, and a bridge over a rill, we rose to higher ground, Burgoyne's point of *appui* in the same battle; and a little farther north, formed *en potence*, and crowning a height, stood Major Ackland's British grenadiers, the most sanguinary point of the contest.

The British line extended from this point, westerly, about a third

of congress were voted to General Gates and his army; and a medal of gold, in commemoration of this splendid achievement, was ordered to be struck, to be presented to him by the president, in the name of the United States.*

Gen. Burgoyne's surrender, is certainly, in a con-

of a mile, crossing two open fields and an intervening copse of wood, to some high grounds within view; the right occupied by Brigadier-General Fraser's elite, consisting of the twenty-fourth regiment and Lord Balcarras' light-infantry; the centre and left of the British and German troops of the line, under Generals Phillips and Reidesel. Eight pieces of cannon, two of which were twelve pounders, were posted along the line, besides two howitzers, in front of Fraser's elite. On the south, in front of the line, the ground falls off to a rill, then covered with brush, from which the American columns debouched, as they advanced to the attack, under a heavy fire from the British artillery.

The battle at this place commenced on the British left, by General Poor's brigade, and soon after on the right, by Colonel Morgan's and Major Dearborn's corps, and the whole line was soon engaged. Morgan and Dearborn having turned and broken the right flank of Balcarras' infantry, and Ackland's grenadiers on the left, being hard pressed by Poor, Burgoyne despatched orders for Fraser's elite to retire from the right, and form a second line to support the left. In executing this order, Fraser having arrived in the rear of the left, followed by Morgan, received a mortal wound, and was carried off the field.

Mr. Walker, who resides a little distance in the rear of the ground occupied by the British line, pointed out to us the site of two huts which stood near the centre of the left, and here my companion recollected to have seen the ground covered with dead the morning after the action. Near this spot, Major Williams, of the artillery, and Captain Money, D. Q. M. General, and several other officers, were captured by the Americans, and eight pieces of cannon were taken.

The ground occupied by the left of the British line, may be known by a solitary poplar tree, standing on the side of the road, marked with the initials of some person's name, near which the ground falls off to the east.

After viewing this sanguinary spot, and analyzing the movements of the different corps, we passed along the road, northerly, to the point where General Fraser received his wound. Walker's blacksmith's shop is about twenty rods north of the place, and not far from the same, Sir Francis Clark, Burgoyne's aid-de-camp, also received his wound, as he was conveying orders from Burgoyne to Phillips and Reidesel.

Proceeding northerly, forty or fifty rods, we arrived at the house of the younger Walker, situated on an eminence, which, with several others, extending northerly, were occupied by Fraser's elite during most of the battle of the 19th of September.

Here General Earned's brigade and Marshall's regiment were engaged towards the close of the battle of that day, and near Walker's barn, situated a little east of his house, stood the British grenadiers opposed to Marshall's regiment, as darkness commenced. Near the barn, Walker had just discovered and disinterred the skeleton of a man killed in the action, by a ball which perforated the back of the skull, and a circular piece, cut out by the ball, was found, exactly fitting the perforation. The bones indicated a man of a large size, from which, and knowing the ground to have been the position of the British grenadiers in the first action, we concluded he must have been one of that corps. Further to the right, and westward of Walker's house, we noticed the spot where the late Governor Brooks, of Massachusetts, then lieutenant-colonel of Jackson's regiment, sustained his nocturnal attack from Breyman's German grenadiers. [See Gordon, vol. 2, letter 8th.]

Continuing our route northerly, along Fraser's heights, we turned to the right, across lower ground, and rose a gentle hill, covered with trees of a recent growth, the fortified position of Colonel Breyman, in the action of the 7th of October. This fortification was a temporary work of logs and rails, and has disappeared. Every inch of this ground presents interesting associations, and with eager

siderable degree, to be attributed to the want of co-operation both on the part of General Carleton, in Canada, and of Sir H. Clinton, at New York. The

steps we traversed the hill to find some relic or trace of the gallantry of the men who fought on this spot; but all marks are obliterated. With deep sensations we now surveyed the open field, over which Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks led on Jackson's regiment, under a heavy fire, in his gallant charge on these works, in the battle of the 7th of October, and penetrated them a few moments before General Arnold galloped in through a sally port, and received his wound. Other regiments then advancing, the post was carried at every point, and about two hundred of the enemy made prisoners, while the remainder escaped into the woods in the rear, leaving two pieces of cannon in the hands of the Americans.

Passing over the hill, we descended to a beautiful opening on the east side, the camp of Breyman's German brigade; back of which is a ravine and rill, where Breyman was found by the victors, mortally wounded, taken up and sent to Gates' camp, where he died. This post formed the right flank of the British fortified camp, and its capture exposed other points to an attack in the rear. Sensible of its importance, Burgoyne, on first hearing that it was carried, gave orders for its recovery; but though they were positive, they were not obeyed, and Larned's brigade held the post unmolested through the night.

General Wilkinson states, in his memoirs, that Arnold, during the attack on Breyman's post, turned its right, at the head of a few riflemen, and threw himself into the rear, where his leg was broken, and his horse killed under him. The general was not an eye witness to the event, and probably, through misinformation, has given it erroneously. That Arnold was wounded *within* the works, after passing the sally port, has been repeatedly asserted by Governor Brooks, as well as others, who *saw* the whole.

Quitting this interesting spot, we passed on, southerly, over the ground where stood the two block houses so gallantly stormed by detachments from Brooks' regiment, in the same action, and the commanders, Lieutenants Wiley and Goodrich, and many of their men, killed; and turning easterly, through a copse of wood, reached a road in the rear of Freeman's field. Along this road, still flanked by woods, Burgoyne formed the 9th, 21st, 62d, and 20th regiments, (this was the order from right to left,) and Captain Jones' brigade of grenadiers, previous to the sanguinary contest on the 19th of September, while Major Forbes, with the British van, pressed into the field, was attacked by Morgan, near Freeman's hut, and driven back to the British line in the woods, and Morgan, in turn, broken and forced back into the woods south of the field.

Continuing southerly in the road, and crossing a small ravine, we entered Freeman's bloody field, and a few rods south, the house of Mr. Leggett, who now resides on the farm embracing the field of battle. At the time of the battle, the field was an oblong, of from seventy to eighty rods in length, east and west, by about thirty in breadth, inclosed by a worm fence, and surrounded by woods. Near the centre is an elevation, extending from Leggett's house, nearly at right angles, across the field, upon which a hut and small barn were situated, and near the latter, the elevation terminated, at a narrow ravine, extending parallel to the field. South of this ravine are other elevations, sloping off gently to level ground, south, the whole then covered with woods, in which the Americans were drawn up in the first part of the battle of the 19th of September.

No part of the ground we had traversed, presents more interesting associations than this field. Here British valour and veteran skill, were successfully opposed by native bravery and patriotic ardour; and here it was, that the proud Briton was compelled to acknowledge the fallacy of his boasted declaration, "that the Americans would fight only under cover of woods and intrenchments, and that they were incapable of sustaining a fair and equal conflict in the open field."

While at Leggett's, we were presented with balls, and several fractured implements of muskets, found on the field, among which was part of a brass guard, numbered XX, supposed to belong to that regiment.

We were now upon the ground occupied by the 62d British re-

latter, indeed, performed a service, which, if effected a little earlier, might possibly have relieved Burgoyne. With nearly three thousand men, conveyed by some

giment, commanded by Colonel Anstruther, during most of the battle of the 19th, flanked on the right by the 21st, and on the left by the 20th regiments, the whole under Brigadier-General Hamilton; the 9th of the same brigade being drawn off, and posted in the rear of the field, as a *corps de reserve*; and here this brigade, with the artillery under Captain Jones, bore the brunt of the battle for about four hours, hand to hand, with the Americans, and human life was profusely expended.

A few rods southerly of Leggett's barn, we noticed the ground where Morgan and Dearborn attacked the British when under Major Forbes; and here the regiments of Silley and Scammel, of Poor's brigade, a battalion under Major Hull, Morgan's and Dearborn's corps, renewed the battle on Hamilton's brigade, which was vigorously maintained on both sides, each alternately giving and gaining the ground; and here, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the remainder of Poor's brigade, with some other regiments, came up on the left, and pressed into action, and the fire was continued with alternate advantage on both sides, until the smoke and night-fall rendered objects undiscernible, when the action terminated precisely on the ground where it commenced.

Among the officers who fell at this place, on the part of the Americans, were Lieutenant-Colonel Colburn, of Silley's, and Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, of Hale's New Hampshire regiments. The 62d British regiment was literally cut to pieces; after the action, it did not exceed sixty men, and five or six officers, fit for duty. Colonel Anstruther, and his major, Harnage, were wounded. During the contest, the field presented a scene of horror appalling even to veteran troops; the British officers were constantly falling under the fatal fire, or carried off the field wounded; the ranks thinned, and the artillery men nearly annihilated. Out of forty-eight men stationed at the guns under Captain Jones, who fell, thirty-six were killed or badly wounded; and among the officers, only one lieutenant escaped, and he with a shot through his hat.

Passing the small ravine south of Leggett's barn, we rose an elevation, the post with another on a knoll a little further west, strongly fortified, and the woods cleared off by Burgoyne after the battle of the 19th. These elevations were occupied by Lord Balcarras' light-infantry, after their retreat from the first position, south of the elder Walker's, in the battle of the 7th of October; and here, towards the close of the day, Arnold, with Poor's and Patterson's brigades, made his desperate attack, and was repulsed, and he, with his horse, entangled in the surrounding abattis, from which, with the utmost difficulty, he extricated himself, while under a heavy fire of grape and cannister from the British batteries. "A more determined perseverance," says the British commander, "than the Americans showed in this attack upon the lines, though they were finally repulsed by the corps under Lord Balcarras, I believe is not in any officer's experience." Had the assailants been less embarrassed with the abattis, probably they would have covered the works, though manned with Burgoyne's best troops.

From this elevation, we had a fair view of the greatest part of the battle grounds, and the line of Burgoyne's camp taken up subsequently to the battle of the 19th, and in which the principal part of the army continued until that of the 7th of October. North and east of Leggett's house, was the camp of Fraser's elite, flanked on the left by Hamilton's brigade, and further on the left, extending to the river hills, that of the German troops, under Reidesel, excepting Breyman's command, which was to the right of Fraser, formed *en polece* to the main line; the whole covered by temporary works, which are now nearly obliterated. In the meadow in the rear of the left of Reidesel's German corps, was the British hospital camp, protected by several batteries, and three redoubts on the projecting points of as many hills, overlooking the meadow.

The grounds adjacent, at the time of the battles, were covered with woods, but now present, in some parts, fields under cultivation. North of Freeman's field, the woods are still standing, exhibiting the exact features of 1777, and the road through them, where Burgoyne first formed the four regiments of Hamilton's brigade, is still distinctly seen.

ships of war under Commodore Hotham, he conducted an expedition up Hudson's River, in October, against the forts Montgomery and Clinton. When arrived

In passing over these sanguinary fields, my companion appeared to be highly excited by the many recollections which rushed upon his mind, and the circumstance of our visit happening on the 48th anniversary of the battle of the 7th of October, presented the various scenes in a most striking point of view. Nor did my own feelings remain "indifferent and unmoved."

To walk with callous indifference over ground once the scene of blood and carnage, of occasional fear and triumph, and these heightened by the recollection, that many of our acquaintance shared in them, may comport with minds steeled to sensibility; but those of a different stamp, in which are included a majority of the reflecting part of mankind, will be differently affected. Nor are lessons drawn from such scenes destitute of utility. They fix the mind on the characters of the heroes who perished in the cause of our country; stimulate to noble exploits, and fill the mind with just reflections on the value of our dear bought liberties. With a portion of these feelings, we returned to Ketchum's tavern, passing again over part of Gates' camp.

On our route to our quarters, we fell in with a Quaker gentleman who resides in the vicinity, with whom we had some conversation on the scenes that had been exhibited in these fields; and notwithstanding his aversion to military exploits, he appeared to be interested, on hearing that my companion was one of the men who have fought for his country. And in traversing over the battle grounds, we were welcomed to the hospitable mansions of several of these people, who evinced an interest in our researches, and gave us their aid in pointing out the most remarkable places on the battle fields. An elderly lady remarked, that she resided on a farm in the vicinity of Saratoga Lake, at the time of the battle, and heard the terrible roar of the dreadful cannon; and that British reconnoitering parties frequently visited her house, from whom she received very civil treatment, and gave them, in return, such refreshments as her mansion furnished.

Before we left Ketchum's, we reconnoitered the banks of the Hudson, and my companion pointed out the spot where Gates threw over a bridge to connect with the left bank, and the ground where he recollected to have seen a tribe of American Indians encamped.

The freight boats constantly passing along the canal, within a few yards of our traverse, afforded us a passage about 2 1-2 miles, up to Smith's tavern, the cottage in which the unfortunate General Fraser died of his wounds, the morning after the battle of the 7th of October, where we arrived at dark, after making half a dozen very submissive bows to the bridges stretching across the canal; an embarrassment we had not anticipated, and which requires some caution to avoid a broken head. On this route, we passed the left flank of the British camp, on the west of the eminence, and the ravine from which the British sharp shooters wounded General Lincoln, the day succeeding the last battle on the heights.

Smith's house, which stood at the foot of the hill, at the period of the battles, and has been drawn forward to the road on the bank of the river, is situated in a handsome meadow, bordering on the Hudson, the same embraced by Burgoyne's hospital camp, and taken up by his whole army, in the night succeeding the second battle. In the morning we traversed over the ground, noticing the places most remarkable for interesting events, and among others, the elevated hill on which General Fraser was buried, under the fire of the American artillery posted in a meadow below, so elegantly described by Burgoyne, in his account of his expedition. A few yards below the *great ravine*, so called by the British officers, we noticed the point where Burgoyne's bridge of boats was thrown across the Hudson, at the head of which, on the left bank, are the remains of his *tele de pont*. The bed of the great ravine, through which a road formerly led from the hospital camp to that on the height, is now flowed by the water of the canal. South of the ravine are the heights on which Balcarras' light-infantry was posted, during the 8th of October; and here several skirmishes took place between the British and American sharp shooters, in one of which General Lincoln was wounded, as has been noted. Of the three

within a mile of the place of destination, the troops separated into two columns; the one, consisting of nine hundred men, under Lieutenant Campbell, was

redoubts on the hills adjoining the meadow, little or no remains are to be seen, excepting that in the centre, where Fraser was buried, which is still distinct. The remains of another work may be traced in the meadow, a short distance south of Smith's, near which was posted the park of artillery. In the bar room of Smith's tavern, General Fraser breathed his last; and there, says Madam Reidesel, who quartered at the same place, "I often heard him exclaim with a sigh, 'Oh, fatal ambition! Poor General Burgoyne! O, my poor wife!'"

Several late tourists, through a very natural mistake, have called Smith's house, *Sword's house*; the latter, it appears by Burgoyne's plans, was situated about a mile above, at his camp, taken up on the 17th of September; the house is now demolished.

In the early part of the day, we left the hospital camp, and in a stage proceeded up the river six miles, to Schuylerville, at *Fish Creek*, in Saratoga, the scene of Burgoyne's last struggles, passing, on the route, the British camp at *Sword's house*, and the elevated ground on which the British army halted on its retreat, on the morning of the 9th of October, at what was then called *Davocote*, or *Van Vecklin's Creek*. This spot is rendered memorable from the interesting relation Burgoyne has given of Lady Harriet Ackland, who here embarked in a boat, and descended to Gates' camp, attended by Mr. Brudenel, chaplain of the artillery. A short distance south of the site of the old church, at Schuylerville, we noticed the place where the right of Gates' camp rested, on the 10th of October.

The retreat of the British army, from the hospital camp, to Fish Creek, was attended with many embarrassments. It commenced about nine o'clock in the evening, and as it was apprehended that the Americans would pass upon the rear, a strong body of the best troops, under General Phillips, was ordered to cover the march; General Reidesel commanded the van. From the nature of the country, and the darkness of the night, the movement was difficult as well as critical; the artillery and such baggage as could not be embarked in boats, were to be dragged along a narrow road, composed of argillaceous soil, over which the stoutest horses could with difficulty draw an ordinary load; and with the emaciated and jaded animals of the army, an empty carriage was a burden almost beyond their power. Besides, the army was liable to an attack at every step, from the woods on the left; nor were the boats less exposed in stemming the river, from the attacks of the militia posted along the left bank, who were secure during the darkness, from annoyance from the artillery. To add to these difficulties, a heavy rain commenced, which converted the road into perfect quagmire, and rendered the march of the baggage and artillery next to impossible, and their total loss was apprehended. General Phillips was ordered to bend his whole attention to the covering of the army, by taking a position that would enable it to form in order of battle, without regarding the column of baggage, and to rely exclusively on the bayonet. Under such embarrassments, the loss of several provision boats, and baggage wagons, is not surprising.

After a short respite at the stage house in Schuylerville, we prepared for a reconnoissance of Burgoyne's camp, which extended along the heights, from Lemson's, now Bushett's house, the same occupied by Madam Reidesel, (see her narrative,) nearly opposite to the mouth of the Butterhill, to an eminence about three fourths of a mile, southwest of our tavern, and here was Burgoyne's head quarters; the strongest point of his position. On an elevation in the meadow, northeast of the village, the park of artillery was posted; under the cover of some temporary works. Excepting two or three open fields, the position of the army was principally covered with woods; but the meadow was open, cultivated ground. At the mouth of Fish Creek, on the north side, are the ruins of Fort Hardy, built in the French war, by many erroneously supposed to be the work of Burgoyne, and through the meadow, now passes the northern canal, presenting an extensive triangular basin on the north of Fish Creek; and over this is an aqueduct. South of the creek is Schuyler's house, standing nearly on the site of General Schuyler's, burnt by Burgoyne. The old church, which stood on

destined for the attack on Fort Montgomery; the other, under the immediate command of Sir Henry Clinton, was to storm the stronger post of Fort Clin-

the height, southwest of this house, in 1777, is demolished, and a handsome new one is now pleasantly situated in a recess of a grove, on the height west of the village.

Arriving at the works on the elevation, at the extreme right of Burgoyne's camp, the lines, encompassing several acres, were easily traced, presenting salient and recruiting angles, and here were posted the 9th, 21st, and 24th regiments, the British grenadiers, Balcarras' light-infantry, Captain Fraser's rangers, and the American volunteers. The left of the camp, on a ridge, north of the village, nearly parallel to the river, was occupied by Reidesel's Germans; and the central ground, by the 20th, 47th, and 62d British regiments, the German grenadiers, and Barnes' corps, partially covered by intrenchments. Farther west, in the margin of the woods, were the Yagers and Canadians. Their out-posts extended along the north side of Fish Creek, from its mouth to the right of the camp. The position here described is that held at the time of the convention. The right of Gates' camp, was about a mile south of Fish Creek, and the line extended into the woods over elevated ground, opposite to Burgoyne's right, and the advanced posts were near the creek opposite to those of the British.

In passing over the right of the British camp, my companion found himself on interesting ground, and with hasty steps, we proceeded to the spot where his regiment, commanded by Colonel Woodbridge, of Massachusetts, was drawn up in the woods, within a few yards of the British intrenchment, prepared for an assault on the morning of the 11th October, 1777. To comprehend this movement, it is necessary to recur to details. On the night of the 10th, Gates was led to believe that Burgoyne, leaving his fires burning under the care of a few pickets, had left his camp and retreated up the Hudson, on which he gave orders for a forward movement, to seize the abandoned camp. At day break the next morning, being very foggy, Patterson's and Larned's brigades, with Morgan's corps and Woodbridge's regiment, were put in motion towards the British right; and Nixon's and Glover's brigades, at the same time, moved up the meadow, and the former crossed Fish Creek, and surprised a British picket, in old fort Hardy. The fog at this time dispersing, the British army was found in their position, ready for an attack, and the park of artillery immediately opened a fire upon the American column, threw it into some disorder, and compelled it to recross the creek; the two brigades then returned to camp. Finding that Gates had ordered the movement under a misapprehension of the position of the British army, Adjutant-General Wilkinson, who had attended the movement of Nixon and Glover, immediately put spurs to his horse, pushed up the creek, and crossing over at a mill, about three quarters of a mile above Schuyler's, found Morgan's, Patterson's, and Larned's brigades, with Woodbridge's regiment, on the right, advancing through the woods, and approximating the British lines. In front for about twenty yards, the trees had been felled, and sharpened to a strong abattis, and Woodbridge's regiment had laid down their packs and approached within ten yards of the opening; the British lying close under the intrenchment, ready to open their fire, as soon as their assailants were uncovered by the woods. At this moment Wilkinson rode up, and directed the Colonel to fall back, on which the regiment came about, and retired about thirty yards to a depression in the ground, where the men were covered from the direct fire of the enemy. With a temerity truly characteristic of young troops, individuals then advanced, and posting themselves behind trees, opened a scattering fire upon the enemy, who were now indistinctly seen through the fog, and received theirs in return. My companion pointed me to a large pine, not exceeding thirty yards from the British works, behind which he, with several others, covered themselves, while eagerly popping at the enemy's heads, seen over the parapet; while here he barely escaped a shot, aimed at an uncovered part of his body; and having expended several cartridges, the party fell back to the regiment, and soon after the whole retired to Fish Creek, opposite to the mills, where they were ordered to throw up defensive lines. In the mean time, Patterson's and Larned's brigades, with Morgan's corps on the left, approached

ton. The garrison, when summoned, having refused to surrender, the assault was made on both forts at the same instant. These fortresses, which were se-

the British lines, and were on the point of opening their fire, when Wilkinson rode up and informed Larned, who commanded in the absence of Patterson, of the result of the movement in the meadow, and advised an immediate retreat, on which the line came about and retired; but before they were masked by the woods, the enemy opened a fire of artillery and musketry, and several were killed. The two brigades continued their retreat to an open field, where they 'hove up lines, and remained until Burgoyne surrendered; Morgan at the same time took a position in the woods, in the rear of the British right.

As a striking illustration of the indifference with which soldiers regard danger, and soon become callous to the tender feelings, common to a life of domestic tranquillity, I cannot omit to notice a fact given by my companion. The men composing the regiment, had been in service but a few months, but in general they had been habituated to hardships, and were strangers to the delicacies of affluent life. When the regiment had retired the short distance of sixty yards from the British intrenchments, to lower ground, where the men were covered from the fire of the enemy, they sat down at their ease, and entered into familiar conversation; in one instance, he noticed a soldier leisurely combing the head of his messmate, while the bullets of the enemy were whistling over their heads, and cutting the limbs of the trees.

Passing from the British right, to the mill on Fish Creek, my companion noticed the spot where one of their advanced sentinels shot a woman, who had left the British camp to procure water from a brook, winding through a little ravine, on the bank of which the sentinel was posted. She had been challenged but refused to comply with the strict orders of the sentinel, on which he fired, and gave her a fatal shot.

Reaching the creek, we passed it on floating timber, resting against the mill dam, and my companion remembered that his regiment passed the mill pond in the same manner, and at the same place, as they advanced to attack the British lines, as has been related; and continuing our route along a road on the right bank of the creek, we came to the salient point of a hill near Schuyler's house, where a picket, of which he was one, was attacked by a party of the British, in the night of the 10th of October; but after a little random firing, and a few discharges of a field piece, which advanced to the spot, the enemy fell back.

Proceeding thence to the meadow, near fort Hardy, and looking over the ground where Burgoyne piled his arms on the 17th of October, we returned to our quarters, where we were shown several cannon balls, taken from the ground, in excavating the canal.

Bushett's house, near the left of the German camp, in which Madam Reidesel had her quarters while the British army lay at this place, has been repaired by its present owner; and he informed me that the marks of the cannon balls, mentioned in the narrative of that lady, were to be seen when first occupied by him. The American battery from which the house was cannonaded, was planted on the opposite bank of the Hudson, above the mouth of the Butterhill. It is justly due to the officer who directed the fire, the Honourable Major-General Ebenezer Mattoon, and since Adjutant-General of the militia of Massachusetts, then a lieutenant in the artillery, to state, that the unfortunate condition of the people in the house was unknown; and that it was supposed to be the quarters of some of the enemy's general officers.

The country embracing the operation of the armies under Generals Gates and Burgoyne, is daily becoming more interesting to travellers, and many resort there for the gratification of a laudable curiosity. As time elapses, it will be sought with more avidity, and future generations may in vain seek for the scenes of these important events, unless they are marked by some durable memorial. As a taste for monuments is now increasing in our country, it is to be hoped that the events connected with the capture of the British army, the *pivot on which our revolutionary struggle turned*, will not be neglected.

The elevation on the Freeman farm, presents a favourable site for a monument, on which should be engraven the names of the prin-

parated from each other by a creek only, were commanded by Governor Clinton, a brave and intelligent officer, who made a gallant resistance from four in the afternoon, when the attack began, until dark; but, the post having been designed principally to prevent the passing of ships, the works on the land side were incomplete and untenable, and the assailants entered them with fixed bayonets. Most of the garrison, however, effected their escape, under cover of the thick smoke and darkness.

Having noticed the most important features of the military operations of the year 1777, it will be proper, before entering on those of the following years, to afford the reader some information on two very important points—the progress made by the Americans in their foreign relations, and the steps which had been taken to consolidate the general government. In both cases it will be necessary, in order to give a clear and comprehensive view of the subject, slightly to deviate from strict chronological order.

The contest between Great Britain and her colonies had not long commenced, before congress directed their attention to the possibility of attaining foreign assistance. Towards the close of the year 1775, a committee was appointed to hold secret correspondence with the friends of America, both in Europe and other parts of the world.* Early in the year 1776, the committee, seeing little prospect of an accommodation, and well aware that France would be disposed to make great sacrifices to reduce the power of Great Britain by the separation of her North American colonies, sent Silas Deane, as a commercial and political agent, to the French court.† Mr. Deane arrived in Paris about the 1st of July, and was indefatigable in pursuing the objects of his mission; and through Dr. Dubourg, a friend to America, was in a few days introduced to Vergennes. His arrival at Paris was immediately known in London, and Lord Stormont was sent express to Paris to watch his movements. Mr. Deane stated to the French minister the objects of his mission, agreeably to his in-

structions, and in his first conference he touched upon the subject of forming treaties with the Americans in case of their declaring themselves independent. The American agent was favourably received by the French minister, and was asked many questions in relation to American affairs. Vergennes informed Mr. Deane, that though the French court estimated highly the importance of American commerce, yet, considering the good understanding between the courts of Versailles and London, they could not openly encourage the shipping of warlike stores; but no obstructions of any kind, he said, would be given. On the subject of independence, he observed, that was an event in the womb of time, and it would be highly improper for him to say any thing on that point until it had actually taken place. This first conference with the French minister ended much to the satisfaction of the American agent.

As soon as the question of independence was decided in the affirmative, congress took the subject of foreign affairs into their own hands; and, on the 11th of June, appointed a committee to prepare a plan of treaties with foreign powers.‡ In the month of September, congress appointed Dr. Franklin, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Jefferson, commissioners to proceed to France.§ Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee arrived at Paris in December, and the objects of their mission were soon made known to the French court. The court was not yet prepared to acknowledge the independence of the United States, to form treaties with them, or openly to espouse the cause of the Americans; to prove, however, his good wishes towards the United States, the king ordered two millions of livres to be paid to them by quarterly payments, which should be augmented as the state of his finances would permit. The most profound secrecy, in relation to this donation, was enjoined. The course of policy France intended to pursue, in the contest between Great Britain and her colonies, was now obvious; and with her views of the subject, was perhaps, as it regarded herself at least, a very natural as well as

pal patriots, who fell in the two actions, with an appropriate inscription. Another to mark the ground of surrender at Schuylerville, would be highly gratifying to future generations. Should these be erected, let them be moderate in size, of no extravagant expense, but of the most durable materials.

* The committee consisted of Mr. Harrison, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dickinson, and Mr. Jay.

† “He was to appear in the character of a merchant, and was directed, among other things, immediately after his arrival at Paris, to solicit an interview with the Count De Vergennes, the French minister, and to inform him, that congress, being unable to obtain for America the quantity of arms and ammunition necessary for its defence, had despatched him to apply to some of the European powers for a supply. That he was instructed to make his first application to France, from an opinion that, in case of a total separation of America from Great Britain, which every circumstance

seemed to indicate, it would be most proper to obtain and cultivate her friendship. That in such case, the commercial advantages formerly enjoyed by Great Britain, would be transferred to France. That the Americans were in want of clothing and arms for twenty-five thousand men, with a suitable quantity of ammunition, and a hundred field pieces. Mr. Deane was also directed to sound the French minister with regard to forming an alliance with the colonies, in case they should be forced to declare themselves independent.”—Pitkin, vol. i. p. 387. The instructions will be found at length in the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, edited by S. Sparks, vol. i. p. 5—9.

‡ This important committee consisted of Mr. Dickinson, Dr. Franklin, John Adams, Mr. Harrison, and Robert Morris.

§ Mr. Jefferson, on account of the situation of his family, being unable to accept the appointment, Arthur Lee, then in London, was substituted.

wise course, as she evidently entertained serious doubts whether the States would be able to form a lasting union among themselves, or to persevere in maintaining their independence. Although the court were thus undecided, the cause of the United States was extremely popular in France, both among the people and the army, and many French officers sought an opportunity of engaging in their service. Among these, the young Marquis de la Fayette was most conspicuous for his rank, and most distinguished for his ardour and enthusiasm. At an early period he communicated to the American agents his wish to join the republican armies. At first they encouraged his zeal, but learning the disasters which preceded the victory at Trenton, they, with honourable frankness, communicated the information to him, and added, that they were so destitute of funds, that they could not even provide for his passage across the ocean. "If your country," replied the gallant youth, "is indeed reduced to this extremity, it is at this moment that my departure to join her armies will render her the most essential service." He immediately hired a vessel to convey him to America, where he arrived in the spring of 1777. He was received with cordial affection by the people, became the bosom friend of Washington, solicited permission to serve without pay, and was appointed major-general in the army.

The disastrous state of American affairs at the close of the year 1776, induced congress to attend more seriously to the subject of securing foreign aid; and a new committee was appointed. Some of the members of this committee were disposed to make great sacrifices to obtain the aid of France, and were almost prepared to offer her the same monopoly of American commerce as had been enjoyed by Great Britain.* On the 30th of December, congress came to the resolution of sending commissioners to the courts of Vienna, Madrid, and Berlin, and to the grand duke of Tuscany.† These commissioners were instructed to assure the courts to which they were sent, that the Americans were determined to

maintain their independence, notwithstanding the suggestions of the British to the contrary.

The success of the arms of the United States by the capture of the army of General Burgoyne, gave a new aspect to their affairs in France, and indeed throughout Europe. The American commissioners at Paris now stood on commanding ground. The French court, aware of the views of the British ministry in relation to the colonies, no longer hesitated about accepting the propositions of the American envoys. M. Gerard informed the American commissioners, on the 16th of December, "that after a long and mature deliberation upon their propositions, his majesty had determined to recognise the independence of, and to enter into a treaty of commerce and alliance with, the United States of America; and that he would not only acknowledge their independence, but actually support it with all the means in his power; that perhaps he was about to engage himself in an expensive war upon this account, but that he did not expect to be reimbursed by them; in fine, the Americans were not to think that he had entered into this resolution solely with a view of serving them, since, independently of his real attachment to them and their cause, it was evidently the interest of France to diminish the power of England, by severing her colonies from her."‡ On the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty of commerce was signed by Franklin, Deane, and Lee, on the part of the United States, and by M. Gerard on the part of France, together with a treaty of defensive alliance, in case war should be the consequence of this commercial connexion. The essential and direct end of this alliance was, "to maintain the liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, of the United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce."

Before leaving this subject, it is necessary to state, that as, previous to the recognition of independence by the court of France, it was imperative that the intercourse with the American agents should be conducted indirectly and with the utmost secrecy, the French government rendered their secret assistance

* "To induce France to embark in the war, the American envoys were authorized to stipulate, that all the trade between the United States and the West India islands, should be carried on either in French or American vessels; and were specially instructed to assure the French king, that if, by their joint efforts, the British should be excluded from any share in the cod-fishery of America, by the reduction of the islands of Newfoundland and Cape Breton, and ships of war should be furnished, at the expense of the United States, to reduce Nova Scotia, that the fishery should be enjoyed equally between them, to the exclusion of all other nations; and that one half of Newfoundland should belong to France, and the other half, with Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, to the United States. Should these proposals be insufficient to induce France to join in the war, and the commissioners were convinced that the

open co-operation of France could not otherwise be obtained, they were directed to assure his most Christian Majesty, that such of the West India islands as might, in the course of the war, be reduced, should be yielded to him in absolute property."—Pitkin, vol. i. p. 392.

† William Lee was appointed commissioner to the courts of Vienna and Berlin, Ralph Izard to the Duke of Tuscany, and Dr. Franklin to Spain. Arthur Lee was afterwards appointed, in the room of Dr. Franklin, to the Spanish court. While Mr. Lee was at Berlin, his papers were stolen from his lodgings in a most extraordinary manner, and the British envoy at the Prussian court was implicated in this transaction.

‡ Franklin's Works, vol. i. p. 392.

through the agency of M. Beaumarchais, who appears to have been more desirous of serving himself than the Americans. The mode in which he converted the gratuitous aid of the French court into articles of charge in his accounts with the congress, and especially his retaining in his hands a million of livres out of the subsidy granted by the French king, are circumstances too extraordinary to be entirely passed over, but our limits compel us to refer the reader for the details to that very able work, Pitkin's Civil and Political History,* and to the volumes of Diplomatic Correspondence already alluded to.

During the first stages of the revolution, the universal enthusiasm of the people, directed to one common object, in some measure supplied the place of a general legislative and executive power. The congress had hitherto possessed no powers but such as were conferred by the instructions given by the state legislatures to their respective delegates; but on the 11th of June, 1776, the day following that in which the resolution in favour of independence had been adopted, congress determined to appoint a committee to prepare and digest the form of a confederation. This committee, on the 12th of July following, reported a plan of confederacy, consisting of twenty articles, and on the 22d of the same month it was

* Vol. i. p. 403—422.

† The following is a summary of the points embraced in the articles of confederation:—Each state to retain its sovereignty and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not expressly delegated by this confederation to the United States in congress assembled. The states enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to or attacks made upon them or any of them on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever. The free inhabitants of the different states in this union to be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states; and the people of each state to have free ingress and regress to and from any other state, and to enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof respectively. Any person guilty of or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any state, fleeing from justice, and found in any of the United States, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the state from which he fled, to be delivered up and removed to the state having jurisdiction of his offence. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates to be annually appointed, in such manner as the legislature of each state shall direct, to meet in congress on the first Monday in November in every year, with a power reserved to each state to recall its delegates, or any of them, and to send others in their stead. No state to be represented in congress by less than two nor by more than seven members; and no person to be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor is any person, being a delegate, to be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or any other for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emolument of any kind. In determining questions in congress, each state to have one vote. No state, without the consent of the United States in congress, to send an embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty, with any king, prince, or state. The

discussed in committee of the whole house, and was under consideration until the 20th of August, when an amended draft was reported. The difficulty in agreeing upon the details of the system, as well as the gloomy aspect of American affairs at this period, prevented congress from resuming this subject until April, 1777, when they resolved that two days in each week should be employed upon it, "until it shall be wholly discussed." The amended draft was considered and debated accordingly until the 26th of June, when it was again postponed to the 2d of October, and was not finally adopted by congress until the 15th of November. The outlines of the system were, that the thirteen states formed a confederacy, under the style and name of "the United States of America;" by which they entered "into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever."† This plan of union was to be proposed to the legislatures of all the states, and, if approved, they were advised to authorize their delegates in congress to ratify the same; this being done, it was to be conclusive.‡

United States in congress assembled to have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in cases of actual or threatened invasion; of sending and receiving ambassadors; entering into treaties and alliances; of establishing rules for deciding, in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal; of granting letters of marque and reprisal; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas. The United States in congress to be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences between two or more states concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; also to have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states; of fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout all the United States; regulating the trade, and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the states; establishing and regulating post-offices from one state to another throughout all the United States; appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States; making rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces, and directing their operations. By the last article of the Confederation, every state to abide by the determination of the United States in congress assembled, on all questions which by this confederation are submitted to them. And the articles of this confederation to be inviolably observed by every state, and the union to be perpetual; no alteration at any time hereafter to be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every state.

‡ The following circular letter to the states accompanied this system:—

"Congress having agreed upon a plan of confederacy for securing the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the United States, authentic copies are now transmitted for the consideration of the respective legislatures. The business, equally intricate and important, has in its progress been attended with uncommon embarrassments and delay, which the most anxious solicitude and persevering diligence could not prevent.

The plan was considered by the legislatures of the several states in the winter of 1777-8, and by some was adopted without amendments, by others various amendments were proposed.

The effect produced on the British cabinet, and on the nation at large, by the intelligence of the surrender of General Burgoyne and his army, can scarcely be described. The most brilliant success had been anticipated; the most ignominious result had occurred. The pride of the nation was humbled, and those who had disapproved of the war poured upon the ministry a torrent of invective; while the embarrassments of the ministry were increased by the intelligence of the course which the hereditary enemy and rival of Great Britain had resolved to pursue. Under these circumstances, it was determined in the cabinet to grant to America all that she had demanded in the beginning of the contest. An act was passed, declaring that parliament would not, in future, impose any tax upon the colonies; and commissioners were sent over, authorized to proclaim a repeal of all the offensive statutes, and to treat with the constituted authorities of America. The commissioners, arriving at Philadelphia in the spring,

communicated to congress the terms offered by Great Britain, which were, however, unanimously rejected.*

In consequence of the treaties concluded with her revolted colonies, Great Britain declared war against France; and the ministry, presuming that assistance would be sent to the Americans, transmitted orders by the commissioners, that Philadelphia should be evacuated, and the royal troops concentrated at New York. The execution of these orders devolved upon Sir Henry Clinton, who had been appointed commander in chief on the resignation of General Howe. On the 18th of June the enemy quitted the city, and marched slowly eastward. Washington, leaving his huts in the forest, hung upon the rear of the British army, watching for a favourable opportunity to offer battle. On arriving at Monmouth, in New Jersey, General Lee, who had lately been exchanged, was ordered to take the command of five thousand men, and, early in the morning of the 28th, to commence an attack, being assured that he should be supported by the whole army. Lee made dispositions to attack accordingly, but perceiving the main body of the English returning to meet him, he began to retreat.

"To form a permanent union, accommodated to the opinion and wishes of the delegates of so many states, differing in habits, produce, commerce, and internal police, was found to be a work which nothing but time and reflection, conspiring with a disposition to conciliate, could mature and accomplish. Hardly is it to be expected that any plan, in the variety of provisions essential to our union, should exactly correspond with the maxims and political views of every particular state. Let it be remarked, that, after the most careful inquiry and the fullest information, this is proposed as the best which could be adapted to the circumstances of all, and as that alone which affords any tolerable prospect of general ratification. Permit us, then, earnestly to recommend these articles to the immediate and dispassionate attention of the legislatures of the respective states. Let them be candidly reviewed under a sense of the difficulty of combining in one general system the various sentiments and interests of a continent divided into so many sovereign and independent communities, under a conviction of the absolute necessity of uniting all our councils and all our strength to maintain and defend our common liberties. Let them be examined with a liberality becoming brethren and fellow-citizens surrounded by the same imminent dangers, contending for the same illustrious prize, and deeply interested in being for ever bound and connected together by ties the most intimate and indissoluble.

"And finally, let them be adjusted with the temper and magnanimity of wise and patriotic legislators, who, while they are concerned for the prosperity of their own more immediate circle, are capable of rising superior to local attachments, when they may be incompatible with the safety, happiness, and glory of the general confederacy.

"We have reason to regret the time which has elapsed in preparing this plan for consideration. With additional solicitude, we look forward to that which must be necessarily spent before it can be ratified. Every motive loudly calls upon us to hasten its conclusion.

"More than any other consideration, it will confound our foreign enemies, defeat the flagitious practices of the disaffected, strengthen and confirm our friends, support our public credit, restore the value of our money, enable us to maintain our fleets and armies, and

add weight and respect to our councils at home, and to our treaties abroad.

"In short, this salutary measure can no longer be deferred. It seems essential to our very existence as a free people; and without it, we may soon be constrained to bid adieu to independence, to liberty, and safety; blessings which, from the justice of our cause, and the favour of our Almighty Creator, visibly manifested in our protection, we have reason to expect, if, in an humble dependance on his divine providence, we strenuously exert the means which are placed in our power. To conclude, if the legislature of any state shall not be assembled, congress recommend to the executive authority to convene it without delay; and to each respective legislature it is recommended to invest its delegates with competent powers ultimately, in the name and behalf of the state, to subscribe articles of confederation and perpetual union of the United States, and to attend congress for that purpose on or before the 10th day of March, 1778."

* The letter communicating the refusal was signed by the president; and it illustrates the character of congress, and the history of this year. "I have received the letter from your excellencies, dated the 9th instant, with the enclosures, and laid them before congress. Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the further effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper containing expressions so disrespectful to his most Christian Majesty, the good and great ally of these states, or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation. The acts of the British parliament, the commission from your sovereign, and your letter, suppose the people of these states to be subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and are founded on the idea of dependance, which is utterly inadmissible. I am further directed to inform your excellencies, that congress are inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it hath been conducted. They will therefore be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of this disposition will be an explicit acknowledgment of these states, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies."—*Journals of Congress*, vol. iv. p. 353.

Washington, advancing to render the promised support, saw him retiring, rode forward, and addressed him in language implying disapprobation of his conduct.* He then directed him to form his men on ground which he pointed out, and there oppose the progress of the enemy. A warm engagement ensued, and Washington, arriving with the main body of his army, compelled the British to fall back. The day had been intensely hot, and the troops were greatly fatigued,† yet General Washington resolved to renew the engagement; but there were so many impediments to be overcome, that before the attack could be commenced it was nearly dark. It was therefore thought most advisable to postpone further operations until morning, and the troops lay on their arms in the field of battle.‡ General Washington, who had been exceedingly active through the day, and entirely regardless of personal danger, reposed himself at night in his cloak, under a tree, in the midst of his soldiers. His intention of renewing the battle was, however, frustrated; the British troops marched away about midnight in such profound silence, that the most advanced posts knew nothing of their departure until morning. The American general, declining all further pursuit of the royal army, detached some light troops to attend its motions, and drew off his soldiers to the borders of the North River. Sir Henry Clinton, after remaining a few days on the high grounds of Middletown, proceeded to Sandy Hook, whence he passed his army over to New York.

The British having entered New York, Washington conducted his army to White Plains. Congress returned to Philadelphia; and in July received, with inexpressible joy, a letter from the Count D'Estaing, announcing his arrival on the coast of Virginia, with twelve sail of the line and six frigates, with about four thousand troops on board. The count had intended to surprise Admiral Howe in the Delaware, but adverse winds detained him on the passage, until the British fleet had sailed for New York. He appeared before that harbour, but on sounding, found that his largest ships could not pass the bar. By the advice of Washington, a combined attack upon the British forces at Newport, in Rhode Island, was resolved on. Gen.

Sullivan, who had been appointed to command the troops, called upon the militia of New England to aid him in the enterprise. His army soon amounted to ten thousand men, and, as he was supported by the fleet, he felt confident of success. On the 9th of August, he took a position on the north end of Rhode Island, and afterwards moved nearer to Newport. Admiral Howe having received a re-enforcement, now appeared before the harbour, and the count instantly put to sea to attack him. A furious storm, however, came on, which damaged and dispersed both fleets. As soon as the weather permitted, each commander sought the port from which he had sailed; but great was the disappointment of the Americans when D'Estaing announced his intention of proceeding to Boston to refit; they earnestly remonstrated, but the count was inflexible. Deserted by the fleet, the army could remain no longer with safety on the island. General Sullivan, therefore, immediately retreated to his first position. He was pursued and attacked by the enemy; but they were gallantly resisted and repulsed with loss. The next day the two armies cannonaded each other, and the succeeding night the American general, deceiving the enemy by a show of resistance to the last, made a skilful retreat to the continent. It was a remarkable escape. The delay of a single day would probably have been fatal to the Americans; for Sir Henry Clinton, who had been impeded by adverse winds, arrived with a re-enforcement of four thousand men the very next day, when a retreat, it is presumed, would have been impracticable.

At this period of the war, hostilities were carried on with more than usual acrimony. In several instances the British troops, and their allies, the American Tories and native Indians, exhibited a barbarity deeply to be lamented, wantonly destroying the property and injuring the persons of peaceful unarmed inhabitants. While asleep in a barn at Tappan, Colonel Baylor's troop of light dragoons were surprised by General Grey, who commanded his soldiers to use the bayonet only, and to give the rebels no quarter. Incapable of defence, they sued for mercy; but the most pathetic supplications were

* Lee, irritable and proud, could not forget the manner in which Washington had addressed him, and in two passionate letters demanded reparation. A court-martial was instituted; he was found guilty of misconduct on the day of battle, and of disrespect to the commander in chief, and was suspended from command for one year. He never afterwards joined the army, but died in seclusion just before the close of the war.

† In consequence of heat and fatigue, fifty-nine British soldiers perished without a wound; and several of the American soldiers died through the same cause.

‡ The loss of the Americans in this battle was eight officers and

sixty-one privates killed, and about a hundred and sixty wounded. Among the slain, and much regretted, were Lieutenant-Colonel Bonner, of Pennsylvania, and Major Dickenson, of Virginia. The loss of the British army, in killed, wounded, and missing, is stated to have been three hundred and fifty-eight men, including officers. Among their slain was Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, who was greatly and deservedly lamented. About a hundred were taken prisoners; and nearly a thousand soldiers, principally foreigners, many of whom had married in Philadelphia, deserted the British standard during the march.

heard without awakening compassion; nearly one half of the troop were killed. To many, repeated thrusts were barbarously given as long as signs of life remained; while some, who had nearly a dozen stabs through the body, and were left for dead, afterwards recovered. A few escaped, and forty were saved by the humanity of a British captain, who dared to disobey the orders of his general. With feelings of revenge yet more barbarous, Wyoming, a happy and flourishing settlement, on the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, in Pennsylvania, was attacked by a band of tories and Indians. The conditions of the capitulation were entirely disregarded by the British and savage forces; and after the fort was delivered up, all kinds of barbarities were committed by them. The village of Wilkesbarre, consisting of twenty-three houses, was burnt; men and their wives were separated from each other and carried into captivity; their property was plundered, and the settlement laid waste. The remainder of the inhabitants were driven from the valley, and compelled to proceed on foot sixty miles through the great swamp, almost without food or clothing. A number perished in the journey, principally women and children—some died of their wounds, others wandered from the path in search of food and were lost, and those who survived called the wilderness through which they passed "The Shades of Death," an appellation which it has since retained. Many other instances might be adduced; but it is better to suffer the record of them to perish.*

In the campaign of 1778, little on either side was accomplished. The alliance with France gave birth to expectations which events did not fulfil; but the presence of her fleets on the coast deranged the plans of the British; induced them to relinquish a part of their conquests; and prevented their making any progress in the accomplishment of their designs.

* We insert the following as an antidote to the feelings with which the "glory" of war is apt to inspire the breasts even of the generous and noble:—"A short distance below the battle ground, there is a large island in the river, called Monocknock Island. Several of the settlers, while the battle and pursuit continued, succeeded in swimming to this island, where they concealed themselves among the logs and brushwood upon it. Their arms had been thrown away in their flight, previous to their entering the river, so that they were in a manner defenceless. Two of them, in particular, were concealed near and in sight of each other. While in this situation, they observed several of the enemy, who had pursued and fired at them while they were swimming the river, preparing to follow them to the island with their guns. On reaching the island they immediately wiped their guns and loaded them. One of them, with his loaded gun, soon passed close by one of these men, who lay concealed from his view, and was immediately recognised by him to be the brother of his companion who was concealed near him, but who, being a tory, had joined the enemy. He passed slowly along, carefully examining every covert, and directly perceived his brother in his place of concealment. He suddenly

The close of this year was distinguished by a change of the theatre of war from the northern to the southern section of the confederacy. The country, weak by its scattered population, the multitude of slaves, and the number of tories, presented a prospect of easy victory. In the end of November, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with two thousand five hundred men, sailed from New York to the coast of Georgia. Having landed his troops, he marched towards Savannah, the capital; and defeating a small body of Americans whom he met on his route, he immediately took possession of the city. After the fall of the capital, Sunbury surrendered at discretion; and these were the only military posts in Georgia.

The campaign of 1779 was opened by General Lincoln, who had been appointed to the command of the American troops in the southern department. In April, leaving South Carolina, he marched into the interior of Georgia; upon which the British army, entering the state he had left, invested Charleston, the capital. Lincoln hastened back to its defence; and on his approach, the British retired to Stono ferry, where an action was fought, and a few days afterwards they continued their retreat to Savannah. The heat of the season suspended further operations until September; when Count D'Estaing, with a fleet carrying six thousand troops, arrived on the coast. The two armies, in concert, laid siege to Savannah. At the expiration of a month, the count, impatient of delay, insisted that the siege should be abandoned, or that a combined assault upon the enemy's works should immediately be made. General Lincoln determined upon the latter course. Great gallantry was displayed by the French and American troops, but the British repulsed the assailants, killing and wounding nearly a thousand men,† while on their part the loss was small. The next day the

stopped and said, 'So it is you, is it?' His brother, finding that he was discovered, immediately came forward a few steps, and, falling on his knees, begged him to spare his life, promising to live with him and serve him, and even to be his slave as long as he lived, if he would only spare his life. 'All this is mighty good,' replied the savage-hearted brother of the supplicating man; 'but you are a d—d rebel;' and, deliberately presenting his rifle, shot him dead upon the spot. The other settler made his escape from the island, and having related this fact, the tory brother thought it prudent to accompany the British troops on their return to Canada."—History of Wyoming, p. 127.

† Count Pulaski was mortally wounded in this assault; and congress resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory. He was a Pole of high birth, who, with a few men, had carried off King Stanislaus from the middle of his capital. The king, after being some time a prisoner, made his escape, and soon after declared Pulaski an outlaw. Thus proscribed, he came to America, and offered his service to congress, which honoured him with the rank of brigadier-general.

In September, 1779, the French fleet, under Count D'Estaing

siege was raised, the French returning home, and the Americans to South Carolina.

The operations of the British in the more northern parts of America were predatory rather than military. In May, a naval and land force, commanded by Sir George Collier and General Matthews, made a descent on Virginia. On their arrival, they took possession of Portsmouth and of Norfolk; destroyed the houses, vessels, naval stores, and a large magazine of provisions, at Suffolk; made a similar destruction at Kemp's Landing, Shepherd's, Gosport, Tanner's Creek, and other places in the vicinity: and, after setting fire to the houses and other public buildings in the dockyard at Gosport, embarked with their booty for New York. A similar expedition was soon after undertaken from New York against Connecticut,

arrived on our coast, and General Lincoln marched to the relief of Savannah. The Georgia and South Carolina militia had orders to rendezvous in the neighbourhood. Before the arrival of General Lincoln, Count D'Estaing summoned the garrison at Savannah to surrender; but the British protracted the time, and with great exertions strengthened their works, under that accomplished engineer, Major Moncrieff; and at length bid the count defiance. Lincoln now arrived, and on the 4th of October the place was regularly besieged. Nine mortars and thirty-seven cannon from the land side, and fifteen pieces on the water side, were opened upon the city. But the French were impatient. The officers of D'Estaing's fleet insisted upon raising the siege, and taking the place by storm. No step could be more unadvisable. A short time, with the power brought to bear upon the besieged, would have forced a surrender at discretion. Lincoln remonstrated with the count, but the hot-headed young marine officers in the navy,—many of them belonging to distinguished families,—had great influence over the admiral, and brought him to decide on an attack.

On the 9th of October, at the dawn of the day, while two feints were made with the militia, a real attack was made by a gallant force of French and American troops. The French force consisted of three thousand five hundred, and the Americans of six hundred continentals, and three hundred and fifty citizens of Charleston. The gallant Frenchman at the head of his column, marched up to the lines, and Lincoln at the head of his troops, went *pari passu*. A tremendous fire from the British galleys threw the front of the column into confusion; not from fear, but from the difficulty of disposing of the dead and wounded, in order to fill up their places. The places being supplied, with desperate energy, the column marched on to a redoubt, where a conflict took place as fierce and close as ever was fought before the invention of gunpowder. The gate of the redoubt was most gallantly defended by Captain Fawse, who fell in the gate-way with his sword in the body of an assailant. They were lying side by side. This was the third the brave defender of the works had slain with his own hand. For an instant the French and American standards were seen in the smoke, floating on the parapet; but it was for a few moments only. The air was rent with acclamations; but the enemy's fire was too destructive; a retreat was ordered, after the combined armies had stood their ground for nearly an hour. The ground was heaped with the dead and the wounded. In this short time, nearly nine hundred of the allied armies were killed and wounded. The contest seemed to be, who would most readily dare to die. Six hundred and thirty-seven Frenchmen, and two hundred and forty-one Americans, were slain or wounded. The gallant D'Estaing was severely wounded; and mortified at the result, and at the loss of so many brave young officers, he embarked for some more fortunate shore. The militia soon scattered themselves without the consent of the general—they had seen too much of war. The Americans felt their losses most deeply, for among the slain fell the Polish count, Pulaski. He had about two hundred

by Governor Tryon, with two thousand six hundred land forces, supported by Brigadier-General Garth, and accompanied by Sir George Collier with armed vessels to cover the transports. Though checked in their march, they entered New Haven about one in the afternoon, from which time until eight in the evening the town was subjected to almost indiscriminate ravage and plunder. The royal army also plundered and burned the town of Fairfield, and the greatest part of the neighbouring village of Green Farms. A few days afterward they laid the town of Norwalk in ashes.

Early in the season, Colonel Clarke, of Virginia, who was stationed at Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi, achieved an enterprise conspicuous for boldness of design, and evincing uncommon hardihood in its

horse in the battle. He saw that desperation was the order of the day, and he started at full gallop to pass between the redoubts, and to charge the enemy in the rear, the most judicious movement of the day; but in executing it, he fell, mortally wounded, at the head of his column. The melancholy event spread a gloom over the whole army.

Joseph Pulaski Storasto, of Warka, was descended from a long line of illustrious ancestors. He received a first rate education in his own country, which was improved by foreign travel. He had prepared himself to serve his country as a judge, by making himself acquainted with the Justinian code; as a soldier, by making himself master of ancient and modern military tactics; as a statesman, by a free intercourse with the liberal of all countries, and by acquiring a deep knowledge of the laws of nations. Elevated by all that was noble in man, he mourned over the degraded state of his country, and resolved to see her free, if freedom was to be gained by any sacrifice that a patriot could make, of fortune, children, home, and life. He was a lover of his country's ancient fame, and deeply read in her history. He could not bear the thought of seeing her throne filled by a minion of the Semiramis of the North,—a wolf prowling for prey among surrounding nations, and making them feel her power from the Caspian to the Baltic, and from Kamschatka to Constantinople.

Stung by his country's wrongs, he flew to arms, and for several years, by the weight of his character, and the energies of his mind, he stemmed the torrent of corruption, and thus checked the progress of the arms of Russia, from 1768 to 1771. With a small army, he contended with a large one; with a few patriotic followers, he hewed down myriads of the instruments of despotic power. He revived, after a defeat, with almost miraculous suddenness; and when his enemies thought him for ever subdued, he came upon them like a bolt of lightning! He dispersed the wicked with a look, and brought together the virtuous by a smile. Avarice stood abashed at his sacrifices of property, and selfishness could not reach the elevation and purity of his motives. There were men who thought him ambitious, and that he aspired to the direction of the affairs of Poland; but they could not fathom the depth of his mind, nor measure the expansion of his soul! A weak and timid monarch charged him with attempts on his life, when his only object was to secure his person for a season, in order to make better terms for those who had incurred the royal displeasure. He formed himself on no recent models—the heroes of antiquity filled his mind. The justice of Aristides, the patriotism and martial character of Epaminondas, were for ever before him. Born to affluence, he only used his riches for the purpose of doing good; and he valued power, hereditary and acquired, only as an instrument of making others happy. The cause of liberty was his cause, wherever found; he was ordained, in early life, as a priest at her altar; and it was the decree of heaven that he should die a martyr in her cause!—*American Editor.*

execution. With only one hundred and thirty men, he penetrated through the wilderness to St. Vincent's, a British post on the Wabash, in the heart of the Indian country. His route lay across deep swamps and morasses; and in one instance the party waded through water, often as high as the breast, for nearly five miles. After a march of sixteen days, they reached the town, which, having no intimation of their approach, surrendered without resistance; and a short time after, the fort capitulated. This fortunate achievement arrested an expedition which the enemy had projected against the frontiers of Virginia, and detached several tribes of Indians from the British interest.

Congress, though its measures toward the Indians were conciliatory, could not secure the western frontiers. The Six Nations had been advised by that body, and had promised, to observe a neutrality in the war; but, excepting the Oneidas, and a few others who were friendly to the Americans, those Indians took a decided part against them. The presents and promises of Sir John Johnson and other British agents, with the desire of plunder, induced them to invade the frontiers; and wherever they went, they carried slaughter and devastation. An expedition was therefore ordered against them, and General Sullivan, to whom the conduct of it was intrusted, marched into their country. The Indians, on hearing of the projected expedition, collected their strength, took possession of proper ground, and fortified it with judgment. General Sullivan attacked them in their works, and they sustained a cannonade more than two hours; but they then gave way, and, after their trenches were forced, they fled with precipitation. The victorious army, penetrating into the heart of their country, laid it desolate. Their villages, their detached habitations, their corn fields, their fruit trees and gardens, were indiscriminately destroyed.

The campaign of this year, though barren in important events, was distinguished by one gallant enterprise, which reflected much honour on the American arms. Stony Point, a fortress on the North River, had been taken from the Americans, and strongly fortified by the British. It was at this time garrisoned by about six hundred men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson. General Washington, having obtained precise information of the condition of the works, the nature of the ground in their vicinity, the strength and arrangements of the garrison, and the disposition of the guards, and having in person reconnoitred the post, resolved to attempt the surprise of it. The execution of the

plan was intrusted to General Wayne, and the troops employed on this service were chiefly from New England. At half past eleven on the night of the 15th of July, the columns moved on to the charge at opposite points of the works, the van of each with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets; and at twenty minutes after twelve, both columns rushed forward under a tremendous fire of musketry and grape-shot, entered the works at the point of the bayonet, and, arriving in the centre of them at nearly the same instant, compelled the garrison to surrender at discretion. A more gallant exploit has seldom been performed, and the humanity of the victors was equal to their valour. Notwithstanding the devastations in Connecticut, and the butchery of Baylor's troop, the scene of which was near, not an individual suffered after resistance had ceased.

On the approach of the inclement season, the American army built themselves huts for winter quarters. Positions were chosen most favourable for the defence of the most important posts, and for covering the country. The army was formed into two divisions; one of these erected huts near West Point, and the other at Morristown, in New Jersey. The head quarters of the commander in chief were with the last division. Great distress was felt this winter on account of the deranged state of the American finances. General Greene and Colonel Wadsworth, gentlemen in every respect qualified for the duties of their respective stations, were yet at the head of the quarter-master and commissary departments, but the credit of the country was fallen; they had not the means to make prompt payment for articles of supply; and they found it impossible to lay up large magazines of provisions, and extremely difficult to obtain supplies to satisfy the temporary wants of the army. Large sums had been annually raised and expended, and the ability of the people to pay taxes had progressively decreased. To supply deficiencies, paper money, to the amount of about a hundred and fifty millions of dollars, had been issued; but this was depreciated, and at the close of 1779, thirty dollars in paper were of no more value than one in specie. To purchase provisions with this money was therefore first difficult, and then impossible, and congress now found their funds and their credit exhausted. Before the month of January expired, the soldiers were put upon allowance, and before its close the whole stock of provision in store was exhausted, and there was neither meat nor flour to be distributed to the troops. To prevent the dissolution of the army, the commander in chief was reluctantly driven to very vigorous measures: he ap-

portioned to each county in the state of New Jersey a quantity of meat and flour, according to the ability of each, to be brought into camp in the course of six days. At the same time he wrote to the magistrates, stating the absolute necessity of the measure, and informing them, that unless the inhabitants voluntarily complied with the requisition, the exigency of the case would force him to obtain it by military exaction. To the honour of the inhabitants of New Jersey, harassed as their country had been, the full quantity of provisions required was cheerfully and seasonably afforded.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE CAMPAIGN OF 1780 TO THE TERMINATION OF THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

DURING the year 1780, the contest between Great Britain and her ancient colonies was carried on chiefly in the southern states. As soon as Sir Henry Clinton ascertained that Count D'Estaing had left the American coast, he hastened to despatch an expedition against South Carolina, leaving the garrison at New York under the command of General Mifflin. Early in February the troops landed within thirty miles of the capital. Governor Rutledge, to whom the assembly of South Carolina had recently given extraordinary powers, ordered the militia to rendezvous, but the repulse at Savannah, at the close of the preceding campaign, had produced such a dispiriting effect, that but few complied. The defences of Charleston consisted of a chain of redoubts, lines, and batteries, extending from Ashley to Cooper river, on which were mounted upwards of eighty pieces of artillery, and on all sides of the town where a landing was practicable, batteries were erected and covered with artillery. General Lincoln, trusting to these defences, and expecting large re-enforcements, remained in Charleston at the earnest request of the inhabitants, and, with the force under his command, resolved to defend the place. On the 21st of March the British fleet crossed the bar, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. Commodore Whipple, who commanded the American vessels, finding it impracticable to prevent the enemy from passing over the bar, fell back to Fort Moultrie, and afterwards to Charleston. In a few days the town was invested by sea and land,

and the British commanders summoned General Lincoln to surrender; the demand was, however, met with a firm refusal. The batteries of the first parallel were now opened upon the town, and soon made a visible impression; and to prevent the reception of the re-enforcements which General Lincoln expected, Sir H. Clinton detached Lieutenant-colonel Webster, with fourteen hundred men, by the advanced guard of which detachment, the American cavalry, with the militia attached to them, were surprised in the night of the 14th of April, and completely routed and dispersed. The British now extended themselves to the eastward of Cooper river; and about this time Sir Henry Clinton received a re-enforcement of three thousand men from New York. The garrison having no reasonable hope of effecting a retreat, an offer was made of surrendering the town; but the proposed conditions were rejected by the British commanders. The besiegers in the mean time were daily advancing their works, and had now completed their third parallel; the garrison of Fort Moultrie surrendered; and the broken remains of the American cavalry under Colonel White were again surprised by Colonel Tarleton, and the whole either killed, taken, or dispersed. Sir Henry Clinton, thus successful in every operation, renewed his former offers to the garrison in case of their surrender; but the terms, so far as they respected the citizens, not being satisfactory, hostilities recommenced. The batteries of the third parallel now opened on the town, and did great execution; several houses were burned; numbers of the besieged were killed at their guns; and the British prepared to make a general assault by land and water. At length a great number of citizens of Charleston addressed General Lincoln in a petition, requesting his acceptance of the terms which had been previously offered. A capitulation was consequently signed on the 12th of May, and the next day Major-General Leslie took possession of the town.*

The capital having surrendered, measures were adopted to overawe the inhabitants of the country, and induce them to return to their allegiance to the king. Garrisons were placed in different parts of the state, and two thousand men were despatched towards North Carolina, to repel several parties of militia, who were hastening to the relief of Charleston. Colonel Tarleton, making a rapid march of a hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, met, at

* By the articles of capitulation, the garrison were to march out of the town, and to deposit their arms in front of the works; but the drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colours to be uncased. The continental troops and seamen were to keep their baggage, and remain prisoners of war until exchanged. The mili-

tia were to be permitted to return home as prisoners on parole; and, while they should adhere to their parole, were not to be molested by the British troops, in person or property. The inhabitants of all conditions were to be considered as prisoners on parole, and to hold their property on the same terms with the militia.

the Waxhaws, and attacked one of these parties, commanded by Colonel Buford. The Americans, being defeated by his superior forces, implored quarter; but nearly the whole of them were either killed or too badly wounded to be removed from the field. This sanguinary conduct spread dismay throughout the country, and imparted a similar character to future conflicts.

Indignant at the treatment they received, great numbers of the inhabitants seized their arms, and resolved on a vindictive war with their invaders. A party who had taken refuge in North Carolina, chose Colonel Sumpter their leader. At the head of these he returned to his own state, attacked and defeated several scattered detachments from the British army; and by a succession of gallant enterprises he kept alive a spirit of determined hostility to Great Britain in every part of the state. His exertions were rendered the more effective by the approach of four thousand men, principally continentals, under the command of General Gates. Lord Cornwallis, whom Sir Henry Clinton, on his return to New York, had left chief in command, hastened to oppose the conqueror of Burgoyne. On the night of the 15th of August, he marched, with his whole force, to attack the Americans in their camp at Clermont. They at the same hour began to move towards Camden, where Lord Cornwallis had his head-quarters. As the two armies were marching on the same road, in opposite directions, their advanced guards met and fired on each other about half-past two in the morning. From some prisoners made on both sides, the commanders learned each other's movements. Both armies halted, and were formed, and the firing soon ceased, as if by mutual consent. The ground on which the two armies thus accidentally met, was exceedingly favourable to Lord Cornwallis. A swamp on each side secured his flanks, and narrowed the ground in front, so as to render the superiority of the Americans in numbers of less consequence. In the morning a severe and general action was fought. The charge of the British was made with such vigour, that the Virginia militia threw down their arms, and fled with the utmost precipitation; and the greatest part of the North Carolina militia soon followed their example. The American reserve was now brought into action, and General Gates, in conjunction with General Caswell, endeavoured to rally the militia at advantageous passes in the rear of the field of action, but in vain. On the left and in the centre the contest was more obstinately maintained by the Americans, whose artillery did considerable execution; but by the flight of the militia

their left flank was exposed, and the continentals, after a brave resistance of nearly three quarters of an hour, were thrown into confusion, and forced to give way. The Americans lost the whole of their artillery, the greatest part of their baggage, several hundred men, and some very valuable officers; the loss of the British was also severe.

Sumpter, who had lately been victorious in a skirmish, retreated precipitately on hearing of the defeat of Gates; but supposing he was beyond danger, he halted at the Catawba ford to refresh his troops. Here his sentinels unhappily slept at their posts, and Tarleton's legion rode into his camp before preparations could be made for defence. Between three and four hundred were killed or wounded. The remainder were dispersed in the woods, three hundred British prisoners were released, and all the baggage and stores fell into the power of the victors.

Apprehending the state to be subdued, Cornwallis adopted measures of extreme severity to suppress every latent inclination to revolt. He directed that all who, having once submitted, had lately given aid to the armies of congress, should be deprived of their property and imprisoned; and that all who had once borne arms with the British, and afterwards joined the Americans, should suffer death. In consequence of these orders, several were executed, and many were reduced to poverty and wretchedness. In these times of confusion and distress, the mischievous effects of slavery in facilitating the conquest of the country became apparent. As the slaves had no interest at stake, the subjugation of the state was a matter of no consequence to them. Instead of aiding in its defence, they, by a variety of means, threw the weight of their influence into the opposite scale.

Although his corps had been dispersed, General Sumpter speedily re-collected a band of volunteers, and kept the field in South Carolina for three months, when there was no continental army in the state. Varying his position along the Evoree, Broad, and Tyger rivers, he had frequent skirmishes with the enemy, whom he incessantly harassed. In November he was attacked at Broad river by Major Wemys, commanding a corps of infantry and dragoons, but the British were defeated, and their commanding officer taken prisoner; and in a few days afterward he was attacked near Tyger river by Colonel Tarleton, who finding himself unable to dislodge the Americans, retreated with considerable loss, and left Sumpter in possession of the field. The zeal, activity, and bravery of this officer, at that trying period, procured him the thanks of congress and the applause of his country.

While the affairs of the south were in a state by no means encouraging to the cause of independence, the general army under the command of Washington was in a state of insufferable destitution, and of consequent mutiny. Two hundred millions of dollars in paper currency were at this time in circulation upon the credit of the United States. Congress had the preceding year solemnly pledged the faith of government not to issue more than this sum, and the national treasury was now empty. Congress, the head of the nation, had, therefore, no further command of the resources of the country. The power of taxation, and of every coercive measure of government, was vested in the state sovereignties, and a system which in its execution required the conjoint agency of thirteen sovereignties, was too complex for the prompt operations of a military body. In the course of the winter forage had failed, and

* Destitute of arms and ammunition, without a single ship of war, and without the means of procuring them, no resource was left, to enable them to resist the mighty force brought against them, but a paper medium.

During the year 1775, bills of credit, to the amount of three millions of dollars, were issued by congress, in addition to those issued by some of the individual states. By new emissions, at different times, this sum was increased at the close of the year 1778, to more than one hundred millions.

From the peculiar situation of the United States, without commerce, the union incomplete, the state governments imperfectly organized, congress deemed it imprudent to call for taxes, until November, 1777. At this time, they recommended to the several states, to raise by taxes, the sum of five millions of dollars, for the succeeding year. This sum was apportioned among the states, having reference, generally, to the supposed number of inhabitants in each. [To New Hampshire, 200,000; Massachusetts, 820,000; Rhode Island, 100,000; Connecticut, 600,000; New York, 200,000; New Jersey, 270,000; Pennsylvania, 620,000; Delaware, 60,000; Maryland, 520,000; Virginia, 800,000; North Carolina, 250,000; South Carolina, 500,000; Georgia, 60,000.] The sums so apportioned, however, were not to be considered as the final quota of any state; but the amount paid by each, was to be placed to its credit, bearing an interest of six per cent. from the time of payment, until the quotas should be finally adjusted, agreeably to the confederation, to be adopted and ratified by the states. If, on such adjustment, any state had paid more than its quota, it was to receive interest on the surplus; if less, then to pay interest on the deficiency, until, by a future tax, such surplus or deficiency should be adjusted.

Depreciation of this paper was the natural consequence of such large emissions. This was seriously felt, in the beginning of 1777; and to provide a remedy, congress, in January of that year, made it a tender in payment of all public and private debts; and a refusal to receive it, was declared to be an extinguishment of the debt itself. And they thought proper to declare, that whoever should refuse to receive it, in exchange for any property, as gold and silver, should be deemed an enemy to his country. They, at the same time, resorted to the extraordinary expedient of regulating the prices of all articles necessary for the army; and if any persons refused to sell the surplus of what was wanted for the annual support of their families, the purchasing commissaries were authorized to take such surplus at the prices so fixed.

These extraordinary measures tended to increase rather than diminish the evil. The bills still continued to depreciate rapidly, and some more effectual remedy than tender and regulating laws, was necessary. In 1779, congress attempted to establish a fund for sinking the bills then in circulation, by calling on the states to

many of the horses attached to the army had died, or were rendered unfit for use. General Washington therefore struggled with almost insuperable difficulties in supplying the army. The pay of the officers also had now scarcely more than a nominal value; and the officers of whole lines belonging to some of the states, in a body, gave notice, that on a certain day they should resign their commissions, unless provision was made for their honourable support. Congress possessed not the means to apply adequate remedies to these threatening evils. They passed a resolution, indeed, "That congress will make good to the line of the army, and to the independent corps thereof, the deficiencies of their original pay, which had been occasioned by the depreciation of the continental currency;"* but the promise of future compensation from a country whose neglect was conceived to be the source of all their sufferings, they deem-

pay their quotas of fifteen millions of dollars for that year, and six millions annually for the eighteen succeeding years.

These calls upon the states were made in vain; little was paid into the public treasury; and new bills were issued, which swelled the amount in September, 1779, to one hundred and sixty millions. At this time, congress thought it necessary to declare, that the issues, on no account, should exceed two hundred millions. Nor did they then despair of their ultimate redemption at par. In a circular address to their constituents, they, with apparent sincerity and zeal, endeavoured to prove, that the United States had the ability, as well as disposition, eventually to redeem their bills. After stating the probable future resources of the country, from an increase of population, a vast increase of agricultural productions, the avails of the western lands, &c., they say, "whoever examines the force of these and similar observations, must smile at the ignorance of those, who doubt the ability of the United States to redeem the bills." They indignantly repelled the idea of a violation of the plighted faith of the nation.

"The pride of America," they observed, "revolts at the idea; her citizens know for what purpose these emissions were made, and have repeatedly plighted their faith for the redemption of them; they are to be found in every man's possession, and every man is interested in their being redeemed; they must therefore entertain a high opinion of American credulity, who suppose the people capable of believing, on due reflection, that all America will, against the faith, the honour, and the interest of all America, be ever prevailed upon to countenance, support, or permit so ruinous, so disgraceful a measure."

While every one must applaud the spirit of these observations, few, we believe, will not regret to find in the same address, remarks on the supposed advantages of paper money, calculated to make them doubt, at least, whether congress were not trifling with the public, on so interesting and important a subject.

"Let it be remembered," they remarked, "that paper money is the only kind of money which cannot 'make unto itself wings and fly away.' It remains with us, it will not forsake us, it is always ready and at hand for the purpose of commerce or taxes, and every industrious man can find it."

The continued failures of the states to comply with the requisitions made upon them, and the increasing wants of the country, increased the issues (notwithstanding the resolution of congress to the contrary) to more than three hundred millions; and the idea of redeeming the bills at their nominal value, was at length abandoned. In March, 1780, the states were required to bring them in at forty for one. The bills, when brought in, were to be cancelled, and new ones to issue in lieu of them, not exceeding one twentieth part of their nominal amount. The new bills were to be redeemable in six years, to bear an interest of five per cent., to be

ed a feeble basis of dependance, at the moment they were severely pressed by privations of every kind. Murmurs at length broke out into actual mutiny. Two of the Connecticut regiments paraded under arms, announcing their intention to return home, or by their arms to obtain subsistence; but by the spirited and prudent exertions of the officers, the ringleaders were secured, and the regiments brought back to their duty.

This disaffection was reported to New York, with the customary exaggerations of rumour. General Knyphausen, the commanding officer at that post, supposing the American citizens and soldiers ripe for revolt, passed over into New Jersey with five thousand men, to avail himself of favourable events; but the behaviour of the Americans soon convinced him he had been deceived in the report of their disaffected disposition. The troops detached from the army to oppose his progress fought with obstinate bravery; and the inhabitants, seizing their arms with alacrity, emulated the spirit and persevering courage of the regular soldier. The general, finding he must encounter serious opposition, retreated to Elizabeth Point, opposite to Staten Island. In the mean time, Sir Henry Clinton, returning with his victorious troops from Charleston, ordered a re-enforcement to Knyphausen, who, with the whole body, advanced a second time towards Springfield. The British were now opposed by General Greene with a considerable body of continental troops, and a severe action was fought, but the Americans were forced, by superior numbers, to retire. General Greene took post with his troops on a range of hills, in the hope of being attacked; but the British, having burned the town, retreated, and the next day set out on their return to New York.

Late in the spring the Marquis La Fayette returned from France with the pleasing intelligence that

issued on the credit of the individual states, and their payment guaranteed by the United States.

The new system of finance was equally unavailing. The old bills were not brought in, and of course few new ones issued. The general treasury was empty, the army without pay or clothing, and often without provisions. The states were called upon for supplies in specific articles. To keep the army together, congress were obliged to raise money, by drawing bills on their ministers in Europe, without any assurance of their payment.

The continental bills, at last, became of so little value, that they ceased to circulate; and in the course of the year 1780, quietly lied in the hands of the possessors.

In addition to this, the campaign of 1780 was unfortunate for America. The cities of Charleston and Savannah were taken, and the states of South Carolina and Georgia were in possession of the enemy. In this situation, congress had no other means of providing for the next campaign, but foreign loans. To obtain these, they, on the 22d of November, addressed a letter to their ally, the king of France, stating their embarrassments, and declaring that a foreign loan of at least twenty-five millions of livres,

his government had resolved to assist the United States, by employing this year a respectable land and naval force in America. This grateful information reanimated the public mind, and gave a new stimulus to the activity of congress, and of the governments of the several states, that preparation might be made to co-operate with the French armament on its arrival. Vigorous measures were in consequence adopted by congress and by the states to recruit the army, to lay up magazines, and to enable their general to comply with the reasonable expectations of their allies; but the agency of different bodies was necessary to carry these public measures into effect, and their operation was dilatory.

Early in July the first division of French troops reached the American shore, consisting of between five and six thousand men, with a large train of battering and field artillery. These forces were commanded by Count de Rochambeau, whose government had placed him under the command of General Washington. The count brought information that a second division would follow him as soon as transports could be fitted out to bring them. The principal French and American officers assiduously cultivated a mutual affection between the two armies; and the commander in chief recommended to the officers of the United States to engraft on the American cockade a white relief, as an emblem of the alliance of the two powers. On the arrival of the French, the Americans were unprepared to act with them, nor did the American general know what force would ultimately be brought into the field; and before any thing could be effected, information was brought that the second armament destined for America was blocked up in the harbour of Brest, and would not this season reach the American continent. The flattering prospect of terminating the war by the conquest of the British posts in a moment

was indispensably necessary for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Dr. Franklin was specially instructed, "to employ his unremitted and utmost abilities" to procure the aids required. At no time since the campaign of 1776, had the affairs of the United States worn so gloomy an aspect, as at the close of this year. General Washington, in a circular letter to the governors of the states, in October, says, "our finances are in an alarming state of derangement. The public credit is almost arrived at its last stage. The people begin to be dissatisfied with the feeble mode of conducting the war, and with the ineffectual burdens imposed on them, which, though light in comparison with what other nations feel, are, from their novelty, heavy to them. They lose their confidence in government apace."

The absolute necessity of obtaining foreign loans, induced congress, in December, 1780, to send a special minister to France. Colonel John Laurens, one of the aids of General Washington, and son of Henry Laurens, then a prisoner in the tower of London, was selected for this important mission.—Pitkin's Political and Civil History, vol. ii. p. 154—158.

vanished, and elevated views of brilliant success were succeeded by grievous disappointment.

In this season of difficulty, of embarrassment, and of gloom, a circumstance occurred which excited the deepest interest throughout both armies, and indeed in the breast of the inhabitants of all the states. The American army was stationed in the strongholds of the high lands on both sides of the North River; and for the defence of this position, and to keep command of the river, a fortress had been built at West Point, which was deemed impregnable, and had acquired the appellation of the Gibraltar of America. Of this post General Arnold solicited the command, and General Washington, far from suspecting any sinister views in an officer who had been so zealous and active in the cause of his country, complied with the solicitation. Arnold had, however, no sooner become invested with the command, than he carried on a negotiation with Sir Henry Clinton, by which it was agreed, that he should make such a disposition of his forces, as would enable the British general effectually to surprise West Point. The agent employed in this negotiation was Major Andre, adjutant-general of the British army; and to favour the communications, the *Vulture*, a British sloop of war, had been previously stationed in North River, as near Arnold's posts as could be without exciting suspicion. On the night of the 21st of September, a boat was sent from the shore to fetch Major Andre, and Arnold met him at the beach, without the posts of both armies. Their business not being finished until it was too near morning for Andre to return to the *Vulture*, Arnold, telling him he must be concealed until the next night, conducted him within one of the American posts, where he continued with him the following day. The *Vulture* having in the mean

time been compelled to alter her position, Andre could return to New York in no other way than by land; changing his uniform, therefore, which he had worn under a surtout, for a plain dress, he set out on horseback, under the name of John Anderson, with a passport, signed by Arnold, "to go to the lines of White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, he being on public business." When advanced a great part of the way, he was stopped by three of the New York militia, and several papers, containing exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences at West Point, were found in his boots. The captors, disdaining a proffered bribe of a purse of gold, and permanent provision and promotion, on condition of their conveying and accompanying him to New York, delivered him a prisoner to Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, who commanded the out-posts. Andre, with the incautious permission of Jameson, procured a letter to be sent to Arnold, informing him of his detention, which gave the traitor opportunity to escape on board the *Vulture*,* in which he reached New York in safety. At this very hour Washington arrived, on his return from a conference with the French general at Hartford. He repaired, without delay, to the fort of West Point, where, however, he could learn nothing of a decisive import. But some orders, issued by Arnold the day before, redoubled his suspicions; he returned to the quarters of the general, and at this instant Jameson's messenger presented himself, and delivered the packet with which he was charged. Washington seemed for the moment overwhelmed by the discovery of a crime which ruined the fame of an American general, and wounded the honour of the American army. Those who were near him anxiously interrogated his looks in silence, which he broke by saying, "I thought

* General Arnold early and warmly embraced the American cause. His enterprising spirit, his invincible fortitude, his heroic and persevering ardour in battle, had exalted his military character in his own country and in Europe. Being incapacitated for the duties of the field by the wounds he received before Quebec and at Saratoga, he was appointed commandant in Philadelphia when the British evacuated that city. In this flattering command, he adopted a style of living above his means, and soon found himself loaded with debt. To relieve himself he entered into various schemes of speculation, and was unsuccessful in all. Hollow at heart, he had recourse to fraud and peculation. These practices rendered him odious to the citizens, and gave offence to government. At length, formal complaints were lodged against him, and congress ordered his trial by a court-martial. By this court he was found guilty, and sentenced to be reprimanded by the commander in chief. The sentence was approved by congress, and carried into execution by General Washington. In the gold that was to reward his treason, Arnold expected relief from his pecuniary embarrassments; and his implacable spirit sought its revenge of his country by betraying into the hand of her enemy the Gibraltar of America. Upon his establishment in the army of Great Britain, he found it necessary to make some exertions to secure the attachment of his new friends. With the hope of alluring many of the discontented to his standard,

he published an address to the inhabitants of America, in which he endeavoured to justify his conduct. This was followed by a proclamation, addressed "to the officers and soldiers of the continental army, who have the real interest of their country at heart, and who are determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of congress and of France." These proclamations did not produce the effect designed; and in all the hardships, sufferings, and irritations of the war, Arnold remains the solitary instance of an American officer who abandoned the side first embraced in the contest, and turned his sword upon his former companions in arms. He survived the war but to drag on, in perpetual banishment from his native country, a dishonourable life. He transmitted to his children a name of hateful celebrity. He obtained only a part of the debasing stipend of an abortive treason, and his complaints soon caused it to be known, that all the promises by which he had been inveigled were not fulfilled. He enjoyed, however, the rank of brigadier-general, but the officers of the British army manifested a strong repugnance to serve with him. He possessed their esteem while he fought against them; they loaded him with contempt when treason brought him over to their side. He resided principally in England after the conclusion of the war, and died on the 14th of June, 1801.

that an officer of courage and ability, who had often shed his blood for his country, was entitled to confidence, and I gave him mine. I am convinced now, and for the rest of my life, that we should never trust those who are wanting in probity, whatever abilities they may possess. Arnold has betrayed us." Meanwhile, the precautions required by the occasion were every where taken. General Heath, a faithful and vigilant officer, was substituted for Arnold at West Point; the commanders of the other posts were admonished to be on their guard; Greene, who had been invested with the command of the army during the absence of Washington, recalled within the forts the garrisons which the traitor had dispersed, and marched a strong division near to the lines. General Washington referred the case of Andre to the examination and decision of a board, consisting of fourteen officers, who founded their report on his own statements; they reported it as their unanimous opinion, "that Major Andre ought to be considered as a spy, and that, agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he should suffer death;" and he was, in accordance with their sentence, hung as a spy.*

When the winter of 1780 commenced, the troops of the northern army retired to the quarters which they had last occupied. Again they endured distress at which patriotism feels indignant and humanity weeps. The harvest had been abundant; plenty reigned in the land, while want was still felt in the camp of its defenders. Lassitude had succeeded enthusiasm, in the breasts of the people, and congress exerted its powers with too little vigour to draw forth the resources of the country. The soldiers of the Pennsylvania line stationed at Morristown, New Jersey, complained that, in addition to sustaining sufferings common to all, they were retained in service contrary to the terms of their enlistments. In the night of the 1st of January, thirteen hundred, on a concerted signal, paraded under arms, and declared their intention of marching to Philadelphia, and demanding of congress a redress of their grievances. The officers strove to compel them to relinquish their

purpose. In the attempt, one was killed, and several were wounded. General Wayne presented his pistols, as if intending to fire. They held their bayonets to his breast; "We love and respect you," said they; "but if you fire you are a dead man. We are not going to the enemy. On the contrary, if they were now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much alacrity as ever. But we will be amused no longer; we are determined to obtain what is our just due." They elected temporary officers, and moved off in a body towards Princeton. General Wayne, to prevent them from plundering the inhabitants, forwarded provisions for their use. The next day he followed, and requested them to appoint a man from each regiment, to state to him their complaints; a conference was accordingly held, but he refused to comply with their demands. They then proceeded in good order to Princeton, where three emissaries from Sir Henry Clinton met them, and made liberal offers to entice them from the service of congress. The offers were indignantly rejected; and the emissaries seized and executed as spies. Here they were also met by a committee of congress, and a deputation from the state of Pennsylvania; and the latter, granting a part of their demands, succeeded in persuading them to return to their duty. This mutiny, and another in the Jersey line, which was instantly suppressed, aroused the attention of the states to the miserable condition of their troops. The amount of three months' pay was raised and forwarded to them in specie; it was received with joy, as affording an evidence that their country was not unmindful of their sufferings.

The year on which we now enter decided the important contest, which engaged the attention of Europe and of all the civilized world, in favour of liberty, and, we must add, of justice. The boon of independence was not, however, gained without adding to the long list of widows and orphans, nor without augmenting the catalogue of cruelties more horrid than those of the Indian tribes, because perpetrated by those who had no accumulated antipathy

* The general officers who reported his case admitted the necessity they were under to advise that as a spy he should be hung, and the heart of General Washington was wrung with anguish when he signed his death warrant. But the fatal wound that would have been inflicted on the country had Arnold's treason succeeded, made the sacrifice necessary for the public safety. The American officers universally discovered a sympathy for the unfortunate sufferer, and the sensibility of the public was greatly excited on the occasion. His character is thus beautifully painted by the late General Hamilton, who without envy might have contemplated his eminent qualities, for they were not equal to his own. "There was something singularly interesting in the character of Andre. To an excellent understanding, well improved by education and travel, he united a peculiar elegance of mind and manners, and the advantages of a pleasing person. It is said that he possessed a

pretty taste for the fine arts, and had himself attained some proficiency in poetry, music, and painting. His knowledge appeared without ostentation, and embellished by a diffidence that rarely accompanies so many talents and accomplishments, which left you to suppose more than appeared. His sentiments were elevated; and inspired esteem,—they had a softness that conciliated affection. His elocution was handsome, his address easy, polite, and insinuating. By his merit he had acquired the unlimited confidence of his general, and was making rapid progress in military rank and reputation. But in the height of his career, flushed with new hopes from the execution of a project the most beneficial to his party that could be devised, he is at once precipitated from the summit of prosperity, sees all the expectations of his ambition blasted, and himself ruined." A handsome monument is erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

of ages to palliate their hostility, but who only yesterday were friends and brothers. The inhabitants of the Carolinas endured calamity and distress from which humanity revolts. About equally divided in political sentiments, village was opposed to village, and neighbour to neighbour; and their hostility became embittered by attack and reprisal, until pillage, burning, and murder, became familiar to all.* Each party aimed at the extirpation of the other, and the whole country presented a scene of slaughter and of blood. Justice compels the record that the American generals seized every occasion to discountenance such vindictive and barbarous conduct, while, with few exceptions, the British permitted and even accelerated their perpetration.

The reduction of Savannah and Charleston, encouraged the British to a vigorous invasion of North Carolina. The whole army of General Greene, which had at the close of last year advanced from Hillsborough to Charlottetown, consisted of about two thousand men, more than half of whom were militia. With this inconsiderable body of troops, miserably provided, General Greene took the field against a superior regular force, which had already marched in triumph two hundred miles from the point of its debarkation. Soon after Greene took the command, he divided his force, and sent General Morgan with a respectable detachment to the western extremity of South Carolina, where the Tories were destroying the Whigs without mercy, and without restraint, and marched with the main body to Hick's Creek, on the north side of the Pedee. On the entrance of General Morgan into the district of Ninety-Six, Lord Cornwallis, who was preparing for the invasion of North Carolina, that he might not leave an

enemy in his rear, ordered Colonel Tarleton to proceed with about eleven hundred men, and drive him from his position. Tarleton had two field pieces, and a superiority both of infantry and cavalry. With these advantages, he engaged Morgan at the Cowpens, near Pacolet river, on the 17th of January. The British, led to the attack by Tarleton himself, advanced with a shout, and poured in an incessant fire of musketry. The American militia, though they received the charge with firmness, were soon compelled to fall back in the rear of their second line; and this line, in its turn, after an obstinate conflict, was compelled to retreat to the cavalry. At this juncture Lieutenant-Colonel Washington made a successful charge on Captain Ogilvie, who, with about forty dragoons, was cutting down the retreating militia; Lieutenant-Colonel Howard almost at the same moment rallied the continental troops and charged with fixed bayonets, and the militia instantly followed the example. By these sudden and unexpected charges, the British, who had considered the fate of the day decided, were thrown into confusion, and driven from the ground with great slaughter. Howard and Washington pressed the advantage which they had respectively gained, until the artillery and a great part of the infantry had surrendered.† Seldom has a victory, achieved by so small a number, been so important in its consequences. It deprived Cornwallis of one fifth of his force, and disconcerted his plans for the reduction of North Carolina. He sought, however, to repair, by active exertions, the loss which he had suffered, and determined, if possible, to intercept Morgan, and compel him to restore the trophies of his victory. This resolution led to a military race, which may be, without exaggeration, termed

* The following instance will illustrate the horrible spirit of these times:—"In the hour of festivity, one Brown had indulged himself in indiscreet censure of the revolutionary party. He had done worse,—he had committed a fault less easily forgiven,—he had ridiculed them. Being apprised that their resentment was excited, he attempted to escape; but he was closely pursued, brought back to Augusta, tried before a committee of surveillance, and sentenced to be tarred and feathered and carted, unless he recanted, and took the oath of allegiance prescribed by the administration of Georgia. Brown was a firm man, and resisted with a pertinacity that should have commanded the respect of his persecutors. But the motions of a mob are too precipitate to admit of the intrusion of generous feeling. After undergoing the painful and mortifying penance prescribed by the committee without yielding, it is too true that he was doomed to have his naked feet exposed to a large fire, to subdue his stubborn spirit: but in vain; and he was at length turned loose by a group of men who never once dreamed that the simple Indian trader would soon reappear an armed and implacable enemy. He first visited the loyalists of Ninety-Six, concerted his measures with them, then made his way to St. Augustine, received a colonel's commission, placed himself at the head of a band of desperate refugees, and accompanied Provost in his irruption into Georgia. His thirst for revenge appeared afterward insatiable, and besides wantonly hanging many of his prisoners, he subjected

the families of the Whigs who were out in service to accumulated sufferings and distress. It was not long after he was left in command at Augusta by the British general, that Colonel Clarke, with a determined party of the militia, whose families he had persecuted, aimed a well-directed blow at his post. But Brown proved himself a man of bravery and conduct, and he well knew that at all times he was fighting for his life. After a severe and partially successful contest, the approach of a party of Indians obliged Clarke to retreat, and leave his wounded behind him, with a letter addressed to Brown, requesting that he would parole them to their plantations. But Brown's thirst for revenge knew no bounds. It had been irritated in this instance by a wound which confined him to his bed. The unhappy prisoners, twenty-eight in number, were all hung; thirteen of them were suspended to the railing of the staircase, that he might feast his eyes with their dying agonies."—*Johnson's Life of General Greene.*

† Upwards of three hundred of the British were killed or wounded, and above five hundred taken prisoners; eight hundred muskets, two field pieces, two standards, thirty-five baggage wagons, and one hundred dragoon horses, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Of the Americans, twelve men only were killed, and sixty wounded. Congress, in honour of the good conduct of General Morgan, presented him a gold medal; to Lieutenant-Colonels Washington and Howard, medals of silver; and to Colonel Pickens, a sword.

one of the most celebrated in history. Each army strove to precede the other at the fords of the Catawba, from which both were equally distant. The American troops endured almost incredible hardships, being sometimes without meat, often without flour, and entirely destitute of spirituous liquors. A large portion of the troops were without shoes, and, marching over frozen ground, marked with blood every step of their progress. On the twelfth day after the engagement, Morgan reached the fords and crossed the Catawba; and two hours afterwards Cornwallis arrived, and, it being then dark, encamped on the bank. During the night, a heavy fall of rain made the river impassable, which gave Morgan an opportunity to remove the prisoners beyond the reach of his pursuer.

The movements of the royal army induced General Greene immediately to retreat from Hick's Creek; and, leaving the main army under the command of General Huger, he rode a hundred and fifty miles through the country to join the detachment under General Morgan, that he might be in front of Lord Cornwallis, and so direct both divisions of his army as to form a speedy junction between them. Lord Cornwallis, after three days' delay, effected the passage of the Catawba, and recommenced the pursuit. The Americans, continuing their expeditious movements, crossed the Yadkin on the 3d of February, and secured their boats on the north side; but the British, though close in their rear, were incapable of crossing it through the rapid rising of the river from preceding rains, and the want of boats. This second remarkable escape confirmed the impression on the minds of the Americans, that their cause was favoured by Divine Providence. After a junction of the two divisions of the American army at Guilford court-house, it was concluded, in a council of officers called by General Greene, that he ought to retire over the Dan, and to avoid an engagement until he should be re-enforced. Lord Cornwallis kept the upper countries, where only the rivers are fordable, and attempted to get between General Greene and Virginia, to cut off his retreat, and oblige him to fight under many disadvantages; but the American general completely eluded him. So urgent was the pursuit of the British, that, on the 14th of February, the American light troops were compelled to retire above forty miles; and on that day General Greene, by indefatigable exertions, transported his army over the Dan into Virginia. Here again the pursuit was so close, that the van of the British just arrived as the rear of the Americans had crossed. The continental army being now driven out of North Carolina,

Earl Cornwallis left the Dan, and proceeded to Hillsborough, where he set up the royal standard. Greene, perceiving the necessity of some spirited measure to counteract his lordship's influence on the inhabitants of the country, concluded, at every hazard, to recross the Dan. After manœuvring in a very masterly manner to avoid an action with Cornwallis three weeks, his army was joined by two brigades of militia from North Carolina, and one from Virginia, and also by four hundred regulars. This re-enforcement giving him a superiority of numbers, he determined no longer to avoid an engagement, and, on the 15th of March, he accepted battle; but at the first fire the North Carolina militia, who were in the front line, fled; the second line was also routed. The continentals, who composed the third, fought with their usual bravery, and for an hour and a half maintained the conflict with great firmness. They at length gave way, but retreated in good order, the slaughter they had made in the enemy's ranks preventing pursuit. The victory, won by a far inferior force, was more glorious than advantageous to the British army. Soon after the action, Lord Cornwallis began a march toward Wilmington. General Greene, on receiving intelligence of this movement, put his army in motion, to follow him, and continued the pursuit to Ramsay's Mill, on Deep River. Cornwallis, having halted and refreshed his men about three weeks at Wilmington, marched across the country to Petersburg, in Virginia.

Before General Greene was aware that Lord Cornwallis intended to enter Virginia, he had formed the bold resolution of returning into South Carolina. Marching towards Camden, where nine hundred men, under the command of Lord Rawdon, were posted, he took a position on Hobkirk's hill, about a mile from the British entrenchments. Here the Americans were attacked on 25th of April. In the beginning of the action their bravery gained advantages which, in its progress, were lost by the premature retreat of two companies, occasioned by the death of their officers. At this reverse of fortune, Greene retired a few miles from the field, both armies having sustained nearly an equal loss.

Several British posts in South Carolina speedily fell into the power of the brave and active partisans, who, with small bodies of troops, were ever present where oppression was to be resisted or glory won. Marion and Lee invested and took Fort Watson. Orangeburgh and Fort Motte surrendered to Sumpter. Lee captured Fort Granby, and Marion drove from Georgetown the troops stationed to defend it. Immediately after the surrender of Fort Granby, Lieu

tenant-Colonel Lee marched to Augusta, and joined Brigadier-General Pickens, who, with a body of militia, had some time before taken post in the vicinity; and these two able officers jointly carried on their approaches against Fort Cornwallis. Two batteries were erected within thirty yards of the parapet which overlooked the fort; and from them the American riflemen shot into the inside of the works with effect. The garrison almost entirely burying themselves underground, obstinately refused to capitulate until resistance became useless, and then the fort, with about three hundred men, surrendered on honourable terms of capitulation. The Americans, during the siege, had about forty men killed and wounded. On the 22d of May, General Greene laid siege to Ninety-Six, which was defended by Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger with upwards of five hundred men. The works of the besiegers were carried forward with indefatigable industry and success until the 18th of June, when, on intelligence of the approach of Lord Rawdon for the relief of the place, it was concluded to attempt its reduction by assault. The assailants displayed great resolution; but, failing of success, General Greene raised the siege, and retreated over the Saluda.

Lord Rawdon having returned to England, the command of the British troops in South Carolina devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart; who, in the beginning of September, took post at Eutaw Springs. General Greene marched against him from the hills of Santee. The rival forces were equal, amounting on each side to two thousand men. On

the 8th an attack was made by the Americans; a part of the British line, consisting of new troops, broke, and fled; but the veteran corps received the charge of the assailants on the points of their bayonets. The hostile ranks were for a time intermingled, and the officers fought hand to hand; but Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, who had turned the British left flank, charging them at this instant in the rear, their line was soon completely broken, and driven off the field. They were vigorously pursued by the Americans, who took upwards of five hundred of them prisoners. The British, on their retreat, took post in a large three-story brick house, and in a picketed garden; and from these advantageous positions renewed the action. Four six-pounders were ordered up before the house; but the Americans were compelled to leave these pieces and retire. They formed again at a small distance in the woods; but General Greene, thinking it inexpedient to renew the desperate attempt, left a strong picket on the field of battle, and retired with his prisoners to the ground from which he had marched in the morning. In the evening of the next day, Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, leaving seventy of his wounded men, and one thousand stand of arms, moved from Eutaw towards Charleston. The loss of the British, inclusive of prisoners, was supposed to be not less than eleven hundred men. The loss of the Americans, in killed, wounded, and missing, was about half that number. This battle was attended by consequences very advantageous to the Americans, and may be considered as closing the revolutionary war in South Carolina.*

* Congress passed a vote of thanks to every corps in the army, and a resolution for presenting to Major-General Greene, "as an honourable testimony of his merit, a British standard, and a golden medal emblematic of the battle and of his victory."

Most votaries of fame earn their honours by long and painful labours, in whatever walk of life they select to seek them. The orator has no permanent reputation, until he has secured it by appearing frequently before his fellow-citizens, and proving his claims to distinction by many vigorous efforts of intellectual superiority. Nor does a judge on the bench obtain a character for wisdom until he has trimmed the midnight lamp for many years; and even most warriors do not gain distinction and promotion, until gray hairs peer from under their helmets, in contrast to their sun-burnt faces. But there are exceptions to this rule, for sometimes a hero starts into life at once. The subject of this memoir was one of these brilliant exceptions. He was hardly known twenty miles from his native state, when he was seen marching into Cambridge, on the sixth of June, 1775, at the head of the Rhode Island troops, with the rank of major-general. He had under him three regiments of brave and effective men, and several excellent officers. The first impression of every one in camp, was favourable to the unknown Rhode Island general; and when Washington arrived, the next month, to take command of the army, the sagacious citizen-soldiers united the names of Washington and Greene together, as fit leaders of the brave, and they are never to be separated. Washington had been known as a warrior; he had gained imperishable laurels when Braddock fell at Monongahela; but Greene "had never set a squadron in the field," nor had his name been heard of in the halls of congress; but the sagacious statesmen of Rhode Island did

know him. They had watched him from the cradle, and to inquiries made at the time, who is General Greene? were ready with an answer.—He is the son of one of the society of Friends; was born at Warwick, on the 22d day of May, 1742; his father was a blacksmith, engaged in making anchors and heavy iron work for ships, forges, &c.; his education was scanty in childhood, but he was well instructed in moral duties; he early felt his want of information; and set about self-instruction; he had a strong mind, and soon made rapid acquisitions in the fields of science and letters. He was particularly fond of military history, and the biography of heroes; his military ardour was kindled up in poring over the pages of Plutarch; and, Quaker as he was, he loved to dwell upon the deeds of the great men of antiquity, more than upon those around him. He saw that the winds were up, and that the storm of revolutionary war was gathering, and he set about preparing himself to be useful. He read constitutional and common law sufficiently to understand the great principles of the rights of man, and the duties of nations. His own state had been vexed with fewer restraints than other colonies under Great Britain. The soul of Roger Williams, the founder of it, had not departed from among his sons; they were brave, but had not much military skill to aid them. Greene studied military science, and thus he found easy, as he had made considerable progress in mathematics and geometry; and, at the same time, the manual exercise became familiar to him by frequent practice. In 1770, he was sent to the legislature of the state, and soon became distinguished in that body for his good sense and intrepid spirit. The Boston massacre had taken place, and every soul was roused with a spirit of resentment. In no bosom did it burn with more intensity than in the heart of

Brilliant as were the successes of General Greene in the Carolinas, it was in Virginia that the last great stroke in favour of American independence was to be

effected. The army under the commander in chief had passed another distressing winter, and symptoms of mutiny had again manifested themselves; but were

ble soul were developed; here he displayed the talents of a consummate general. He arrived at Charlotte on the 2d of December, 1780, with the gallant Morgan, who had greatly distinguished himself in the battles which led to the capture of Burgoyne, and which gave the death blow to British power in the north. The southern army was a mere skeleton, with only skin and sinews sufficient to hold it together. The men were without supplies, and there was no chance of immediate relief. The British army was well equipped and well fed; but their officers committed a great error in supposing the southern country prostrated and conquered, because they could not find any forces to meet them. The fires of patriotism seemed quenched, when they were only concealed; and they found them, to their cost, bursting out in every quarter. Cornwallis at length saw that the influence of royalty was waning, while that of patriotism was increasing, and he was determined on striking a blow, and crushing the American forces at once; for this purpose he sent his gallant master of the horse, Tarleton, to destroy that part of the American army under General Morgan. Tarleton had a thousand men, of the flower of the British troops, when he was sent to give an account of Morgan and his men. The attack was made on the American forces at the Cowpens, on the 17th of January, 1781. The battle was severe, and the British were beaten, with considerable loss of lives. Five hundred of the enemy laid down their arms, and were made prisoners; eight hundred stand of arms, two field pieces, and thirty-five baggage wagons, were the spoils from the enemy to the victors; while the loss on the part of the Americans was very trifling, only twelve killed, and sixty wounded. This brilliant affair raised the drooping spirits of the south, and disconcerted all the magnificent plans of Cornwallis. He followed Morgan with great spirit, to cover and redeem Tarleton's defeat; but Morgan was too rapid for him, having formed a junction with the main army before Cornwallis could overtake him. The southern army was still inferior to the British, and was obliged to make a northward movement.

In the beginning of March, Greene effected a junction with a continental regiment, and two bodies of Virginia and Carolina militia. He was now determined to give the enemy a proof of his spirit; knowing that, if fortune should prove kind, the enemy would be injured; but if he was beaten, that he should recover, as he was gaining strength every day. In this battle, a part of the militia fled as cowards, while other portions of them behaved well; so it will happen in every army. The victory was in favour of the British; but it was a dear one to them, they having lost more men than the American army. This battle crippled Cornwallis, and he was obliged to return to Wilmington, two hundred miles from the scene of action.

Soon after this battle of Guilford court-house, General Greene resolved to return to South Carolina, and to expel, if possible, the British from that state. His first object was to attempt the reduction of Camden, where Lord Rawdon was posted, with nine hundred men. With the small force Greene had, he did not think it prudent to attack Lord Rawdon, but encamped near him, and endeavoured to cut off his supplies. Rawdon bravely sallied out, and attacked Greene, and so vigorously as to compel him to retreat; but he lost more men in the attack than Greene did in the defence, and reaped no substantial advantage by his success, for he was soon obliged to retreat in turn, leaving behind him a number of the sick and wounded. The British ascendancy was now very rapidly declining, and most of their foris fell into the hands of the Americans.

On the 22d of May, General Greene set down before Ninety-Six, with the main part of his small army, and carried on the siege so spiritedly, that Rawdon was on the point of surrendering, when a re-enforcement relieved the post, but not before the American general had attempted to carry it by storm. This did not discourage Greene, who declared, at this gloomy moment, that he would recover the country, or die in the attempt. In the following months of July and August, there was some skirmishing between the two armies; but in September following, General Greene,

Greene. In spite of the pacific sentiments of the religious order to which he belonged, in opposition to parental influence, he came forward and enrolled himself as a private in a military corps, called the KENTISH GUARDS. In this body he was a model of obedience to orders, and attention to duties; all eyes were turned on him, and his fellow-citizens marked him out for some high calling, and their affection for him was not diminished, but perhaps increased, when they knew he was read out of the pale of his order for taking up arms.

After the battle of Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1775, Rhode Island raised three regiments of soldiers, and by common consent put Greene at their head, and sent them to the general camp at Cambridge, in the vicinity of Boston.

While with Washington, in the anxious summer, autumn, and winter of 1775-6, when the American army were besieging the British in Boston, the merits of General Greene became known to the commander in chief, and he persuaded Greene to accept of a brigadier-general's commission in the continental army, the highest grade he could at that time offer him, but with a promise of promotion as soon as possible; this was accepted, and he was made a major-general on the 26th of August, 1776.

When the American army followed the enemy to New York, after the evacuation of Boston, the forces encamped partly in New York and partly on Long Island. The division upon the island was under the command of Greene, but he was severely ill when the unfortunate battle was fought there, and the command had devolved on the brave Sullivan.

Greene was with Washington when he crossed the Delaware, on the night of the 26th of December, 1776, and made an attack on the Hessians at Trenton, on the morning of that day. With signal success, Greene commanded the left wing of the army, and was the first to enter the town. He was with Washington at Princeton, and shared in the honours of that day. This was a bold and masterly manoeuvre, which raised the sinking spirits of the nation, and stamped our commanders with the reputation of consummate soldiers abroad, and made Britain think that our leaders were not merely rebel braves, but sagacious generals.

Greene was also at the battle of Brandywine, and covered the retreat. The next month he commanded the left wing at the battle of Germantown, and his were the only troops who did all that was expected of them, in that battle. His reputation was raised by that day's conduct. He was next sent to prevent Cornwallis from getting supplies in the Jerseys; but Washington, finding that the enemy had received re-enforcements, recalled him.

The next spring, Greene was induced to accept the appointment of quarter-master-general of the army, as the whole commissariat was out of joint for want of resources, and from the irregularity of the aids afforded. His acceptance was on condition of having two assistants, and of retaining his rank in the line, and the right to resume his command in time of action.

happily suppressed. Deplorably deficient of provisions and supplies, and promised re-enforcements being grievously delayed, Washington still remained undiscouraged, and determined, in conjunction with the French fleet, to resume vigorous operations. New York was the destined point of the combined attack; but the large re-enforcements which had recently arrived there, and other unfavourable circumstances, induced the commander-in-chief, so late as August, entirely to change the plan of the campaign, and to resolve to attempt the capture of the army of Lord Cornwallis, which had now taken up a position at Yorktown; in Virginia. The defence of West Point, and of the other posts on the Hudson, was committed to General Heath, and a large portion of the troops raised in the northern states was for this service left under his command.

General Washington resolved in person to conduct the Virginia expedition. The troops under Count Rochambeau, and strong detachments from the American army, amounting to more than two thousand men, and consisting of the light infantry, Lamb's ar-

being about two thousand strong, proceeded to attack Colonel Stewart, at Eutaw Springs. This battle was, on the whole, admirably fought, and the result was unequivocally in favour of our army. This broke the power of Cornwallis in the south, and disappointed all the calculations of British statesmen. They were dreaming that, having conquered the south, their forces would soon be able to proceed to the north, and beard the lion in his den. This battle of Eutaw Springs was indeed memorable. According to Greene's account—and who ever doubted his veracity?—he had three hundred men without arms, and a still greater number stark naked, who pushed their bayonets into the bodies of their enemies, as fearlessly as if they themselves had been covered with a coat of mail. No man, of ancient or modern days, ever had greater difficulties to contend with, than General Greene in this campaign; and no one ever met them with greater heroism. "We have (says he) three hundred men without arms, and more than one thousand so naked, that they can be put on duty only in cases of a desperate nature. We have been all winter in want of arms and clothing. The subsistence of the army is wretched, and we are without rum, or any kind of spirits." And at another time he declares, "I have been seven months in the field, without taking off my clothes." Greene himself was astonished at his own situation, and looked forward to contemplate what posterity would say in considering it. "At the battle of Eutaw Springs, (says he,) hundreds of my men were as naked as they were born. Posterity will scarcely believe that the bare loins of many brave men, who carried death into the enemy's ranks at the Eutaw, were galled by their cartouch boxes, while a folded rag, or a tuft of moss, protected the shoulders from sustaining the same injury from the musket. Men of other times will inquire, by what magic was this army kept together? By what supernatural power was it made to fight?"

While amidst these difficulties of the southern campaign, when destitute of every article of subsistence, or nearly so, some murmurings were heard in the camp, and treason was suspected; and the enemy had made their calculations to end the whole campaign at a blow, assisted by treason among the American ranks. Greene struck at the root of the evil, by an energy that astonished both friends and foes. He put his forces in battle-array, brought the accused to a court-martial, executed the offender in face of the army, and quelled the treason at a breath. No one murmured; all were full of admiration at his energetic course; and even the culprit who suffered did not complain; but, in his dying speech,

tillery, and several other corps, were destined for it. By the 25th of August the whole body, American and French, had crossed the North River. An intercepted letter of General Washington's, in which he communicated, as the result of a consultation with the French commanders, the design to attack New York, had excited the apprehensions of the British general for the safety of that city. This apprehension was kept alive, and the real object of the Americans concealed, by preparations for an encampment in New Jersey, opposite to Staten Island, by the route of the American army, and other appearances, indicating an intention to besiege New York; and the troops had passed the Delaware, out of reach of annoyance, before Sir Henry suspected their destination. General Washington pressed forward with the utmost expedition, and at Chester he received the important intelligence that Count de Grasse had arrived with his fleet in the Chesapeake, and that the Marquis St. Simon had, with a body of three thousand land forces, joined the Marquis de la Fayette. Having directed the route of his army from the head of the

urged them all to obey. What energy of character! what admirable decision!

Colonel Whigglesworth, one of the most accomplished of the great men of that age, a scholar, factor, sea-captain, merchant, and soldier, to whom was familiar the history of ancient and modern times, often observed, that General Greene was the most extraordinary man in the American army, or that he had ever met with in his travels, and he had seen much of the world. "He had," said that shrewd observer of man, "the caution of Fabius, and the energy of Julius Cesar. He rose from disaster as fresh as if he had gained a victory, always cool, scientific, and prompt; no officer ever said Greene has made a mistake, but every one gave him credit for almost supernatural sagacity, precisely when it was wanted."

This great commander had fought all his battles, and filled up the measure of his military glory, before he had finished his fortieth year—younger than Nelson, when he fell at Trafalgar, in the arms of victory; or Sir John Moore, when he was "left alone in his glory," in the ramparts of Corunna. He combined the physical courage of the former, and his prescience of events, with the high feelings and moral daring of the latter, and his labours were more difficult than those of either.

Historians of no ordinary renown in the literary world, have arisen to narrate his deeds, and praise his virtues; but this is not all: there is a feeling of admiration and gratitude in the hearts of his countrymen, at the mention of his name, which is beyond the pen of the biographer, or the muse of the epic bard. It is a lambent flame of the heart, which was kindled up in those days of lofty feeling and patriotic ardour, which has descended to us as an heirloom of the affections, from our father's bosoms, and will go down, in all its purity, to the remotest posterity. Not to us and our posterity only, will his name be dear, but to the general reader of history, who will as intimately connect this warrior's name with *prudence, bravery, decision of character, and every soldierly attribute and manly virtue*, as justice now is with the name of ARISTIDES.

"Oh! who shall lightly say that FAME
Is nothing but an empty name!
When memory of the mighty dead,
To earth-worn pilgrim's wistful eye
The brightest rays of cheering shed,
That point to immortality." *American Editor.*

Elk, he, accompanied by Rochambeau, Chatelleux, Du Portail, and Knox, proceeded to Virginia. They reached Williamsburg on the 14th of September, and immediately repaired on board the *Ville de Paris*, to settle with Count de Grasse the plan of operations. The whole body of American and French troops reached Williamsburg by the 25th of September. At this place the allied forces were joined by a detachment of the militia of Virginia, under the command of Governor Nelson, and preparations were soon made to attack the intrenchments of Lord Cornwallis.

Yorktown, the head-quarters of Lord Cornwallis, is a village on the south side of York River, the southern banks of which are high, and where ships of the line may ride in safety. Gloucester Point is a piece of land on the opposite shore, projecting considerably into the river. Both these posts were occupied by the British; and a communication between them was commanded by their batteries, and by several ships of war. The main body of Lord Cornwallis's army was encamped on the open grounds about Yorktown, within a range of outer redoubts and field-works; and Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with a detachment of six or seven hundred men, held the post at Gloucester Point.

The legion of the Duke de Lauzun, and a brigade of militia under General Weedon, the whole commanded by the French general De Choise, were directed to watch and restrain the enemy on the side of Gloucester; and the grand combined army, on the 30th of September, moved down to the investiture of Yorktown. On the night of the 6th of October, advancing to within six hundred yards of the English lines, they began their first parallel, and laboured with such silence and diligence, that they were not discovered until morning, when the works they had raised were sufficient to protect them. On the 9th, several batteries being completed, a heavy cannonade was begun. Many of the British guns were dismounted, and portions of their fortifications laid level with the ground. On the night of the 11th, the besiegers commenced their second parallel, three hundred yards in advance of the first. This approach was made so much sooner than was expected, that the men were not discovered at their labour until they had rendered themselves secure from all molestation in front. The fire from the new batteries was still more furious and destructive. From two British redoubts, in advance of their main works, and flanking those of the besiegers, the men in the trenches were so severely annoyed, that Washington resolved to storm them. The enterprise against one was committed to an American force under the Marquis de la

Fayette, that against the other to a French detachment. Colonel Hamilton, who led the van of the former, made such an impetuous attack, that possession was soon obtained, with little slaughter. The French detachment was equally brave and successful, but sustained greater loss. On the 16th, a sortie was made from the garrison by a party of three hundred and fifty, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, who forced two batteries, and spiked eleven pieces of cannon; but the guards from the trenches immediately advancing on them, they retreated, and the pieces which they had hastily spiked were soon rendered fit for service. In the afternoon of the same day the besiegers opened several batteries in their second parallel; and in the whole line of batteries nearly one hundred pieces of heavy ordnance were now mounted. The works of the besieged were so universally in ruins as to be in no condition to sustain the fire which might be expected the next day. In this extremity, Lord Cornwallis boldly resolved to attempt an escape by land with the greater part of his army. His plan was to cross over, in the night, to Gloucester Point, and forcing his way through the troops under De Choise, to pass through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Jersey, and form a junction with the royal army at New York. In prosecution of this desperate design, one embarkation of his troops crossed over to the opposite point; but a violent storm of wind and rain dispersed the boats, and frustrated the scheme.

On the morning of the 17th the fire of the American batteries rendered the British post untenable. Lord Cornwallis, perceiving further resistance to be unavailing, about ten o'clock beat a parley, and proposed a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, that commissioners might meet to settle the terms on which the posts of York and Gloucester should be surrendered. General Washington, in his answer, declared his "ardent desire to spare the effusion of blood, and his readiness to listen to such terms as were admissible;" but to prevent loss of time, he desired "that, previous to the meeting of the commissioners, the proposals of his lordship might be transmitted in writing, for which purpose a suspension of hostilities for two hours should be granted." The terms proposed by his lordship were such as led the general to suppose that articles of capitulation might easily be adjusted, and he continued the cessation of hostilities until the next day. To expedite the business, he summarily stated the terms he was willing to grant, and informed Earl Cornwallis, that if he admitted these as the basis of a treaty, commissioners might meet to put them into form. Accordingly

Viscount de Noailles and Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, on the part of the allies, and Colonel Dundas and Major Ross, on the part of the English, met the next day, and adjusted articles of capitulation, which were to be submitted to the consideration of the British general. Resolving not to expose himself to any accident that might be the consequence of unnecessary delay, General Washington ordered the rough draft of the commissioners to be fairly transcribed; and sent to Lord Cornwallis early next morning, with a letter expressing his expectation that the garrison would march out by two o'clock in the afternoon. Hopeless of more favourable terms, his lordship signed the capitulation, and surrendered the posts of York and Gloucester, with their garrisons, to General Washington; and the shipping in the harbour, with the seamen, to Count de Grasse. The prisoners, exclusive of seamen, amounted to more than seven thousand, of which between four and five thousand only were fit for duty. The garrison lost, during the siege, six officers and five hundred and forty-eight privates in killed and wounded. The privates, with a competent number of officers, were to remain in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania. The officers not required for this service were permitted on parole to return to Europe, or to any of the maritime posts of the English on the American continent. The terms granted to Earl Cornwallis were, in general, the terms which had been granted to the Americans at the surrender of Charleston; and General Lincoln, who on that occasion resigned his sword to Lord Cornwallis, was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army. The allied army, to which Lord Cornwallis surrendered, amounted to sixteen thousand; seven thousand French, five thousand five hundred continental troops, and three thousand five hundred militia. In the course of the siege they lost, in killed and wounded, about three hundred. The siege was prosecuted with so much military judgment and ardour, that the treaty was opened on the eleventh, and the capitulation signed on the thirteenth day after ground was broken before the British lines.*

The capture of so large a British army excited universal joy, and on no occasion during the war did the Americans manifest greater exultation. From the nature and duration of the contest, the affections of many had been so concentrated upon their country, and so intense was their interest in its fate, that

the news of this brilliant success produced the most rapturous emotions, under the operations of which, it is said, some were even deprived of their reason, and one aged patriot in Philadelphia expired. The day after the capitulation, General Washington ordered, "that those who were under arrest should be pardoned and set at liberty;" and announced, that "Divine service shall be performed to-morrow in the different brigades and divisions. The commander in chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty do assist at it with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart which the recollection of the surprising and particular interposition of Providence in our favour claims." Congress, as soon as they received General Washington's official letter giving information of the event, resolved to go in procession to the Dutch Lutheran church, and return thanks to Almighty God for the signal success of the American arms; and they issued a proclamation, recommending to the citizens of the United States to observe the 13th of December as a day of public thanksgiving and prayer.

While these successful operations had been carrying on in Virginia, Sir Henry Clinton endeavoured, if possible, to recall Washington, or at least to divert his attention, by some daring enterprise in the north. Giving to the traitor Arnold, who had just returned from his destructive expedition to Virginia, the command of a strong detachment, he sent him against New London, a flourishing city situated upon the river Thames, in his native state. Nearly opposite, on a hill in Groton, stood Fort Griswold, which was then garrisoned by militia, hastily summoned from their labours in the field. Against this fort Arnold despatched a part of his troops. It was assaulted on three sides at the same moment. The garrison, fighting in view of their property and their homes, made a brave and obstinate resistance. By their steady and well-directed fire many of the assailants were killed. Pressing forward with persevering ardour, the British entered the fort through the embrasures. Immediately all resistance ceased. Irritated by gallantry which should have caused admiration, a British officer inquired who commanded the fort. "I did," said Colonel Ledyard, "but you do now;" and presented him his sword. He seized it, and, with savage cruelty, plunged it into his bosom. This was the signal for an indiscriminate massacre. Of a hundred and sixty men, composing the garrison,

* Congress, on receiving intelligence of this important victory, passed resolutions, returning the thanks of the United States to the commander in chief, to the Count De Rochambeau, to the Count De Grasse, and to the officers of the different corps, and the men

under them. It was also resolved, that a marble column should be erected at Yorktown, with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his most Christian Majesty, and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis.

all but forty were killed or wounded, and most of them after resistance had ceased. Seldom has the glory of victory been tarnished by such detestable barbarity. The British then entered New London, which was set on fire and consumed. The property destroyed was of immense value. Perceiving no other object within the reach of his force, Arnold led back his troops to New York.

A circumstance which evidently exercised a very favourable influence on American affairs during this period should not be omitted—the institution of a national bank. The plan of it was projected by Robert Morris, one of the delegates of Pennsylvania, a man of high reputation, and well versed in affairs of commerce and finance, whom congress had appointed treasurer. He assigned to this bank a capital of four hundred thousand dollars, divided in shares of four hundred dollars each, in money of gold or silver, to be procured by subscriptions. Twelve directors were to manage the bank, which was denominated by congress, “The President, Directors, and Company of the Bank of North America.” To the financial skill and indefatigable efforts of Mr. Morris in the treasury department, it has been thought his country was scarcely less indebted, than to the valour of her soldiers, and the wisdom of her statesmen. Under his auspices, public credit revived; the army was pacified; and a new impulse given to every operation in the field and the cabinet.

During this fortunate year also the compact of the confederation was rendered complete. Much difficulty had been experienced in obtaining its ratification. Various and sometimes conflicting amendments had been proposed by the states respectively; but they had successively yielded to the opinion that a federal compact would be of vast importance in the prosecution of the war. One of the greatest impediments had hitherto been, that within the chartered limits of several states there were immense tracts of vacant territory, which, it was supposed, would constitute a large fund of future wealth; and the states not possessed of this advantage insisted on considering this territory as a joint acquisition, to be applied to the common benefit. The cession made by Virginia, the preceding year, of its north-west territory, was now accepted by congress, and, to the great joy of America, the confederation was completed.*

The result of the last campaign convinced the British nation that America could not be subdued by force; and led to a change of administration and pacific overtures. Parliament met on the 27th of

November, 1781; and though the speech from the throne still breathed a spirit of hostility, and answers from both houses were procured in accordance with it, yet not long after the recess, the ministers found themselves in a minority in the house of commons. On the 22d of February, 1782, General Conway moved an address to the king, praying, “that the war on the continent of North America might no longer be pursued for the impracticable purpose of reducing that country to obedience by force; and expressing their hope, that the earnest desire and diligent exertion to restore the public tranquillity, on which they had received his majesty’s most gracious assurances, might, by a happy reconciliation with the revolted colonies, be forwarded and made effectual; to which great end his majesty’s faithful commons would be ready to give their utmost assistance.” This motion being lost by a single vote only, was, five days after, renewed, by the same gentleman, in a form somewhat different, and was carried; and an address in pursuance of it presented to the king. Not yet satisfied with the triumph obtained over the ministry, and considering the answer of the king not sufficiently explicit, the house of commons, on the 4th of March, on the motion of General Conway, declared, that all those who should advise, or by any means attempt, the farther prosecution of offensive war in America, should be considered as enemies to their king and country. In this state of things it was impossible for the ministry longer to continue in power, and on the 19th they relinquished their places. A new administration was soon after formed—the Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the treasury, and the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox held the important places of secretaries of state.

Soon after their appointment, the new ministers sent a Mr. Oswald to France, to sound the French court, as well as Dr. Franklin, on the subject of peace. In a conference with the Count de Vergennes, Mr. Oswald was informed that the French court were disposed to treat for peace, but could do nothing without the consent of their allies; and the count expressed a wish that Paris might be the place of meeting for entering upon this important business. About the 18th of April the British agent went back to London, and on the 4th of May returned to France with the assent of the British cabinet to treat of a general peace, and for that purpose to meet at Paris.

One of the first measures of the new administration, was to appoint Sir Guy Carlton commander in chief in America, in the room of Sir Henry Clinton, and to authorize Admiral Digby and himself to treat for peace. One object of conferring this power was

* Marshall’s Life of Washington, b. iv. chap. 8.

to induce congress to agree to a separate treaty. Sir Guy Carlton arrived in America on the 5th of May, and two days afterwards informed General Washington that he and Admiral Digby were authorized to treat for peace, and requested a passport for their secretary, as the bearer of despatches to congress on the subject. A copy of this letter was forwarded by the general to that body; but the members being determined not to negotiate without their allies, refused the passport. The same commissioners, on the 2d of August following, sent a second letter to the American commander, informing him that negotiations for a general peace had commenced at Paris, and that Mr. Grenville had full powers to treat with all the parties at war, and that, by his instructions, "the independency of the thirteen provinces was to be pro-

* One of the reasons assigned by Mr. Fox for his resignation, was, that the cabinet, under the influence of Lord Shelburne, had departed from the principles adopted by the preceding administration, on the great question of American independence. In vindication of himself, Lord Shelburne, early in July, declared in parliament, that he had been, and yet was of opinion, that whenever parliament should acknowledge the independence of America, the sun of England's glory was set for ever. Such, he said, were the sentiments he possessed on a former day, and such were the sentiments he still held. That other noble lords thought differently; and as the majority of the cabinet supported them, he acquiesced in the measure, dissenting from the idea; and the point was settled to bring the matter before parliament. That if independence were to be granted, he foresaw, in his own mind, that England was undone. He wished to God, he declared, that he had been deputed to the congress, that he might plead the cause of that country, as well as of this; and that he might exercise whatever powers he possessed, as an orator, to save both from ruin, by bringing the congress to a conviction, that, if their independence was signed, their liberties were gone for ever. This declaration of the prime minister, after the statements made by Mr. Grenville and Sir Guy Carlton on the subject of American independence, as before mentioned, excited no little astonishment in France, as well as in America.

It was supposed, that, with a view of attempting some arrangement agreeable to his wishes, Lord Shelburne contemplated sending Mr. Jones, afterwards Sir William Jones, to America. Certain it is, that about the last of June, Mr. Jones, in company with a gentleman by the name of Paradise, went to Paris; and it was publicly given out, they were on their way to America, on business of a private nature; Mr. Paradise, to recover an estate belonging to him, and Mr. Jones as his counsel. While at Paris, the latter frequently saw and conversed with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay, and as a matter of curiosity, presented to the former, with whom he had been acquainted in England, what he called "a fragment of Polybius, from his treatise on the Athenian government." He took this singular mode, no doubt, of sounding the American commissioners, on the great question of peace; and no one can read this supposed fragment of a celebrated ancient historian, purporting to give a brief account of a contest between Athens and her colonies, without being satisfied as to its real object.

"Athens," says this fragment, "had long been an object of universal admiration, and consequently of envy; her navy was invincible, her commerce extensive; Europe and Asia supplied her with wealth; of her citizens, all were intrepid, many virtuous; but some too much infected with principles unfavourable to freedom. Hence an oligarchy was, in a great measure, established; crooked counsels were thought supreme wisdom; and the Athenians having lost their true relish for their own freedom, began to attack that of their colonies, and of the states which they had before protected! Their arrogant claims of unlimited dominion, had compelled the Chians,

posed by him, in the first instance, instead of being made a condition of a general treaty."

A majority of the new British cabinet very early determined to offer America unlimited unconditional independence, as the basis of a negotiation for peace, and so instructed their minister, Mr. Grenville. This was a favourite measure with the Marquis of Rockingham; on this point, however, the cabinet was divided. The Earl of Shelburne, though he acquiesced, was still opposed, and it was one of the last measures to which the king would assent. The illness of the Marquis of Rockingham, and his death, which happened on the 1st of July, produced no little delay and difficulty in the negotiations. The appointment of Lord Shelburne as first lord of the treasury produced an open rupture in the cabinet.*

Coans, Rhodians, Lesbians, to join with *nine other* small communities in the *social war*, which they began with inconceivable ardour, and continued with industry surpassing all example, and almost surpassing belief.

"They were openly assisted by Mausoleus, king of Caria, to whose metropolis the united islands had sent a *philosopher* named *Eleutherion*, eminent for the deepest knowledge of nature, the most solid judgment, most approved virtue, and most ardent zeal for the cause of *general liberty*. The war had been supported for three years with infinite exertions and valour on both sides, with deliberate firmness on the part of the allies, and with unabated violence on the part of the Athenians, who had, nevertheless, despatched commissioners to Rhodes, with intent to propose terms of accommodation; but the states (perhaps too pertinaciously) refused to hear any proposal whatever, without a previous recognition of their *total independence*, by the magistrates and people of Athens. It was not long after this that an *Athenian*, who had been a pupil of Isaeus, together with Demosthenes, and began to be known in his country as a pleader of causes, was led, by some *affair of his clients*, to the capital of Caria. He was a man, unauthorized, unemployed, unconnected, independent in his circumstances as much as in his principles; admitting no governor, under providence, but the laws; and no laws, but which justice and virtue had dictated, which wisdom approved, which his country had freely enacted. He had been known at Athens to the sage Eleutherion, and their acquaintance being renewed, he sometimes took occasion, in their conversations, to lament the calamities of war, and to express his eager desire of making a general peace on such terms as *would produce the greatest good from the greatest evil*; 'for this,' said he, 'would be a work not unworthy the divine attributes, and if mortals could effect it, they would act like those beneficent beings, whom Socrates believed to be the constant friends and attendants of our species.'

The *Athenian*, in these conversations, is also represented as endeavouring to persuade Eleutherion not to insist on such terms of peace, as would wound the pride of Athens, without any substantial benefit to the colonies, and particularly not to insist on an *express acknowledgment* of their independence. "Let the confederates," he said, "be contented with the *substance* of that independence which they have asserted, and the word will necessarily follow.

"Let them not hurt the natural, and, perhaps, not reprehensible pride of Athens, nor demand any concession, that may sink in the eyes of Greece a nation to whom they are and must be united in language, in blood, in manners, in interest, in principles. Glory is to a nation, what reputation is to an individual; it is not an empty sound, but important and essential. It will be glorious in Athens to acknowledge her error in attempting to reduce the islands; but an acknowledgment of her *inability* to reduce them (if she be unable) will be too public a confession of weakness, and her rank among the states of Greece will instantly be lowered."

Lord John Cavendish, Mr. Fox, and some others, resigned their places. In consequence of this, William Pitt was made chancellor of the exchequer, and Thomas Townshend and Lord Grantham secretaries of state. There can be little doubt that the king, as well as Lord Shelburne, still entertained a distant

The Athenian declared, that whatever his own advice might be, he knew and positively pronounced, that Athens would never expressly recognise the independence of the islands; that an express acknowledgment of it was merely *formal* with respect to the allies; but the prejudices of mankind had made it *substantial* with respect to Athens.

"There is a *natural union*," he said, "between Athens and the islands which the gods had made, and which the powers of hell could not dissolve. Men, speaking the same idiom, educated in the same manner, perhaps in the same place; professing the same principles; sprung from the same ancestors in no very remote degree; and related to each other in a thousand modes of consanguinity, affinity, and friendship; such men (whatever they may say through a temporary resentment) can never in their hearts consider one another as aliens."

The Athenian then proposed "the general ground work and plan of a treaty," the substance of which was, that the *Carians* should be included in the pacification on advantageous terms, that the archon, senate, and magistrates of Athens, should make a *complete recognition of rights* of all the Athenian citizens, of all orders whatever, and all laws for that purpose be combined in one—"there should not be one *slave* in Attica." That there should be a perfect co-ordination between Athens and the *thirteen United Islands*; they considering her not as a *parent*, whom they must obey, but as an *elder sister*, whom they could not help loving, and to whom they should give *pre-eminence of honour and co-equality of power*. The *new constitutions* of the confederate islands to remain. On every occasion requiring acts for the general good, there was to be an assembly of deputies from the senate of Athens and the *congress* of the islands, who should fairly adjust the whole business, and settle the ratio on both sides; this committee to consist of fifty islanders and fifty Athenians, or of a smaller number chosen by them. A proportionable number of Athenian citizens, if thought necessary, were to have seats, and the power of debating and voting on questions of common concern, in the great assembly of the islands, and a proportionable number of the islanders to sit, with like power, in the assembly at Athens. No obligation to make war, but for the common interest—commerce to flow in a free course, for the general advantages of the united powers, and a universal unlimited *amity* to be proclaimed, in every part of Greece and Asia.

"This," said the ingenious Athenian, "is the rough sketch of a treaty founded on virtue and liberty."

"The idea of it still fills and expands my soul; and if it cannot be realized, I shall not think it less glorious, but shall only grieve more and more at the perverseness of mankind."

"May the Eternal Being, whom the wise and virtuous adore, and whose attribute it is to convert into good, that evil, which his unsearchable wisdom permits, inspire all ranks of men to promote this or a similar plan! If this be impracticable, O human nature! But I am fully confident that if—more at large—happiness of all."

"No more is extant," Mr. Jones added, "of this interesting piece, upon which the commentary of the sage Polybius would have been particularly valuable in these times."

The allusions in this singular and ingenious communication, were too obvious to be misunderstood, and left little doubt on the minds of the American commissioners, that the real object of Mr. Jones, in his visit at Paris, as well as his intended voyage to America, was, if possible, to effect a reconciliation on terms short of an express and open acknowledgment of the independence of America. Mr. Jay was the more confirmed in this, by seeing in a pamphlet put into his hands by Mr. Jones, containing an account of the proceedings of the "Society for constitutional information," a communication made to the society by Mr. Jones himself, in which he an-

hope that some arrangement might be made with the Americans short of an open and express acknowledgment of their independence; and the views of the latter on this point, probably, had no little influence in placing him at the head of the administration.* Parliament adjourned on the 11th of July,

nounced his intention of leaving England speedily, "on a mission connected with the interest and welfare of his country."

These suspicions were communicated to congress both by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay. In a letter to the secretary of foreign affairs, the latter particularly stated his suspicions with respect to Mr. Jones; and on the 28th of June, Dr. Franklin, in a letter to the same, says, "It looks as if, since their late success in the West Indies, they a little repented of the advances they had made in their declarations respecting the *acknowledgment of our independence*; and we have *good information*, that some of the ministry still flatter the king with the hope of recovering his sovereignty over us, on the same terms as are now making with Ireland. However willing we might have been, at the commencement of this contest, to have accepted such conditions, be assured that we can have no safety in them at present."

"There are," he added, "as reported, great divisions in the ministry on other points, as well as this; and those who aim at engrossing the power, flatter the king with this project of *re-union*; and it is said, have much reliance on the operations of *private agents* sent into America to dispose minds in favour of it, and to bring about a separate treaty there, with General Carleton."

The noble biographer of Sir William Jones, however, declares, that the object of his intended journey to America was "professional," and that the "surmises and insinuations" circulated to the contrary, were without foundation.

Yet the situation of the British cabinet at that time, the opinion of the Earl of Shelburne on the question of American independence, as declared in parliament, the circumstance that Mr. Jones was his particular friend, and above all, the internal evidence arising from the extraordinary communication made to Dr. Franklin; a communication, novel, indeed, in the annals of diplomacy, but certainly, in its style and manner, well calculated to disclose his supposed object, leave little doubt but that this eminent scholar was requested, by high authority, to sound Dr. Franklin, in a secret manner, as to terms of peace and reconciliation with America, the least wounding to British pride. Nor is it impossible, that Mr. Jones himself alluded to this transaction, in a familiar letter to Lord Althorp, of the 5th of October, 1782, mentioned by his biographer, in which he says, "I know not what * * * * * thinks; but this I know, that the sturdy trans-atlantic yeomanry will neither be *dragooned* or *bamboozled* out of their liberty." Whatever might have been the real or ultimate views of Mr. Jones, he returned to England without visiting America. The French court again apprehended that the Americans might be induced to make a separate peace, and on terms short of absolute independence. These apprehensions being communicated to the members of congress, in October, 1782, they resolved to adhere to the treaty of alliance, to conclude neither a separate peace nor truce with Great Britain; and that they would prosecute the war with vigour, until by the blessing of God on the united arms, a peace should be happily accomplished; by which the full and absolute sovereignty and independence of the United States having been duly assured, their rights and interests, as well as those of their allies, should be effectually provided for and secured; and that they would not enter upon the discussion of any overtures of pacification, but in confidence and in concert with his most Christian Majesty.—Pitkin's Political and Civil History, vol. ii. p. 126—132.

* Among the papers of Dr. Franklin was found the following memorandum: "Immediately after the death of Lord Rockingham, the king said to Lord Shelburne, 'I will be plain with you; the point next my heart, and which I am determined, be the consequence what it may, never to relinquish but with my crown and life, is, to prevent a total unequivocal recognition of the independence of America. Promise to support me on this ground, and I will leave

having passed an act at the close of the session, authorizing the king to conclude a peace or truce with the Americans.

The instructions of congress to the American commissioners not to conclude peace without the consent of France, rendered their situation complicated and embarrassing. There were several questions which the Americans deemed of the first importance, in which the French court either felt no interest, or were opposed to the American claims. The principal of these points referred to the right of fishery on the grand bank, and the western boundary of the United States.* On the latter point, Spain, who was also a party to the negotiations, was extremely desirous of limiting as much as possible the extent of the American territory. These circumstances occasioned much difficulty and considerable delay. At length the American commissioners determined to agree to a provisional treaty without the concurrence of the French court. Mr. Oswald, who had succeeded Mr. Grenville, on the part of the British government, strongly urged the propriety of the American loyalists being compensated for the losses they had incurred during the struggle for independence; but this proposition was met by a counter one from Dr. Franklin, that a similar arrangement should be made by Great Britain in favour of the Americans who had suffered in their property from the destruction carried on by the British troops. This point was therefore ultimately waived, and other difficulties being overcome, a provisional treaty was agreed to on the 30th of November; and after great delay, occasioned by the strenuous endeavours of the court of Madrid to procure the cession of Gibraltar by Great Britain, preliminary treaties of peace were signed on

you unmolested on every other ground, and with full power as the prime minister of this kingdom.' The bargain was struck."—Franklin's Works, vol. v. p. 326.

* "The suspicions of the American ministers as to the views of the French court, concerning the fisheries and boundaries, were confirmed by a letter from Barbe de Marbois, charge des affaires in America, a copy of which (the original having been intercepted) was, about this time, put into their hands. The policy, as well as intention of France, as disclosed by this letter, evidently was, that the fisheries and western country should be relinquished by the United States as the price of peace; and Monsieur Marbois hints to Vergennes the propriety of taking early measures to prevent any discontents in America in consequence of such relinquishment. After speaking of the different parties in the United States on these subjects, he says, 'There are some judicious persons to whom one may speak of giving up the fisheries and the [boundaries] of the west, for the sake of peace; but there are enthusiasts who fly out at this idea, and their numbers cannot fail of increasing when, after the English are expelled this continent, the burden of the war will scarce be felt.' In conclusion, he says, 'But it is best to be prepared for any discontent, although it should be temporary. It is remarked by some, that as England has other fisheries besides Newfoundland, she may, perhaps, endeavour that the Americans should partake in that of the grand bank, in order to conciliate their

the 20th of January, 1783, between France, Spain, and Great Britain.†

On the 24th of March, intelligence of a general peace reached America by a letter from the Marquis de la Fayette; and orders were immediately issued recalling all armed vessels cruising under the authority of the United States. Congress soon after received official information of the agreement between the ministers of the United States and Great Britain, and of the exchange of ratifications of the preliminary articles between Great Britain and France; and, on the 11th of April, they issued a proclamation, declaring the cessation of arms, as well by sea as by land, agreed upon between the United States and his Britannic majesty, and enjoining its strict observance. On the 19th of April, peace was proclaimed in the American army by the commander in chief, precisely eight years from the day of the first effusion of blood at Lexington.

The independence of the United States was acknowledged by Sweden, on the 5th of February; by Denmark, on the 25th of February; by Spain, on the 24th of March; and by Russia, in July; treaties of amity and commerce were also concluded with each of those powers. On the 8th of June, General Washington addressed a letter to each of the governors of the several states in the union, on the present situation, and what appeared to him the wisest policy, of the United States. In this paternal and affectionate letter he stated four things which he conceived to be essential to their well-being, and even to their existence, as an independent power: "An indissoluble union of the states under one general head; a sacred regard to public justice; the adoption of a proper peace establish-

affections, or procure some compensation, or create a jealousy between them and us. But it does not seem likely that she will act so contrary to her interest; and were she to do it, it will be better to have declared at an early period to the Americans, that their pretension is not founded, and that his majesty does not intend to support it."—Franklin's Works. Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 141.

† When these, with the provisional treaty with America, were laid before parliament in February following, they became the subject of violent debates and severe animadversion. The ministry were accused of sacrificing the interests of their country, by making unnecessary concessions to their enemies. One of the resolutions introduced into the house of commons on the subject, by Lord John Cavendish, was, "That the concessions made to the adversaries of Great Britain, by the provisional treaty and preliminary articles, were greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual situation of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength." This resolution was carried against the ministry by two hundred and seven to one hundred and ninety. The great object of the majority was, to compel Lord Shelburne and some of his adherents to resign their places. This was effected by the extraordinary coalition of Lord North and Mr. Fox, and their friends. On the 2d of April a new administration was formed, at the head of which was placed the Duke of Portland, and Lord North and Mr. Fox were made secretaries of state.

ment; and the prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition, among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and politics, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community. These," he added, "are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported." Having requested that each governor would communicate these sentiments to his legislature at their next meeting, and that they might be considered "as the legacy of one who has ardently wished, on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the Divine benediction upon it;" he concluded his letter in language becoming a Christian patriot, and worthy of perpetual remembrance: "I now make it my earnest prayer that God would have you, and the state over which you preside, in his holy protection, that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their

fellow-citizens of the United States at large, and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field; and, finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind, which were the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion, without an humble imitation of whose example in these things we can never hope to be a happy nation."

The definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States of America was signed at Paris on the 3d of September, by David Hartley, Esq., on the part of his Britannic majesty, and by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay, on the part of the United States. The provisions of the treaty attest the zeal and ability of the American negotiators, as well as the liberal feelings which actuated the British ministry. The independence of the United States was fully acknowledged. The right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, and certain facilities in the enjoyment of that right, were secured to them for ever; and territory was ceded to them more extensive than the most sanguine had dared to anticipate or to hope.*

* An abstract of this memorable document will not be deemed unnecessary in a work like the present. By the first article of this treaty, his Britannic Majesty acknowledges the United States, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign, and independent states; that he treats with them as such, and for himself, his heirs, and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof. By the second article, the boundaries of the United States are declared and described from St. Croix, in Nova Scotia, to Canada, by the lakes and the river Mississippi, to East Florida. By the third article, it is agreed, that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the grand bank, and on all the other banks of Newfoundland, also in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish; and also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use, (but not to dry or cure the same on that island;) and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks, of all other of his Britannic Majesty's dominions in America; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen islands, and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but so soon as the same or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement without a previous agreement for that purpose of the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground. By the fourth article, it is agreed, that creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value, in sterling money, of all bona fide debts heretofore contracted. By the fifth article, it is agreed, that the congress shall earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects, and also of the estates, rights, and properties, of persons resident in districts in the possession of his majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the United States; and that persons

of any other description shall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months, unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights, and properties, as may have been confiscated; and that congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation which, on the return of the blessings of peace, should universally prevail. And that congress shall also recommend to the several states, that the estates, rights, and properties of such last mentioned persons shall be restored to them, they refunding to any persons who may be now in possession the bona fide price (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights, or properties, since the confiscation. And it is agreed that all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage settlements, or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights. By the sixth article, it is agreed, that there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons, for or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken in the present war; and that no person shall on that account suffer any future loss or damage, either in his person, liberty, or property; and that those who may be in confinement on such charges, at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecution so commenced be discontinued. By the seventh article, it is agreed, that there shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic Majesty and the said states, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other: wherefore, all hostilities, both by sea and land, shall from henceforth cease; all prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty; and his Britannic Majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets, from the said United States, and from every post, place, and harbour, within the same, leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein; and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers, belonging to any of the said

While the negotiations were pending, the American troops were retained in service, but remained unemployed at their various stations. They saw with pleasure the end of their toils approaching, but apprehended that their country, when she no longer needed their services, would forget with what zeal and fidelity they had been rendered. The officers, especially, dreaded that, after having, for want of pay, expended their private fortunes, and after having exhausted their strength in the performance of arduous and protracted services, they should be dismissed in poverty, without any secure provision for their future support. In the course of the war, a resolution had been adopted by congress, stipulating that the officers, after being disbanded, should receive half-pay for life. This resolution had never been ratified by the requisite number of states, and no safe reliance could therefore be placed upon it. In December, 1782, the officers forwarded to congress a petition, praying that all arrears which were due to them might be discharged, and that, instead of half-pay for life, a sum equal to five years' full pay should be paid or secured to them when disbanded. The delay of congress to comply with this request produced an alarming agitation in that portion of the army stationed at Newburgh. An address to the officers was privately circulated, written with great ability, and admirably well fitted to work upon those passions which recent sufferings and gloomy forebodings had excited in every bosom. The writer boldly recommended that, as all the applications to the sympathy and justice of congress had failed of success, an appeal should be made to their fears. Fortunately, the commander in chief was in the

states or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper states and persons to whom they belong. By the eighth article, the navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States. By the ninth article, in case it should so happen that any place or territory belonging to Great Britain, or to the United States, should have been conquered by the arms of either from the other, before the arrival of the said provisional articles in America, it is agreed, that the same shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation. By the tenth article, the solemn ratifications of the present treaty exhibited in good and due form, shall be exchanged between the contracting parties in the space of six months, or sooner, if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

* In America, the approach of peace, combined with other causes, produced a state of things alike interesting and critical. The officers who had wasted their fortunes and their prime of life in unrewarded service, fearing, with reason, that congress possessed neither the power nor the inclination to comply with its engagements to the army, could not look with unconcern at the prospect which was opening to them. In December, soon after going into winter quarters, they presented a petition to congress, respecting the money actually due to them, and proposing a commutation of the half-pay stipulated by the resolutions of October, 1780, for a

camp. Though conscious that the officers had just cause of complaint, he was aware that duty to his country, and even friendship for them, required that he should prevent the adoption of rash and disorderly expedients to obtain redress. Calling them together, he, by a calm and sensible address, persuaded them to rely still longer upon the disposition of congress to perform for them whatever the limited means of the nation would permit. In a letter to that body, giving an account of these occurrences, he maintained and enforced the claims of the officers with such pathos and strength of reasoning, that their request was granted.

On the 18th of October, congress issued a proclamation for disbanding the army. This document states, "That, in the progress of an arduous and difficult war, the armies of the United States of America have displayed every military and patriotic virtue, and are not less to be applauded for their fortitude and magnanimity in the most trying scenes of distress, than for a series of heroic and illustrious achievements, which exalt them to high rank among the most zealous and successful defenders of the rights and liberties of mankind; and that, by the blessing of Divine Providence on our cause and our arms, the glorious period is arrived when our national independence and sovereignty are established, and we enjoy the prospect of permanent and honourable peace. The United States, in congress assembled, thus impressed with a lively sense of the distinguished merit, and good conduct of the said armies, do give them the thanks of their country for their long, eminent, and faithful services.* And it is our will and pleasure, that such part of the federal

sum in gross, which, they flattered themselves, would encounter fewer prejudices than the half-pay establishment. Some security that the engagements of the government would be complied with was also requested. A committee of officers was deputed to solicit the attention of congress to this memorial, and to attend its progress through the house.

Among the most distinguished members of the federal government, were persons sincerely disposed to do ample justice to the public creditors generally, and to that class of them particularly whose claims were founded in military service. But many viewed the army with jealous eyes, acknowledged its merit with unwillingness, and betrayed, involuntarily, their repugnance to a faithful observance of the public engagements. With this question, another of equal importance was connected, on which congress was divided almost in the same manner. One party was attached to a state, the other to a continental system. The latter laboured to fund the public debts on solid continental security, while the former opposed their whole weight to measures calculated to effect that object.

In consequence of these divisions on points of the deepest interest, the business of the army advanced slowly, and the important question respecting the commutation of their half-pay remained undecided, when intelligence was received of the signature of the preliminary and eventual articles of peace between the United States and Great Britain.

The officers, soured by their past sufferings, their present wants, and their gloomy prospects—exasperated by the neglect which they

armies as stand engaged to serve during the war, and as by our acts of the 26th of May, the 11th of

June, the 9th of August, and the 26th of September last, were furloughed, shall, from and after the 3d

experienced, and the injustice which they apprehended, manifested an irritable and uneasy temper, which required only a slight impulse to give it activity. To render this temper the more dangerous, an opinion had been insinuated that the commander in chief was restrained, by extreme delicacy, from supporting their interests with that zeal which his feelings and knowledge of their situation had inspired. Early in March, a letter was received from their committee in Philadelphia, showing that the objects they solicited had not been obtained. On the 10th of that month, an anonymous paper was circulated, requiring a meeting of the general and field officers at the public building on the succeeding day at eleven in the morning; and announcing the expectation that an officer from each company, and a delegate from the medical staff, would attend. The object of the meeting was avowed to be, "to consider the late letter from their representatives in Philadelphia, and what measures (if any) should be adopted to obtain that redress of grievances which they seemed to have solicited in vain."

On the same day an address to the army was privately circulated, which was admirably well calculated to work on the passions of the moment, and to lead to the most desperate resolutions. Full justice can not be done to this eloquent paper without inserting it entire.

"To the officers of the army.

"Gentlemen,

"A fellow soldier, whose interests and affections bend him strongly to you, whose past sufferings have been as great, and whose future fortune may be as desperate as yours, would beg leave to address you.

"Age has its claims, and rank is not without its pretensions, to advise; but though unsupported by both, he flatters himself that the plain language of sincerity and experience will neither be unheard nor unregarded.

"Like many of you, he loved private life, and left it with regret. He left it, determined to retire from the field with the necessity that called him to it, and not until then—not until the enemies of his country, the slaves of power, and the hirelings of injustice, were compelled to abandon their schemes, and acknowledge America as terrible in arms as she had been humble in remonstrance. With this object in view, he has long shared in your toils, and mingled in your dangers. He has felt the cold hand of poverty without a murmur, and has seen the insolence of wealth without a sigh. But too much under the direction of his wishes, and sometimes weak enough to mistake desire for opinion, he has until lately—very lately—believed in the justice of his country. He hoped that, as the clouds of adversity scattered, and as the sunshine of peace and better fortune broke in upon us, the coldness and severity of government would relax, and that more than justice, that gratitude would blaze forth upon those hands which had upheld her in the darkest stages of her passage from impending servitude to acknowledged independence. But faith has its limits, as well as temper, and there are points beyond which neither can be stretched without sinking into cowardice, or plunging into credulity. This, my friends, I conceive to be your situation. Hurried to the very verge of both, another step would ruin you for ever. To be tame and unprovoked when injuries press hard upon you, is more than weakness; but to look up for kinder usage without one manly effort of your own, would fix your character, and show the world how richly you deserve those chains you broke. To guard against this evil, let us take a review of the ground upon which we now stand, and from thence carry our thoughts forward for a moment into the unexplored field of expedient.

"After a pursuit of seven long years, the object for which we set out is at length brought within our reach.—Yes, my friends, that suffering courage of yours was active once.—It has conducted the United States of America through a doubtful and a bloody war. It has placed her in the chair of independency; and peace returns again to bless—whom?—A country willing to redress your wrongs, cherish your worth, and reward your services? A country courting your return to private life with tears of gratitude and smiles of admiration—longing to divide with you that independency

which your gallantry has given, and those riches which your wounds have preserved? Is this the case? Or is it rather a country that tramples upon your rights, disdains your cries, and insults your distresses? Have you not more than once suggested your wishes and made known your wants to congress? Wants and wishes which gratitude and policy would have anticipated rather than evaded; and have you not lately, in the meek language of entreating memorials, begged from their justice what you could no longer expect from their favour? How have you been answered? Let the letter which you are called to consider to-morrow reply.

"If this then be your treatment while the swords you wear are necessary for the defence of America, what have you to expect from peace, when your voice shall sink, and your strength dissipate by division? When those very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory, shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinction left but your wants, infirmities, and scars? Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution, and, retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity which has hitherto been spent in honour? If you can—go—and carry with you the jest of Tories, and the scorn of Whigs;—the ridicule, and, what is worse, the pity of the world. Go,—starve and be forgotten. But if your spirit should revolt at this; if you have sense enough to discover, and spirit enough to oppose, tyranny, under whatever garb it may assume; whether it be the plain coat of republicanism, or the splendid robe of royalty; if you have yet learned to discriminate between a people and a cause, between men and principles,—awake: attend to your situation, and redress yourselves. If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain: and your threats then will be as empty as your entreaties now.

"I would advise you therefore to come to some final opinion upon what you can bear, and what you will suffer. If your determination be in any proportion to your wrongs, carry your appeal from the justice to the fears of the government. Change the milk-and-water style of your last memorial. Assume a bolder tone,—decent, but lively, spirited, and determined; and suspect the man who would advise to more moderation and longer forbearance. Let two or three men, who can feel as well as write, be appointed to draw up your *last remonstrance*; for I would no longer give it the sneering, soft, unsuccessful epithet of memorial. Let it be represented in language that will neither dishonour you by its rudeness, nor betray you by its fears, what has been promised by congress, and what has been performed;—how long and how patiently you have suffered;—how little you have asked, and how much of that little has been denied. Tell them that, though you were the first, and would wish to be the last to encounter danger; though despair itself can never drive you into dishonour, it may drive you from the field;—that the wound often irritated and never healed, may at length become incurable; and that the slightest mark of indignity from congress now must operate like the grave, and part you forever; that in any political event, the army has its alternative. If peace, that nothing shall separate you from your arms but death; if war, that courting the auspices, and inviting the directions of your illustrious leader, you will retire to some unsettled country, smile in your turn, and 'mock when their fear cometh on.' But let it represent also that, should they comply with the request of your late memorial, it would make you more happy and them more respectable. That while war should continue you would follow their standard into the field; and when it came to an end, you would withdraw into the shade of private life, and give the world another subject of wonder and applause;—an army victorious over its enemies, victorious over itself."

Persuaded as the officers in general were of the indisposition of government to remunerate their services, this eloquent and impassioned address, dictated by genius and by feeling, found in almost every bosom a kindred though latent sentiment prepared to receive its impression. Quick as the train to which a torch is applied, the passions caught its flame, and nothing seemed to be required but

day of November next, be absolutely discharged, by virtue of this our proclamation, from the said service."

the assemblage proposed for the succeeding day, to communicate the conflagration to the combustible mass, and to produce an explosion ruinous to the army, and to the nation.

Fortunately, the commander in chief was in camp. His characteristic firmness and decision did not forsake him in this crisis. The occasion required that his measures should be firm, but prudent and conciliatory,—evinced of his fixed determination to oppose any rash proceedings, but calculated to assuage the irritation which was excited, and to restore confidence in government.

Knowing well that it was much easier to avoid intemperate measures than to correct them, he thought it of essential importance to prevent the immediate meeting of the officers; but, knowing also that a sense of injury and a fear of injustice had made a deep impression on them, and that their sensibilities were all alive to the proceedings of congress on their memorial, he thought it more advisable to guide their deliberations on that interesting subject, than to discountenance them.

With these views, he noticed in his orders, the anonymous paper proposing a meeting of the officers, and expressed his conviction that their good sense would secure them from paying any "attention to such an irregular invitation; but his own duty, he conceived, as well as the reputation and true interest of the army, required his disapprobation of such disorderly proceedings. At the same time, he requested the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper representation from the staff of the army, to assemble at twelve on Saturday, the 15th, at the new building, to hear the report of the committee deputed by the army to congress. After mature deliberation they will devise what farther measures ought to be adopted as most rational and best calculated to obtain the just and important object in view." The senior officer in rank present was directed to preside, and report the result of the deliberations to the commander in chief.

The day succeeding that on which these orders were published, a second anonymous address appeared, from the same pen which had written the first. Its author, acquainted with the discontents of the army, did not seem to despair of impelling the officers to the desired point. He affected to consider the orders in a light favourable to his views:—"as giving system to their proceedings, and stability to their resolves."

But Washington would not permit himself to be misunderstood. The interval between his orders and the general meeting they invited, was employed in impressing on those officers individually who possessed the greatest share of the general confidence, a just sense of the true interests of the army; and the whole weight of his influence was exerted to calm the agitations of the moment, and conduct them to a happy termination. This was a work of no inconsiderable difficulty. So convinced were many that government designed to deal unfairly by them, that only the reliance they placed on their general, and their attachment to his person and character, could have moderated their resentments so far as to induce them to adopt the measures he recommended.

On the 15th, the convention of officers assembled, and General Gates took the chair. The commander in chief then addressed them in the following terms.

"Gentlemen,—

"By an anonymous summons, an attempt has been made to convene you together. How inconsistent with the rules of propriety, how unmilitary, and how subversive of all order and discipline, let the good sense of the army decide.

"In the moment of this summons, another anonymous production was sent into circulation, addressed more to the feelings and passions than to the judgment of the army. The author of the piece is entitled to much credit for the goodness of his pen; and I could wish he had as much credit for the rectitude of his heart; for as men see through different optics, and are induced by the reflecting faculties of the mind, to use different means to attain the same end, the author of the address should have had more charity than to mark for suspicion the man who should recommend moderation and longer forbearance; or, in other words, who should not think

New York was evacuated by the British on the 25th of November, and the Americans took possession of the city the same day; and a short time after

as he thinks, and act as he advises. But he had another plan in view, in which candour and liberality of sentiment, regard to justice, and love of country, have no part; and he was right to insinuate the darkest suspicion to effect the blackest design. That the address was drawn with great art, and is designed to answer the most insidious purposes; that it is calculated to impress the mind with an idea of premeditated injustice in the sovereign power of the United States, and rouse all those resentments which must unavoidably flow from such a belief; that the secret mover of this scheme, whoever he may be, intended to take advantage of the passions, while they were warmed by the recollection of past distresses, without giving time for cool deliberate thinking, and that composure of mind which is so necessary to give dignity and stability to measures, is rendered too obvious by the mode of conducting the business to need other proof than a reference to the proceedings.

"Thus much, gentlemen, I have thought it incumbent on me to observe to you, to show upon what principles I opposed the irregular and hasty meeting which was proposed to have been held on Tuesday last, and not because I wanted a disposition to give you every opportunity consistent with your own honour, and the dignity of the army, to make known your grievances. If my conduct heretofore has not evinced to you, that I have been a faithful friend to the army, my declaration of it at this time would be equally unavailing and improper. But as I was among the first who embarked in the cause of our common country; as I have never left your side one moment but when called from you on public duty; as I have been the constant companion and witness of your distresses, and not among the last to feel and acknowledge your merits; as I have ever considered my own military reputation as inseparably connected with that of the army; as my heart has ever expanded with joy when I have heard its praises, and my indignation has arisen when the mouth of detraction has been opened against it: it can scarcely be supposed, at this last stage of the war, that I am indifferent to its interests. But how are they to be promoted? The way is plain, says the anonymous addresser.—If war continues, remove into the unsettled country; there establish yourselves, and leave an ungrateful country to defend itself! But who are they to defend? Our wives, our children, our farms and other property which we leave behind us? Or, in this state of hostile separation, are we to take the two first (the latter can not be removed) to perish in a wilderness with hunger, cold, and nakedness?

"If peace takes place, never sheath your swords," says he, 'until you have obtained full and ample justice.' This dreadful alternative of either deserting our country in the extremest hour of her distress, or turning our arms against it, which is the apparent object, unless congress can be compelled into instant compliance, has something so shocking in it, that humanity revolts at the idea. My God! what can this writer have in view by recommending such measures. Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather is he not an insidious foe: some emissary, perhaps, from New York, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent? And what a compliment does he pay to our understandings, when he recommends measures, in either alternative, impracticable in their nature? But here, gentlemen, I will drop the curtain, because it would be as imprudent in me to assign my reasons for this opinion, as it would be insulting to your conception to suppose you stood in need of them. A moment's reflection will convince every dispassionate mind of the physical impossibility of carrying either proposal into execution. There might, gentlemen, be an impropriety in my taking notice, in this address to you, of an anonymous production,—but the manner in which that performance has been introduced to the army, together with some other circumstances, will amply justify my observations on the tendency of that writing.

"With respect to the advice given by the author, to suspect the man who shall recommend moderate measures and longer forbearance, I spurn it, as every man who regards that liberty, and reverses

the army was disbanded, and again mingled with their fellow-citizens."

General Washington, taking an affectionate leave

that justice for which we contend, undoubtedly must; for if men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter which may involve the most serious and alarming consequences that can invite the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us. The freedom of speech may be taken away, and, dumb and silent, we may be led like sheep to the slaughter. I can not in justice to my own belief, and what I have great reason to conceive is the intention of congress, conclude this address, without giving it as my decided opinion, that that honourable body entertain exalted sentiments of the services of the army, and, from a full conviction of its merits and sufferings, will do it complete justice. That their endeavours to discover and establish funds for this purpose have been unwearied, and will not cease until they have succeeded, I have not a doubt.

"But, like all other large bodies, where there is a variety of different interests to reconcile, their determinations are slow. Why then should we distrust them? And, in consequence of that distrust, adopt measures which may cast a shade over that glory which has been so justly acquired, and tarnish the reputation of an army which is celebrated through all Europe for its fortitude and patriotism? And for what is this done? To bring the object we seek nearer? No: most certainly, in my opinion, it will cast it at a greater distance. For myself, (and I take no merit in giving the assurance, being induced to it from principles of gratitude, veracity, and justice, and a grateful sense of the confidence you have ever placed in me,) a recollection of the cheerful assistance, and prompt obedience I have experienced from you, under every vicissitude of fortune, and the sincere affection I feel for an army I have so long had the honour to command, will oblige me to declare in this public and solemn manner, that in the attainment of complete justice for all your toils and dangers, and in the gratification of every wish, so far as may be done consistently with the great duty I owe my country, and those powers we are bound to respect, you may freely command my services to the utmost extent of my abilities.

"While I give these assurances, and pledge myself in the most unequivocal manner to exert whatever abilities I am possessed of in your favour, let me entreat you, gentlemen, on your part, not to take any measures which, viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity, and sully the glory you have hitherto maintained. Let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of congress;—that, previous to your dissolution as an army, they will cause all your accounts to be fairly liquidated, as directed in the resolutions which were published to you two days ago; and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you for your faithful and meritorious services. And let me conjure you, in the name of our common country, as you value your own honour, as you respect the rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and national character of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country, and who wickedly attempts to open the flood gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire in blood.

"By thus determining, and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of our enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice. You will give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings; and you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind, had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining."

These sentiments from a person whom the army had been accustomed to love, to revere, and to obey; the solidity of whose judgment, and the sincerity of whose zeal for their interests, were alike unquestioned, could not fail to be irresistible. No person was hardly enough to oppose the advice he had given; and the general

of his officers, repaired to Annapolis, where congress was sitting, and there, at a public audience, with dignity and sensibility, resigned his commission as

impression was apparent. A resolution moved by General Knox, and seconded by Brigadier-General Putnam, "assuring him that the officers reciprocated his affectionate expressions with the greatest sincerity of which the human heart is capable," was unanimously voted. On the motion of General Putnam, a committee, consisting of General Knox, Colonel Brooks, and Captain Howard, was then appointed, to prepare resolutions on the business before them, and to report in half an hour. The report of the committee being brought in and considered, the following resolutions were passed.

"Resolved unanimously, that at the commencement of the present war, the officers of the American army engaged in the service of their country from the purest love and attachment to the rights and privileges of human nature; which motives still exist in the highest degree; and that no circumstances of distress or danger shall induce a conduct that may tend to sully the reputation and glory which they have acquired at the price of their blood, and eight years faithful services.

"Resolved unanimously, that the army continue to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of congress and their country, and are fully convinced that the representatives of America will not disband or disperse the army until their accounts are liquidated, the balances accurately ascertained, and adequate funds established for payment; and in this arrangement, the officers expect that the half-pay, or a commutation for it, shall be efficaciously comprehended.

"Resolved unanimously, that his excellency the commander in chief, be requested to write to his excellency the president of congress, earnestly entreating the most speedy decision of that honourable body upon the subject of our late address, which was forwarded by a committee of the army, some of whom are waiting upon congress for the result. In the alternative of peace or war, this event would be highly satisfactory, and would produce immediate tranquillity in the minds of the army, and prevent any further machinations of designing men, to sow discord between the civil and military powers of the United States.

"On motion, resolved unanimously, that the officers of the American army view with abhorrence and reject with disdain, the infamous propositions contained in a late anonymous address to the officers of the army, and resent with indignation the secret attempts of some unknown person to collect the officers together in a manner totally subversive of all discipline and good order.

"Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of the officers of the army be given to the committee who presented to congress the late address of the army; for the wisdom and prudence with which they have conducted that business; and that a copy of the proceedings of this day be transmitted by the president to Major-General M'Dougal; and that he be requested to continue his solicitations at congress, until the objects of his mission are accomplished."

The storm which had been raised so suddenly and unexpectedly being thus happily dissipated, the commander in chief exerted all his influence in support of the application the officers had made to congress.—*Marshall's Life of Washington*, vol. 2, p. 41—50.

* The following enlogium from the lips of an eloquent living statesman, when pleading for the relief of the illustrious survivors, conveys a just idea of the honourable conduct of this band of patriots:—"The army was to be disbanded; but it was unpaid. It was to lay down its own power; but there was no government with adequate power to perform what had been promised to it. In this critical moment, what is its conduct? Does it disgrace its high character? Is temptation able to seduce it? Does it speak of righting itself? Does it undertake to redress its own wrongs by its own sword? Does it lose its patriotism in its deep sense of injury and injustice? Does military ambition cause its integrity to swerve? Far, far otherwise. It had faithfully served and saved the country, and to that country it now referred, with unhesitating confidence, its claim and its complaints. It laid down its arms with alacrity; it mingled itself with the mass of the community; and it waited till, in better times, and under a new government, its services might be rewarded, and the promises made to it fulfilled.

commander in chief of the American armies. Then, with a character illustrious throughout the world, he returned to his residence at Mount Vernon, possessing the sincere love and profound veneration of his countrymen.

The momentous contest, the history of which has occupied the preceding chapters, suggests a train of reflections which, were we to indulge them, would lead us to an extent inconsistent with the character of the work. This struggle between despotism and liberty possesses, indeed, some features that are common to all enterprises of a similar character; but there are others which are peculiar to itself, and which place it in happy contrast with instances both of an earlier and of a more recent date. The great contest when England liberated herself for a season from the iron rule of the Stuarts, resembles in its progress, perhaps more than any other, the American revolution; but how different were its results! In the former case a military despotism succeeded, which rendered the people desirous of the return even of a profligate prince, and facilitated the establishment of an oligarchy, from whose oppression the nation is

We can hardly recur to this example too often, or dwell on it too much, for the honour of our country, and of its defenders."—*The Speeches and Forensic Arguments of Daniel Webster*, p. 356, 357.

* The acquirements of the men who achieved our independence have been greatly underrated. To prove this, we have only to examine the letters written by the officers of the army and the members of congress, from 1774 to the close of the conflict. The literature of the revolution is scattered throughout the history of all the transactions of that eventful period; but in no instance does it shine more conspicuously than in the productions of Washington; he was not a scholar by education or profession; his information was miscellaneous, and by no means extensive, when his early public services began. He knew something of history and mathematics, and something of the military tactics of the day. He, from his youth, saw things, at all times, through a clear medium, and expressed his thoughts with clearness, force, and honesty. His history of his journey to the Ohio, undertaken by the order of Dinwiddie, proves that his judgment was the master trait of his mind. The object of his mission is not a moment forgotten; he looked with a single eye to that object, and he never, for a moment, turned himself, to think of his dangers or his sufferings. At every step such a mind improves. His first address to his army in July, 1775, is full of excellent military rules, but is wanting in that felicitous elegance which he afterwards acquired. He never suffered a sentiment to come from his pen negligently written; all was worked into ease and dignity. No commander that ever lived had so much need of this talent. Others have had to issue orders and to give an account of proceedings; Washington had not only to do these, but other things besides. He had, at times, to perform every duty incident to war, and more, from a pioneer to a field marshal; and from a sutler to a chancellor of the exchequer, at least with his pen; not only this, he had to use every argument to collect troops, and to keep them together, even for the shortest time; apathy was to be aroused; vaulting ambition to be struck down; individual bickerings to be silenced; sectional irritations to be soothed; the quarrelsome and high mettle to be controlled, that the service should not suffer; the faint and despairing to be encouraged; the living to be supported, and heaven, sometimes, only knew how; and the dead were to be duly honoured, according to military usages, when the army had hardly powder enough to fire a volley at the enemy. In all this, the address of Washington was conspicuous, but the pro-

only now making an effort to escape; in the latter, the principles of liberty have been matured, and the grand spectacle exhibited of the existence of lawful and powerful authority, as remote from despotism as the freedom it protects is from licentiousness. If, again, we compare the American revolution to that of which it has the reputation of being a principal, if not the chief cause, how must infidel France blush at the sight of her garments dyed deep in the blood of her sons, to make way, first for a splendid but deceitful military imperialism, and then for the restoration of a priest-ridden dynasty, to purify herself from which she has required a second sacrifice on the altar of liberty! Whence, then, did the efforts we have been narrating derive their superiority, both as to their character and their results? While many have urged the difference of national temperament and external circumstances, which, doubtless, possessed some influence, we feel no hesitation in affirming, that the distinction is mainly to be attributed to the presence of enlightened religious principle, and intellectual argument.* To enter into the arguments which substantiate this assertion would be foreign to

ductions of his pen were more so. He wrote to all, he reasoned with all, and he conquered all. Congress was not at all times in a proper temper to render him the most efficient aid; he was obliged to come upon them in all forms of entreaty; alarming them, at times, by his intimations of leaving the army, using every suggestion which could reach their pride, their patriotism, their honour, courage, or any other faculty, property, or sympathy, about them. There is not a form of reasoning that he was not obliged to assume; still, every form was pure English, good common sense, in his mother tongue. Cesar wrote his commentaries in the camp, and they are a fine model of chaste and elegant writing; but it must be remembered, that Cesar was a high bred Roman scholar. He was as proud of his eloquence and fine writing, as he was of his fame as a great leader of armies. Wolfe made his addresses and wrote his despatches in the toils and distresses incident to a camp; but these productions are but few, compared with those of Washington. Burgoyne's letters, written in the field, are said to surpass those written in the closet; Nelson's account of the battle of the Nile is sublime; and Bonaparte's address to his soldiers under the pyramids, is full of epic grandeur. But these are momentary bursts of chivalrous feelings; while Washington's addresses, despatches, and letters, to every one, in every part of the country, was a continued exertion of reason, to save his country. When the memory of individual exertion shall be lost, and history shall only speak, in general terms, of the revolutionary conflict, these letters and addresses of Washington will preserve the particular scenes of that day, and bring them at once to the understanding of men. In looking carefully over his productions already published, I cannot find in them one word that is not pure, legitimate English; good Saxon English, through which runs the best currents of true liberty in, thinking and acting, of any language that can be found, at any time or place.

The close of the war of independence, when the people fondly thought that they were about to be rewarded for all their sacrifices, was the most painful period of our history. At that time, from 1783 to 1789, almost every one found his affairs in a deranged state. The state debts which had been made in hopes of prosperous times, then operated severely on all classes in the community. To pay their debts with promptness was impossible, and every relief-act only made the matter worse. It was then that the people found that the great work of independence, as contemplated at the begin-

the purpose of historic narrative. Any reader who has given impartial attention to the tone of piety which pervades the public acts of the congress of

ning of the conflict, was only half done; a form of government was to be fixed upon, to give energy to national power, and success to individual and national enterprise. This portentous crisis formed another epoch for the display of the literary and political attainments of the active and patriotic minds in our country. New men appeared on the important discussion of the adoption of the federal constitution in the several state conventions; and it was found that the quantity of talent and information in the country had greatly increased during the war; and that its standard quality was equally good and precious as that which had been assayed at the commencement of the difficulties. A thousand intellectual lamps were lighted up along our shores, to show the people in what darkness they were groping, and to what a precipice they were hastening. A baleful meteor now and then led the people for a moment astray, but at length the right path was found, and the nation commenced its march onward to prosperity and honour.

Perhaps it were well to pause a moment and name a few of those who displayed their literature and eloquence at this important period. They left unexplored no portion of history. They passed by no lesson of experience; all were faithfully examined and thoroughly sifted, and the people had the benefit of the results. That nation cannot be long in danger that can, on any great event, command her physical and mental powers for her safety and guide.

It was felt by all thinking men, in every part of the country, that the old confederation was no longer a sufficient bond of union. The great pressure of common danger, which had kept all secure, had in a great measure ceased, and the people were hurrying fast on to anarchy, for want of a government that could enforce its requisitions.

From these conventions much of the nature of our people, their habits of thinking, and reasoning, and feeling, may be gathered. In looking over the debates in the several conventions in the different states, we find a great deal of talent displayed, from New Hampshire to Georgia; and we may also see that the education of each state had been nearly on the same model; for in reading the speeches of all, a foreigner would at once pronounce that the orators were trained in the same school. The style of eloquence may vary a little, but the language used in the debates is all in the good old English books. They had the same jealousies, the same hopes and fears, and the same determinations. These jealousies had taken rank hold of common minds in every portion of the country; but it is not too much to say, that those in favour of adopting the constitution were generally of the higher classes of intellect, and those who had most at stake, although it must be conceded that there were many exceptions to this remark. The speakers in favour of adopting the constitution far outnumbered those opposed to it, in proportion to the majority obtained for the final vote.

In the convention of Massachusetts, there were, out of three hundred and fifty-five members, sixty-seven speakers, and not more than eight or ten ventured to oppose the constitution in debate; and yet there were, after every exertion, but a majority of nineteen in favour of the adoption of it. In the convention of New York, which consisted of about sixty members, there was only a majority of two in favour of the adoption; and among the thirteen speakers, there were only two or three in the negative. The talents were certainly on the side of the adoption; the impressions of the people were at first decidedly against it, from the fear that they were giving up too much of their hard earned liberty, and not from any wish to live in a state of anarchy. It must, however, be taken into consideration, that forty years have elapsed since these debates were reported; and at that time the art of reporting speeches was but little known; and it cannot be supposed that in cases where the speakers did not assist the reporters, that we have any thing more than the skeletons of the speeches delivered. The convention of Massachusetts were together from the 9th of January, 1788, to February 7th, twenty-nine days, at which time there were nearly two hundred speeches made; and among the orators some of the first men New England ever produced: Parsons, Ames, Cabot, Gore, King, Dana, Jarvis, Strong, Brooks, Dawes, and others, who

America, and of her principal leaders, especially those of the commander in chief, as well as the spirit of the people at large, with some exceptions, will not

exhausted every subject they discussed. The whole of these speeches is comprised in one hundred and fifty octavo pages; and from a comparison of their different styles of speaking on other subjects, I find that the reporter's, not the speaker's style, is to be seen; still, however, much credit is due to him for getting these debates up so well as he did at that time. The New York orators were fortunate, for they undertook to assist the reporter, and of course posterity will have a fair view of their arguments. It must be granted that the New York convention was a highly intellectual body.

Virginia, always true to her native talents, had an experienced reporter in the convention to take down the debates; and fortunately for us, he extended them to three volumes, amounting to six hundred and twelve closely printed pages; and although that body was in session but twenty-six days, and only thirteen or fourteen members attempted to speak, yet we have more matter from these speeches than from the Massachusetts and New York reports together. Those in the Virginia convention, in favour of adopting the proposed constitution, who distinguished themselves by their speeches, were Messrs. Nicholas, Randolph, Madison, Pendleton, Marshall, and Tyler. Those opposed to its adoption, were Patrick Henry, Mason, Monroe, Grayson, and Dawson. Mr. Madison took a very active part, and spoke more than any other member in the convention, although all those mentioned were deeply engaged. It will not be denied, at this day, that throughout the thirteen United States, in these debates on establishing a form of government, a majority of the talents was on the side of the constitution; yet there were able men opposed to it. When the main question was taken, the plurality in Virginia was only ten—eighty-nine voting in the affirmative, and seventy-nine in the negative. The question was ~~also~~ argued on both sides, and the objections very honestly given. Patrick Henry, and those who acted with him, were fearful of the loss of state influence. They were alarmed at the expression, "we, the people." They saw in this phrase a consolidation of interests which was not consistent with state pride; while, in many states, the people were afraid that individual rights would be lost. These different jealousies were shown at every movement of the states; but at last were happily overcome by the perseverance of the friends of the constitution. A victory was obtained more difficult to achieve than any; yea, than all those of arms which had been gained in the revolutionary struggle. These jealousies were natural, but the conquest over them was glorious.

It is to be regretted, that so many of the speeches of the members of the different conventions, are irrevocably lost for the want of a proper reporter at the time, and from inattention since. It is a mortifying truth that more of our history, or more of the minute facts of which our history has been composed, have been preserved by other nations than by ourselves. The nations of Europe considered our case a new one in the annals of the world; and some of their curious speculators on the progress of events, took infinite pains to procure all the information to be had in respect to us and our proceedings. The Italian historian, Botta, not only procured all the information he could, but set down and wrote the history of our revolution with great fairness, and with tolerable accuracy. Professor Ebeling, of Germany, had the intention, it is said, of writing out our whole history, and collected a great mass of materials for that purpose. The history he did not write; but we have, through the medium of an individual, the benefit of his collections; they having been purchased and brought to this country.

There is one work which deserves our notice, and which ought to be republished, as there are but few copies of it in this country: "The Remembrancer, or an Impartial Repository of Public Events." This work was begun by J. Almon, and published in monthly numbers, in London. It extends over the whole time of the revolution, from 1775 to 1783, and amounts to fourteen volumes, as collected and bound. The work was friendly to the cause of America, and was supported by the friends of this country at that time, and is remarkable for its candour, truth, and fidelity. One already possessed of the general outlines of the great contest between the colo-

for one moment deny that religious principle, and success in the arduous conflict, and well-ordered

nies and the mother country, will find in this work more valuable documents, of a particular and circumstantial nature, to aid him in getting a minute history of his country at that period, than he can in any other work extant. Every one who has read history with attention, and with a desire to gain knowledge, will frequently find that there are a thousand little chinks left by the general writer, that he could wish to see filled up; but knows not where to seek for the facts he is anxious to find. As to the history of our revolution, these volumes will greatly assist him. It has been a fruitful source for the historians themselves. The Remembrancer is something like Niles' Register, and is now what that will be to the future historians of our country. We are deeply indebted to the friends of our cause, at that period, in every part of the world, for their helping hand and good wishes; without which we might have fainted in reaching the goal and obtaining the prize; gratitude should remember what benevolence has forgotten.

After these great exertions for the adoption of the federal constitution had been made in the state conventions, and indeed while they were making, and the question was under discussion, a great deal was written by men of enlightened minds, and given to the public, to clear up the difficulties which had been suggested by those opposed to the form of government provided for in the constitution. Mr. Jay, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Hamilton, brought all the powers of their mighty minds, to satisfy the people that they were doing wisely to support the constitution, not only in convention, but by a series of letters in the public prints. These periodicals, now acknowledged as their productions, unite the soundest maxims of good government, with the clearest and best illustrations of the best forms in which it could appear. These productions may be said to have fixed the public mind. The relations and bearings of the provisions of the constitution, were so distinctly pointed out in them, that all could understand; and such was the correctness and beauty of the style of these numbers, that by them the taste of the country was refined, as well as the views of the citizens enlarged, and their understandings enlightened. I shall not stop, at this moment, to point out the part each one took in this great labour; but simply make this passing remark, that the *Federalist* stands foremost among American literary productions, whether we consider the subject, the matter, or style of the work, or its usefulness in explaining the views of those learned statesmen who achieved the second part of our independence. The effect of this work was such, that in a few years after it gained general circulation, there was scarcely a man to be found who questioned the propriety of the adoption of the constitution.

The valour which fought out the battles of the revolutionary war, and finally drove the enemy from our shore, and the wisdom which suggested our excellent form of government, and the address and perseverance which led to its adoption, were more than equalled by the wisdom and prudence with which the machinery was set in motion. The first congress under the constitution, was composed of great men; most of them had been reared in the school of experience, and had been employed previously in considering that instrument; in order to assist in forwarding its adoption, they came to their congressional duties with a spirit of forbearance, ready to sacrifice all local prejudices on the altar of their country's good. What the knowledge and experience of one did not reach, the ingenuity of the other suggested, and all went on harmoniously and successfully. There was a delicacy shown to each other in that body, generally speaking, which has never been felt or exhibited since; and perhaps it has never since been so necessary as at that time. The eyes of the community were turned towards congress as towards the trying of an experiment, of which there were nearly as many fears as hopes. To use a phrase from the laws of the solar system, its polarity was inclined towards democracy, as being more congenial to the feelings of the people, and more consistent with the elements of our society, than a stronger government would have been. The people reasoned from expanded views of human nature, and a thorough acquaintance with history. They saw that despotic power destroys the oak of liberty, by cutting up root and branch, and by striking the soil on which it grows with dead ste-

liberty as the result, are here closely associated; and if there be any bold enough—we had almost said

rility; while anarchy, if it comes at all, comes in a whirlwind with a hundred hands, and scatters the leaves and breaks the branches; but the root is not always left sapless; and the acorn, trodden under foot, may burst its germ and spring into life, and flourish in a new generation. Violent political discussions often pass away, and leave the lessons of experience to be felt and regarded; but nations rarely recover from the paralysis of despotism. Our ancestors saw the mother country, even in all the disasters and horrors of civil wars, advance in power and influence, while Spain, in the quiet of arbitrary power, was fast sinking into a secondary importance. In England the most useful institutions, and many of her learned men, grew up immediately after a civil war, or in it; while with all the influx of gold from the new world, learning and the arts declined at the same time, in the calm of Spanish despotism.

The literature of nations may be seen, in some measure, in the style in which their laws are written, and by their state papers. We judge of the state of the Romans by the style of the Justinian code, as well as by the poets of the Augustan age. In fact, the style of the laws is a better proof of the general advancement of knowledge, than that of the works of a few poets. The laws reflect the general intelligence, while poetry is perhaps only the reflected imagery of a few individual minds. The laws of the United States show a great extent of knowledge in the civil and commercial relations of society and nations. No country ever produced so many laws in so short a period of time. These laws and regulations are, in general, clear and explicit; sometimes they are marked with the peculiar phraseology of a particular state, as borrowed from the statute book of that state; but this is not perceptible to any one but those deeply read in these state laws. Every day's business is giving a more entire national stamp to the statute book of the United States; and the numerous and lucid decisions of the supreme court have produced uniform constructions in the laws which were in some degree differently construed in different sections of this extended country, at the commencement of our national career.

The style of our state papers has been of a high order, in point of clearness and correctness, the great requisites in communications of a public nature. The first secretaries were men of industry and learning, and they spared no pains to leave on record proofs of their abilities as makers of precedents. A responsible situation, indeed; several of these men were prime scholars, and felt that they were making models for future ages. It is a subject of congratulation to us, that so many patient, industrious, and learned men, were, at that period, found for the discharge of such important duties. The anxiety of the first president to have every thing well matured, and clearly expressed, was favourable for the commencement of such an order of things. The duties of high political officers are always laborious and painful; but when there were but few or no landmarks to guide them, it must have been difficult indeed to have steered so correctly.

Much debating talent had been shown in congress in every stage of organizing and making these laws, the passage of which circumstances imperiously demanded; but there was no particular display of eloquence from any side of the house, until the British treaty called it forth; and perhaps, at no time since, have higher powers been developed in our national assembly, than on that subject. The champions, for and against, came forward and fought valiantly. It was a new question; and there might have been some honest differences; but it was debated upon party grounds, and so decided. Who were right or who were wrong it matters not; it is mentioned as an era in our eloquence, so memorable, that American talent, in speaking, is never mentioned without some allusion to the debate on Jay's treaty.

Literature and science are near in their relationship, and seldom known to be far separated. Literature has generally received more attention in the early ages of nations than science. The sweet influences of Orion and Pleiades had been sung for ages in poetry, before science had marked their courses or weighed them in her balance; and science, after all the discoveries she has made, has adopted the terms used by taste and imagination, long before these discoveries were thought of. Every profession, to be respecta-

profane enough—to gainsay the relation of cause and effect in this case, we scarcely know which to deem most at fault, his understanding or his heart.

CHAPTER III.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

In every department of nature violent efforts are succeeded by a corresponding exhaustion; and the

ble, must unite both in some degree. Without both, they are only trades, possessing neither dignity, nor refinement, nor interest. Bacon was the first among the lawyers who brought taste into the science of the profession. For this, he was derided by Coke as unsound and fanciful. Bacon could do nothing without leaving the impressions of mind, taste, and elegant novelty, upon it. He laid hold of all the fabulous history of gods, and demigods, and heroes, and laid bare its hidden meaning, and, by his explanations, gave utility, point, and beauty, to that which before seemed useless, dull, and extravagant. It is the pride of the present day, that his fame has been defended, and his honesty proved, by one of our own countrymen, after it had been surrounded by falsehood and prejudice, for more than a century and a half. A writer of the first talents, in the *North American Review*, a few years since, had the honour of showing the world, that Bacon deserved the epithets, *brightest, wisest of mankind*; but that "*meanest*" was added at first by wickedness, and perpetuated by one who cared but little whether the epithet was just or unjust, if he could make the libel "*point a moral, or adorn a tale*." Bacon treated the law as a science capable of employing the graces of literature. After a considerable interval, Blackstone wrote his commentaries, which proved that the fundamental principles of law might be conveyed, even in a choice and clear style, without any quaintness, abruptness, or tedious repetition; and, like other subjects of less gravity, Lord Mansfield delivered his opinions in the best phraseology the English language would permit of in argument or illustration. The lawyers of our own country were men of learning before the revolution, but the manner of arguing at the bar, to the court or jury, was not remarkable for refinement or delicacy. Coarse attacks and sharp retorts were common between members of the bar; and the court either maintained a hard-featured silence, or broke in upon their sparrings with surly dignity. That gentlemanly courtesy, which reigns from one part of our country to another, among judges and advocates, was, for many years, unknown, or thought improper for a tribunal of justice. Not only the arguments of counsel, but the opinions of the bench, are now given with some regard to literary taste; and one not acquainted with law terms, may read the reports without being offended with a parade of technical terms or involved sentences. This branch of science is rapidly increasing; already we have more than three hundred volumes of American reports in law and equity; and, as the present generation of lawyers must go through such a mass of American law decisions, it is fortunate that some regard has been paid to the style in which these cases are made up. Some of these opinions might be selected, which have the freshness and spirit of animated truth conveyed in exquisite taste. Facts are not the less forcible, because they are happily arranged, nor reasonings less convincing, because they are well expressed. The professional men are trying to diffuse as much intelligence and taste in the community as possible, in order that a day of purer literature should succeed. Much has been done, and much more has been planned to be effected hereafter; the numerous agents are busy, and in concert and harmony, in the great work of spreading the sciences and literature throughout the land.

The literature of theology, in this country, suffered, as well as the literature and science of other professions, during the revolution. The pulpit rang with patriotism and politics, and harangues

struggles of a nation for liberty and independence afford no exception to this universal law. From the evils inseparable from such contests, the pusillanimous and the sordid may urge arguments in favour of what they deem a prudent and profitable submissiveness to arbitrary sway; but the lover of freedom, while he will not deny that there are evils in national convulsion, even when necessitated by the most justifiable causes, will still scorn to evade them by a base servility; and ill does it become those who have rendered such evils inevitable, to attempt to

upon the good and sound christian duty of fighting for freedom; all very excellent lessons for the times, and which certainly had their uses. After the warning appeals to the brave defenders of the country, it was dull to go back to detailing the enormities of papal power, or speaking of the *great beast of seven heads and ten horns*; therefore his holiness was left quite alone, except now and then in some good man's form of prayer, from which the epithets of abhorrence for Babylon never had been expunged. Dissertations on Antinomians, Pelagians, and all the host of sectarians, had begun to grow stale, and the doctrines of eternal decrees and predestination were not so attractive to the new generations as they had been to their fathers. From all appearances, the timid began to fear that the pulpit had lost its legitimate, primitive influences. Under this impression, many were turned from the study of this profession, who were intended for it by their parents, and engaged in medicine or law. At this weak moment, if the defenders of the faith will allow that there ever were such moments, infidelity reared its monstrous head, and stalked through our part of christendom with gigantic strides; but, as it has often happened, that which threatened destruction to the altar and the priest, was the cause of giving new and lasting honour to both. Infidelity had for years been disseminated by the philosophers into inquisitive minds, but had never come upon us in the form of popular eloquence, and had not reached common minds engaged in ordinary pursuits, until about the time of the French revolution; it now came under the potential form of superior wisdom, free from the thralldom of error. It dealt out a strong denial of the great truths of the gospel, and made impudence, with now and then a flash of witty scurrility, pass for common sense and true reasoning upon the revelations of God to man, through nature and her laws, and by the inspirations of holy writ. At first, great shipwreck was made of the faith of thousands; the weak were bewildered, and the unlearned entangled. The truly pious still believed that the church was built upon a rock, and that the gates of hell should not, finally, prevail against it; yet they were discouraged at the progress of infidelity, and were cut to the heart at hearing the authenticity of the scriptures doubted, and the ministers of our holy religion ridiculed in every possible form of contempt; called by opprobrious epithets; charged with ignorance and hypocrisy; and their downfall prophesied with confidence and joy. For a while there was some confusion in the church, but the purest men soon roused themselves from idleness, or rather from idle disputes about trifles, or non-essentials, and many of them plunged into the depths of learning, to answer the falsehoods and sneers of the scoffers, who laid pretensions to having penetrated into the recesses of oriental literature, and having detected the errors of christianity. The contest was animated, and the ministers of light struggled hard with the ministers of darkness. Great minds entered the contest, and, after a while, the dreams of Condorcet and the scurrilities of Paine, were swept away together, and infidelity was first scouted by learning, piety, and taste, and, at length, proscribed by the irresistible power of fashion. The works of Watson and Tytler, and, towards the close of the struggle, of many others, were found, not only in the hands of the polemic, or in the library of the speculative, but on the toilets of the fair, with the last work of the imagination from Southey or Campbell; for the ecclesiastical writers had added to the science of theology the most sublime of all contemplations, the charms of

cast the odium of them on the noble and self-denying efforts of the patriot.

The exhausting effect of their exertions was felt by the people of the United States for a considerable period after peace, as well as independence, had been secured. The enthusiasm of a popular contest terminating in victory, began to subside, and the sacrifices of the revolution soon became known and felt. The claims of those who toiled, and fought, and suffered in the arduous struggle, were strongly urged, and the government had neither resources nor power to satisfy or to silence them. The federal head had no separate or exclusive fund. The members of congress depended on the states which they respectively represented, even for their own maintenance, and money for national purposes could only be obtained by requisitions on the different members of the confederacy. On them it became necessary immediately to call for funds to discharge the arrears of pay due to the soldiers of the revolution, and the interest on the debt which the government had been compelled to contract. The legislatures of the different states received these requisitions with respect, listened to the monitory warnings of congress with deference, and with silent and inactive acquiescence. Their own situation, indeed, was full of embarrassment. The wealth of the country had been totally exhausted during the revolution. Taxes could not be collected, because there was no money to represent the value of the little personal property which had not been, and the land which could not be, destroyed; and commerce, though preparing to burst from its thralldom, had not yet had time to restore to the annual produce of the country its exchangeable value. The states owed each a heavy debt for local services rendered during the revolution, for which it was bound to provide, and each had its own domestic government to support. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that each state was anxious to retain for its own benefit the small but rising revenue derived from foreign commerce; and that the custom-houses in each commercial city were considered as the most valuable sources of income which the states possessed. Each state, therefore, made its own regulations, its tariff, and tonnage duties, and, as a natural consequence, the different states clashed with each other; one nation became more favoured

than another under the same circumstances; and one state pursued a system injurious to the interests of another. Hence the confidence of foreign countries was destroyed; and they would not enter into treaties of commerce with the confederated government, while they were not likely to be carried into effect. A general decay of trade, the rise of imported merchandise, the fall of produce, and an uncommon decrease of the value of lands, ensued.

The distress of the inhabitants was continually on the increase; and in Massachusetts, where it was most felt, an insurrection of a serious character was the consequence. Near the close of the year 1786, the populace assembled to the number of two thousand, in the north-western part of the state, and, choosing Daniel Shays their leader, demanded that the collection of debts should be suspended, and that the legislature should authorize the emission of paper money for general circulation. Two bodies of militia, drawn from those parts of the state where disaffection did not prevail, were immediately despatched against them, one under the command of General Lincoln, the other of General Shepard. The disaffected were dispersed with less difficulty than had been apprehended, and, abandoning their seditious purposes, accepted the proffered indemnity of the government.

The time at length came when the public mind gave tokens of being prepared for a change in the constitution of the general government—an occurrence the necessity of which had long been foreseen by Washington, and most of the distinguished patriots of that period. Evil had accumulated upon evil, till the mass became too oppressive to be endured, and the voice of the nation cried out for relief. The first decisive measures proceeded from the merchants, who came forward almost simultaneously in all parts of the country, with representations of the utter prostration of the mercantile interests, and petitions for a speedy and efficient remedy. It was shown, that the advantages of this most important source of national prosperity were flowing into the hands of foreigners, and that the native merchants were suffering for the want of a just protection and a uniform system of trade. The wise and reflecting were convinced that some decided efforts were necessary to strengthen the general government, or that a dissolution of the union, and perhaps a devastating anarchy, would be inevitable.

literature and taste. The reading and thinking part of the community were delighted to witness the commencement of a new era in the rhetoric, eloquence, and logic of the pulpit; useless divisions and subdivisions, and their scholastic divinity, with loose and spongy declamation, gave place to fair inductions, correct illustrations, and philanthropic views. The ways of God to man were satisfactorily justified to the understandings of the mighty in in-

tellect, and to the humble and lowly seekers of the truth. Religion wore the smile of innocence and the robe of purity, as she was destined to do from the beginning. The charms of a delicate and finished literature now came from the pulpit, and the temple of God became, as it ought ever to be, a place of instruction for the mind and for the affections, as well as for learning the great doctrines of salvation.—*American Editor.*

The first step towards a general reformation was rather accidental than premeditated. Certain citizens of Virginia and Maryland had formed a scheme for promoting the navigation of the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay, and commissioners were appointed by those two states to meet at Alexandria, and devise some plan of operation. These persons made a visit to Mount Vernon, and while there, it was proposed among themselves that more important objects should be connected with the purpose at first in view, and that the state governments should be solicited to appoint other commissioners, with enlarged powers, instructed to form a plan for maintaining a naval force in the Chesapeake, and also to fix upon some system of duties on exports and imports in which both states should agree, and that in the end congress should be petitioned to allow these privileges. This project was approved by the legislature of Virginia, and commissioners were accordingly appointed. The same legislature passed a resolution recommending the design to other states, and inviting them to unite, by their commissioners, in an attempt to establish such a system of commercial relations as would promote general harmony and prosperity. Five states only, in addition to Virginia, acceded to this proposition, namely, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. From these states commissioners assembled at Annapolis, but they had hardly entered into a discussion of the topics which naturally forced themselves into view, before they discovered the powers with which they were intrusted to be so limited, as to tie up their hands from effecting any purpose that could be of essential utility. On this account, as well as from the circumstance that so few states were represented, they wisely declined deciding on any important measures in reference to the particular subject for which they had come together. This convention is memorable, however, as having been the prelude to the one which followed. Before the commissioners adjourned, a report was agreed upon, in which the necessity of a revision and reform of the articles of the old federal compact was strongly urged, and which contained a recommendation to all the state legislatures for the appointment of deputies, to meet at Philadelphia, with more ample powers and instructions. This proposal was eventually carried into effect, and, in conformity with it, a convention of delegates from the several states met at Philadelphia in May, 1787. Of this body of eminent statesmen, George Washington was unanimously elected president. They deliberated with closed doors during a period of four months. One party in the convention was anxious to enlarge,

another to abridge, the authority delegated to the general government. This was the first germ of parties in the United States; not that materials were wanting, for the dissensions of the revolution had left behind some bitterness of spirit, and feelings that only awaited an opportunity, for their disclosure. The divisions in the convention proved the foundation of many a subsequent struggle. At length a constitution was agreed on, which, after being reported to congress, was submitted for ratification to conventions held in the respective states. This constitution differs, in many important particulars, from the articles of confederation; and, by its regulations, connects the states more closely together, under a general and supreme government, composed of three departments, legislative, executive, and judicial; and invested with powers essential to its being respected, both by foreign nations and the states whose interest it was designed to secure. The provisions and characteristics of this interesting and important political code, will receive the consideration to which they are so justly entitled in another department of our work.

As that party which was desirous to extend the powers of the constitution, had been the most anxious for the formation of this system, and the most zealous advocates for its adoption, it almost naturally followed that the administration of it was committed to their hands. This party, which might, from their opinions, have been denominated nationalists, or, in more modern phraseology, centralists, acquired the name of federalists, while the appellation of anti-federalists was given to their antagonists. The latter, ardently attached to freedom, imagined that rulers, possessing such extensive sway, such abundant patronage, and such independent tenure of office, would become fond of the exercise of power, and in the end arrogant and tyrannical. The former, equally devoted to the cause of national liberty, contended that to preserve it an energetic government was necessary. They described, with powerful effect, the evils actually endured from the inefficiency of the confederation, and demanded that a trial at least should be made of the remedy proposed.

In eleven states, a majority, though in some instances a small one, decided in favour of the ratification of the constitution. Provision was then made for the election of the officers to compose the executive and legislative departments. In the highest station, the electors, by a unanimous vote, placed the illustrious Washington; and to the office of vice-president, by a vote nearly unanimous, they elevated John Adams, who, in stations less conspicuous, had, with equal patriotism, rendered important services to his country. On

the 23d of April the president elect arrived at New York, where he was received by the governor of the state, and conducted, with military honours, through an immense concourse of people, to the apartments provided for him. Here he received the salutations of foreign ministers, public bodies, political characters, and private citizens of distinction, who pressed around him to offer their congratulations, and to express their joy at seeing the man who had the confidence of all, at the head of the American republic. On the 30th of April the president was inaugurated. Having taken the oath of office in an open gallery adjoining the senate chamber, in the view of an immense concourse of people, who attested their joy by loud and repeated acclamations, he returned to the senate chamber, where he delivered the following appropriate address:—

"Fellow-citizens of the Senate,
and of the House of Representatives:

"Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years: a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that, if in accepting this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination, for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequen-

ces be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

"Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it will be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow citizens at large less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations, and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

"By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President, 'to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.' The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject, further than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled, and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which

adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honourable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that, as on one side no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests; so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world.

"I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire. Since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness—between duty and advantage—between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which heaven itself has ordained: and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as *deeply*, perhaps as *finally*, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people.

"Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the constitution, is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good. For I assure myself, that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of a united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

"To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the

House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray, that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

"Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government, for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend."

In their answer to this speech, the senate say, "The unanimous suffrage of the elective body in your favour, is peculiarly expressive of the gratitude, confidence, and affection of the citizens of America, and is the highest testimonial at once of your merit, and their esteem. We are sensible, sir, that nothing but the voice of your fellow citizens could have called you from a retreat, chosen with the fondest predilection, endeared by habit, and consecrated to the repose of declining years. We rejoice, and with us all America, that, in obedience to the call of our common country, you have returned once more to public life. In you all parties confide; in you all interests unite; and we have no doubt that your past services, great as they have been, will be equalled by your future exertions; and that your prudence and sagacity, as a statesman, will tend to avert the dangers to which we were exposed, to give stability to the present government, and dignity and splendour to that country, which your skill and valour, as a soldier, so eminently contributed to raise to independence and to empire."

The affection for the person and character of the president with which the answer of the house of representatives glowed, promised that between this branch of the legislature also and the executive, the most harmonious co-operation in the public service might be expected.

"The representatives of the people of the United States," says this address, "present their congratulations on the event by which your fellow citizens have attested the pre-eminence of your merit. You have long held the first place in their esteem. You have often received tokens of their affection. You now possess the only proof that remained of their gratitude for your services, of their reverence for your wisdom, and of their confidence in your virtues. You enjoy the highest, because the truest honour, of being the first magistrate, by the unanimous choice of the freest people on the face of the earth."

After noticing the several communications made in the speech, intense of deep felt respect and affection, the answer concludes thus :

"Such are the sentiments with which we have thought fit to address you. They flow from our own hearts, and we verily believe that among the millions we represent, there is not a virtuous citizen whose heart will disown them.

"All that remains is, that we join in your fervent supplications for the blessing of heaven on our country; and that we add our own for the choicest of these blessings on the most beloved of her citizens."

The government being now completely organized, and a system of revenue established, the president proceeded to make appointments of suitable persons to fill the offices which had been created.* After a laborious and important session, in which perfect harmony subsisted between the executive and the legislature, congress adjourned on the 29th of September to the first Monday in the succeeding January.

At the next session of congress, which commenced in January, 1790, Mr. Hamilton, the secretary of the treasury, made his celebrated report upon the public debts contracted during the revolutionary war. Taking an able and enlarged view of the advantages of public credit, he recommended that not only the debts of the continental congress, but those of the states arising from their exertions in the common cause, should be funded or assumed by the general government; and that provision should be made for paying the interest, by imposing taxes on certain articles of

luxury, and on spirits distilled within the country. The report of the secretary was largely discussed, and with great force of argument and eloquence. In conclusion, congress passed an act for the assumption of the state debts, and for funding the national debt. By the provisions of this act, 21,500,000 dollars of the state debts were assumed in specific proportions; and it was particularly enacted, that no certificate should be received from a state creditor which could be "ascertained to have been issued for any purpose other than compensations and expenditures for services or supplies towards the prosecution of the late war, and the defence of the United States, or of some part thereof, during the same." Thus was the national debt funded upon principles which considerably lessened the weight of the public burdens, and gave much satisfaction to the public creditors. The produce of the sales of the lands lying in the western territory, and the surplus product of the revenue, after satisfying the appropriations which were charged upon it, with the addition of two millions which the president was authorized to borrow at five per cent., constituted a sinking fund to be applied to the reduction of the debt. The effect of these measures was great and rapid. The permanent value thus given to the debt produced a result equal to the most favourable anticipations. The sudden increase of monied capital derived from it invigorated commerce, and consequently gave a new stimulus to agriculture.

It has already been stated, that when the new government was first organized, but eleven states had ratified the constitution. Afterwards North Carolina and Rhode Island, the two dissenting states, adopted it; the former in November, 1789, the latter in May, 1790. In 1791, Vermont adopted it, and applied to congress to be admitted into the union. An act was also passed, declaring that the district of Kentucky, then part of Virginia, should be admitted into the union on the 1st day of June in the succeeding year.

During the year 1790, a termination was put to the war which, for several years, had raged between the Creek Indians and the state of Georgia. Pacific overtures were also made to the hostile tribes inhabiting the banks of the Sciota and the Wabash. These being rejected, an army of fourteen hundred men, commanded by General Harmer, was despatched against them. Two battles were fought near Chillicothe, in Ohio, between successive detach-

* At the head of the department of state he placed Mr. Jefferson; at the head of the treasury, Colonel Hamilton; at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the judicial department,

Mr. Jay. The associate justices were John Rutledge, of South Carolina, James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, William Cushing, of Massachusetts, Robert Harrison, of Maryland, and John Blair, of Virginia.

ments from this army and the Indians, in which the latter were victorious. Emboldened by these successes, they continued to make more vigorous attacks upon the frontier settlements, which suffered all the distressing calamities of an Indian war. Additional troops were raised, and the command of the whole, amounting to nearly two thousand men, was given to General St. Clair. By desertion and detachments, this force was, however, reduced to fourteen hundred, when, on the 3d of November, 1791, they encamped a few miles from the villages on the Miami. But before sunrise the next morning, just after the troops were dismissed from the parade, they were attacked unexpectedly by the Indians. The new levies, who were in front, rushed back in confusion upon the regulars. The latter, however, with great intrepidity, advanced into the midst of the enemy, who retired from covert to covert, keeping always beyond reach, and again returning as soon as the troops were recalled from pursuit. At length, after a contest of three or four hours, St. Clair, whose ill-health disabled him from performing the active duties of commander, determined to withdraw from the field the remnant of his troops; fortunately, the victorious Indians preferred the plunder of the camp to pursuit, and the vanquished continued their retreat unmolested to the frontier settlements. In this battle, the numbers engaged on each side were supposed to be equal. Of the whites, the slaughter was almost beyond example. Six hundred and thirty were killed and missing, and two hundred and sixty were wounded—a loss which proves at once the obstinacy of the defence, and the bravery of the assailants. On receiving information of this disaster, congress, resolving to prosecute the war with increased vigour, made provision for augmenting, by enlistment, the military force of the nation to five thousand men.

In the course of this year was completed the first census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States. They amounted to 3,921,326, of which number 695,655 were slaves. The revenue, according to the report of the secretary of the treasury, amounted to 4,771,000 dollars, the exports to about nineteen, and the imports to about twenty millions. A great improvement in the circumstances of the people began at this period to be visible. The establishment of a firm and regular government, and confidence in the men whom they had chosen to administer it, gave an impulse to their exertions which bore them rapidly forward in the career of prosperity.

Pursuant to the authority contained in the several acts on the subject of a permanent seat of the govern-

ment of the United States, a district of ten miles square for this purpose was fixed on, comprehending lands on both sides of the River Potomac, and the towns of Alexandria and Georgetown. A city was laid out, and the sales which took place produced funds for carrying on the necessary public buildings.

The war in Europe had embraced those powers with whom the United States had the most extensive relations. The French people regarded the Americans as their brethren, bound to them by the ties of gratitude; and when the kings of Europe, dreading the establishment of republicanism in her borders, assembled in arms to restore monarchy to France, they looked across the Atlantic for sympathy and assistance. The new government, recalling the minister whom the king had appointed, despatched the citizen Genet, of ardent temper and a zealous republican, to supply his place. In April, 1793, he arrived at Charleston, in South Carolina, where he was received by the governor and the citizens, in a manner expressive of their warm attachment to his country, and their cordial approbation of the change of her institutions. Flattered by his reception, and presuming that the nation and the government were actuated by similar feelings, he undertook to authorize the fitting and arming of vessels in that port, enlisting men, and giving commissions to cruise and commit hostilities on nations with whom the United States were at peace; captured vessels were brought into port, and the consuls of France assumed, under the authority of M. Genet, to hold courts of admiralty on them, to try, condemn, and authorize their sale. The declaration of war made by France against Great Britain and Holland reached the United States early in the same month. The president,* regarding the situation of these states, issued his proclamation of neutrality on the 9th of May. In July, he requested the recall of M. Genet, who was soon afterwards recalled, and succeeded by M. Fauchet.

After the defeat of St. Clair by the Indians, in 1791, General Wayne was appointed to command the American forces. Taking post near the country of the enemy, he made assiduous and long protracted endeavours to negotiate a peace. Failing in these, he marched against them at the head of three thousand men. On the 20th of August, 1794, an action took place in the vicinity of one of the British garrisons, on the banks of the Miami. A rapid and vigorous charge roused the savages from their coverts, and they were driven more than two miles

* Washington and Adams had been re-elected to their respective offices.

at the point of the bayonet. Broken and dismayed, they fled without renewing the combat. In this decisive battle, the loss of the Americans in killed and wounded, including officers, was one hundred and seven. Among the slain were Captain Campbell and Lieutenant Fowles, both of whom fell in the first charge. The American troops engaged in the battle did not amount to nine hundred; the number of Indians was two thousand. After remaining on the banks of the Miami three days, during which time the houses and cornfields above and below the fort were burnt, General Wayne, on the 28th, returned with the army to Au Glaize, having destroyed all the villages and corn within fifty miles of the river. The Indians still continuing hostilities, their whole country was laid waste, and forts were erected in the heart of their settlements. The effect of the battle of the 20th of August was instantly and extensively felt. To the victory gained by the Americans is ascribed the rescue of the United States from a general war with the Indians north-west of the Ohio; and its influence is believed to have extended to the Indians in Georgia. In 1795, a treaty was concluded at Grenville, which, long and faithfully observed, gave peace and security to the frontier inhabitants, permitting the superabundant population of the eastern states to spread with astonishing rapidity over the fertile region northwest of the Ohio.

The year 1794 is distinguished by an insurrection in Pennsylvania. In 1791, congress had enacted laws, laying duties upon spirits distilled within the United States, and upon stills. From the commencement of the operation of these laws, combinations were formed in the four western counties of Pennsylvania to defeat them, and violence was repeatedly committed. In July of the present year, about one hundred persons, armed with guns and other weapons, attacked the house of an inspector of the revenue, and wounded some persons within it. They seized the marshal of the district of Pennsylvania, who had been previously fired on while in the execution of his duty by a party of armed men, and compelled him to enter into stipulations to forbear the execution of his office. Both the inspector and the marshal were obliged to fly from that part of the country to the seat of government. These and many other outrages induced President Washington, on the 7th of August, to issue a proclamation, commanding the insurgents to disperse, and warning all persons against aiding, abetting, or comforting the perpetrators of these treasonable acts, and requiring all officers, and other citizens, accord-

ing to their respective duties and the laws of the land, to exert their utmost endeavours to prevent and suppress such dangerous proceedings. On the 25th of September the president issued a second proclamation, admonishing the insurgents; forcibly describing the obstinate and perverse spirit with which the lenient propositions of the government had been received; and declaring his fixed determination, in obedience to the duty assigned to him by the constitution, "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and to reduce the refractory to obedience. Fifteen thousand men, placed under the command of Governor Lee, of Virginia, were marched into the disaffected counties. The strength of this army rendering resistance desperate, none was offered, and no blood was shed. A few of the most active leaders were seized and detained for legal prosecution. The great body of the insurgents, on submission, were pardoned, as were also the leaders, after trial and conviction of treason. The government acquired the respect of the people by this exertion of its force and their affection by this display of its lenity.

Great Britain and the United States had each been incessantly complaining that the other had violated the stipulations contained in the treaty of peace. The former was accused of having carried away negroes at the close of the revolutionary war; and of retaining in her possession certain military posts situated in the western wilderness, and within the limits of the United States. The latter were accused of preventing the loyalists from regaining possession of their estates, and British subjects from recovering debts contracted before the commencement of hostilities. For the purpose of adjusting these mutual complaints, and also for concluding a commercial treaty, Mr. Adams had been appointed, in 1785, minister to the court of St. James; the British ministry then declined negotiating on the subject; but after the constitution of 1789 was ratified, ministers were interchanged, and the discussion was prosecuted with no little zeal. In 1794, Mr. Jay being then minister from the United States, a treaty was concluded, which, in the spring of the next year, was laid before the senate. That body advised the president to ratify it, on condition that an alteration should be made in one of the articles. The democratic party, however, exclaimed in intemperate language against most of the stipulations it contained; and the partisans of France swelled the cry of condemnation. Public meetings were held in various parts of the union, at which resolutions were passed expressing warm disapprobation of the treaty, and an earnest wish that the president would

withhold his ratification. General Washington, believing that an adjustment of differences would conduce to the prosperity of the republic, and that the treaty before him was the best that could, at that time, be obtained, gave it his assent, in defiance of popular clamour, and issued his proclamation stating its ratification, and declaring it to be the law of the land. The predominant party in the house of representatives expressed surprise that this proclamation should be issued before the sense of the house was taken on the subject, as they denied the power of the president and senate to complete a treaty without their sanction. In March, a resolution passed, requesting the president "to lay before the house a copy of the instructions to the minister of the United States, who negotiated the treaty with the king of Great Britain communicated by his message of the 1st of March, together with the correspondence and other documents relative to the said treaty, excepting such of the said papers as any existing negotiation may render improper to be disclosed." This resolve placed the president in a situation of high responsibility. He knew that the majority of the house entertained the opinion that a treaty was not valid until they had acted upon it. To oppose, in a government constituted like that of the United States, the popular branch of the legislature, would be attended with hazard, and subject him to much censure and abuse; but considerations of this nature make but weak impressions on a mind supremely solicitous to promote the public interest. Upon the most mature deliberation, the president conceived that to grant this request of the house would establish a false and dangerous principle in the diplomatic transactions of the nation, and he gave a denial to their request in an answer eminent for mildness, firmness, and perspicuity, which concluded with the following brief recapitulation of the argument: "As, therefore, it is perfectly clear to my understanding that the assent of the house of representatives is not necessary to the validity of a treaty; as the treaty with Great Britain exhibits in itself all the objects requiring legislative provision, and on these the papers called for can throw no light; and as it is essential to the due administration of the government, that the boundaries fixed by the constitution between the different departments should be preserved; a just regard to the constitution, and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of this case, forbid a compliance with your request."

A resolution moved in the house to make the necessary appropriations to carry the British treaty into

effect, excited among the members the strongest emotions, and gave rise to speeches highly argumentative, eloquent, and animated. The debate was protracted until the people took up the subject. In their respective corporations meetings were held, the strength of parties was fully tried, and it clearly appeared that the great majority were disposed to rally around the executive. Innumerable petitions were presented to congress, praying them to make the requisite appropriations. Unwilling to take upon themselves the consequences of resisting the public will, they yielded to this call.

The conduct of Spain towards the United States had always been cold and unfriendly. She feared lest the principles of liberty and the desire of independence should find their way into her contiguous American provinces. At length, becoming involved in a war with France, embarrassed at home, and intimidated by the unauthorized preparations which, under the auspices of Genet, were making in Kentucky to invade Louisiana, she intimated her readiness to conclude a satisfactory treaty, should an envoy extraordinary be sent to Madrid for that purpose. Thomas Pinckney was accordingly appointed. In October, 1795, a treaty was signed, securing to the citizens of the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi to the ocean, and the privilege of landing and depositing cargoes at New Orleans.

During this year also a treaty was concluded with the regency of Algiers, with which the republic was previously at war. It stipulated that the United States, in conformity with the practice of other nations, should, as the price of peace, pay an annual tribute to the sovereign of that country.

The last two or three years had witnessed several changes in the important offices of the nation. On the first day of the year 1794, Mr. Jefferson resigned the office of secretary of state, and was succeeded by Mr. Randolph. He had performed the duties of that office with extraordinary ability, and to the entire satisfaction of the president. He was considered the leader of the republican party, enjoying their highest confidence and warmest attachment. On the last day of January, 1795, Mr. Hamilton retired from the office of secretary of the treasury. He possessed distinguished talents, and had exerted those talents to establish order where all was confusion, and to raise from the lowest depression the credit of the country. His complete success greatly exalted his reputation, and to him the federalists felt a sincerity of attachment equalled only by that entertained for Washington. He was peculiarly obnoxious to the republican party, and was accused by them of partiality to

England, and of misconduct in office. After the closest scrutiny, his official character was acknowledged, by his enemies, to be without stain. He was succeeded by Oliver Wolcott. At the close of the year 1794, General Knox resigned the office of secretary of war, and Colonel Pickering, of Massachusetts, was appointed in his place. In August Mr. Randolph, having lost the confidence of the president, and having in consequence retired from the administration, Mr. Pickering was appointed his successor in the department of state, and James M'Henry, of Maryland, was made secretary of war. No republican being now at the head of any of the departments, many of the leaders of that party withdrew their support from the administration; but the confidence of the people in the integrity and patriotism of the president experienced not the slightest abatement.

The conduct adopted by France towards the American republic continued to be a source of vexation. M. Fauchet charged the administration with sentiments of hostility to the allies of the United States, with partiality for their former foes, and urged the adoption of a course more favourable to the cause of liberty. Mr. Morris, the minister to Paris, having incurred the displeasure of those in power, was recalled at their request, and his place supplied by Mr. Monroe. Being an ardent republican, he was received in the most respectful manner by the convention, who decreed that the flags of the two republics, entwined together, should be suspended in the legislative hall, as a mark of their eternal union and friendship. M. Adet was appointed soon after to succeed M. Fauchet. He brought with him the colours

of France, which he was instructed by the convention to present to the congress of the United States. They were received by the president with extraordinary ceremonies, transmitted to congress, and afterwards deposited in the national archives. But France required of the United States more than professions and hopes, and more than by treaty she was entitled to claim. She wished to make them a party in the war she was waging with the despots of Europe. Failing in this, and jealous of the more intimate relations contracted with her principal enemy, England, she adopted regulations highly injurious to American commerce, directing her cruisers to capture in certain cases the vessels of the United States. In consequence of these regulations, several hundred vessels, loaded with valuable cargoes, were taken while prosecuting a lawful trade, and the whole confiscated. Believing that the rights of the nation were not asserted and vindicated with sufficient spirit by Mr. Monroe, the president recalled him, and Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, was appointed in his stead. In the summer of 1796, he left the United States, instructed to use every effort compatible with national honour, to restore the amicable relations which had once subsisted between the sister republics.

As the period for a new election of a president of the United States approached, after plain indications that the public voice would be in his favour, and when he probably would have been chosen for the third time unanimously, Washington determined irrevocably to withdraw to the seclusion of private life. He published, in September, 1796, a farewell address* to the people of the United States, which

* Friends and fellow-citizens,

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence, in my situation, might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you: but ma-

ture reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years, admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred

ought to be engraven upon the hearts of his countrymen. In the most earnest and affectionate manner he called upon them to cherish an immoveable attach-

upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed, of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune, often discouraging, in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop; but a solicitude for your welfare, which can not end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection—of no inconsiderable observation—and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be afforded to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel; nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken, in your minds, the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together: the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint coun-

ment to the national union, to watch for its preservation with jealous anxiety, to discountenance even the suggestion that it could in any event be abandoned,

cils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest: here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated: and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communication, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must, of necessity, owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined can not fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations: and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty; in this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case, were criminal. We are authorized to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations:—Northern and Southern: Atlantic and Western: whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of

and indignantly to frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of the country from the rest. Overgrown military establishments

party to acquire influence within particular districts is, to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests, in regard to the Mississippi: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties; that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is, the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government: but the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community: and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying, afterwards, the very engines which had lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also, that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretences. One method

he represented as particularly hostile to republican liberty. While he recommended the most implicit obedience to the acts of the established government,

of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what can not be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember, that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypotheses and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

The spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists, under different shapes, in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads, at length, to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight,) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment, occasionally, riot and insurrection: It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties, in free countries, are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to

and reprobated all obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to

consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal, against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern: some of them in our own country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be, in any particular, wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can, at any time, yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric.

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible: avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace, to discharge the debts, which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that, towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects, (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period,

direct, control, counteract, or overawe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, he wished also to guard against the spirit of innova-

a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is, in some degree, a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation to another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interest of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or insatiation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the art of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little

tion upon the principles of the constitution. Aware that the energy of the system might be enfeebled by alterations, he thought that no change should be made without an evident necessity; and that, in so extensive a country, as much vigour as is consistent with liberty was indispensable. On the other hand, he pointed out the danger of a real despotism, by breaking down the partitions between the several departments of government, by destroying the reciprocal

political connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinions will permit, but temporary, and liable to be, from time to time, abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations; but if I

checks, and consolidating the different powers. Against the spirit of party, so peculiarly baneful in an elective government, he uttered his most solemn remonstrances, as well as against inveterate antipathies or passionate attachments in respect to foreign nations. While he thought that the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly and impartially awake against the wiles of foreign influence, he wished that good faith and justice should be observed

may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigues, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records, and other evidences of my conduct, must witness to you and the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest, for observing that conduct, will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been, to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects, not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

United States, 17th September, 1796.

towards all nations, and peace and harmony cultivated. In his opinion, honesty, no less in public than in private affairs, was always the best policy. Providence, he believed, had connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue. Other subjects to which he alluded, were the importance of credit, of economy, of a reduction of the public debt, and of literary institutions; above all, he recommended religion and morality as indispensably necessary to political prosperity. This address to the people of the United States was received with the highest veneration and gratitude. Several of the state legislatures ordered it to be put upon their journals, and every citizen considered it as the legacy of the most distinguished American patriot.

On the 7th of December, 1796, the president for the last time met the national legislature. In his speech, after taking a view of the situation of the United States, regardless of opposition and censure, he recommended the attention of congress to those measures which he deemed essential to national independence, honour, and prosperity. On the 4th of March, 1797, he attended the inauguration of his successor in office. Great sensibility was manifested by the members of the legislature and other distinguished characters when he entered the senate chamber, and much admiration expressed at the complacency and delight he manifested at seeing another clothed with the authority with which he had himself been invested. Having paid his affectionate compliments to Mr. Adams, as president of the United States, he bade adieu to the seat of government, and hastened to the delights of domestic life. He intended that his journey should have been private, but the attempt was vain; the same affectionate and respectful attentions were on this occasion paid him which he had received during his presidency. In his retirement at Mount Vernon he gave the world the glorious example of a man voluntarily disrobing himself of the highest authority, and returning to private life, with a character having upon it no stain of ambition, of covetousness, of profusion, of luxury, of oppression, or of injustice; while it was adorned with the presence of virtues and graces, brilliant alike in the shade of retirement and in the glare of public life.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS AND JEFFERSON.

WHEN the determination of Washington not again to accept of the presidentship left open the high

office to the competition of the leaders of the great political parties, no exertion was spared throughout the union to give success to their respective claims. The federalists, desiring that the system of measures adopted by Washington should be pursued, and dreading the influence of French sentiments and principles, made the most active efforts to elect John Adams. The republicans, believing their opponents less friendly than themselves to the maxims of liberty, and too much devoted to the British nation and to British institutions, made equal exertions to elect Thomas Jefferson. The result was the choice of Mr. Adams to be president, and Mr. Jefferson to be vice-president.

The President was inaugurated on the 4th day of March, and made the following speech:

"When it was first perceived, in early times, that no middle course for America remained, between unlimited submission to a foreign legislature and a total independence of its claims; men of reflection were less apprehensive of danger from the formidable power of fleets and armies they must determine to resist, than from those contests and dissensions, which would certainly arise, concerning the forms of government to be instituted over the whole, and over the parts of this extensive country. Relying, however, on the purity of their intentions, the justice of their cause, and the integrity and intelligence of the people, under an overruling Providence, which had so signally protected this country from the first; the representatives of this nation, then consisting of little more than half its present numbers, not only broke to pieces the chains which were forging, and the rod of iron that was lifted up, and frankly cut asunder the ties which had bound them, and launched into an ocean of uncertainty.

"The zeal and ardour of the people during the revolutionary war, supplying the place of government, commanded a degree of order, sufficient at least for the temporary preservation of society. The confederation, which was early felt to be necessary, was prepared from the models of the Batavian and Helvetic confederacies, the only examples which remain, with any detail and precision, in history, and certainly the only ones, which the people at large had ever considered. But, reflecting on the striking difference, in so many particulars, between this country and those, where a courier may go from the seat of government to the frontier in a single day, it was then certainly foreseen by some, who assisted in Congress at the formation of it, that it could not be durable.

"Negligence of its regulations, inattention to its

recommendations, if not disobedience to its authority, not only in individuals, but in states, soon appeared with their melancholy consequences; universal languor, jealousies, rivalries of states; decline of navigation and commerce; discouragement of necessary manufactures; universal fall in the value of lands and their produce; contempt of public and private faith; loss of consideration and credit with foreign nations; and at length, in discontents, animosities, combinations, partial conventions, and insurrection, threatening some great national calamity.

"In this dangerous crisis, the people of America were not abandoned by their usual good sense, presence of mind, resolution, or integrity. Measures were pursued to concert a plan, to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty. The public disquisition, discussions, and deliberations, issued in the present happy constitution of government.

"Employed in the service of my country abroad during the whole course of these transactions, I first saw the constitution of the United States in a foreign country. Irritated by no literary altercation, animated by no public debate, heated by no party animosity, I read it with great satisfaction, as the result of good heads, prompted by good hearts; as an experiment, better adapted to the genius, character, situation, and relations of this nation and country, than any which had ever been proposed or suggested. In its general principles and great outlines, it was conformable to such a system of government as I had ever most esteemed; and in some states, my own native state in particular, had contributed to establish. Claiming a right of suffrage in common with my fellow-citizens in the adoption or rejection of a constitution, which was to rule me and my posterity, as well as them and theirs, I did not hesitate to express my approbation of it on all occasions, in public and in private. It was not then nor has been since any objection to it, in my mind, that the executive and senate were not more permanent. Nor have I entertained a thought of promoting any alteration in it, but such as the people themselves, in the course of their experience, should see and feel to be necessary or expedient, and by their representatives in congress and the state legislatures, according to the constitution itself, adopt and ordain.

"Returning to the bosom of my country, after a painful separation from it for ten years, I had the honour to be elected to a station under the new order of things, and I have repeatedly laid myself under

the most serious obligations to support the constitution. The operation of it has equalled the most sanguine expectations of its friends; and from an habitual attention to it, satisfaction in its administration, and delight in its effects upon the peace, order, prosperity, and happiness of the nation, I have acquired an habitual attachment to it, and veneration for it.

"What other form of government, indeed, can so well deserve our esteem and love?

"There may be little solidity in an ancient idea, that congregations of men into cities and nations are the most pleasing objects in the sight of superior intelligences: but this is very certain, that to a benevolent human mind there can be no spectacle presented by any nation, more pleasing, more noble, majestic, or august, than an assembly like that, which has so often been seen in this and the other chamber of Congress—of a government, in which the executive authority, as well as that of all the branches of the legislature, are exercised by citizens selected at regular periods by their neighbours, to make and execute laws for the general good. Can any thing essential, any thing more than mere ornament and decoration, be added to this by robes or diamonds? Can authority be more amiable or respectable, when it descends from accidents or institutions established in remote antiquity, than when it springs fresh from the hearts and judgments of an honest and enlightened people? For, it is the people only that are represented: it is their power and majesty that is reflected, and only for their good, in every legitimate government, under whatever form it may appear. The existence of such a government as ours for any length of time, is a full proof of a general dissemination of knowledge and virtue throughout the whole body of the people. And what object of consideration, more pleasing than this, can be presented to the human mind? If national pride is ever justifiable or excusable, it is when it springs, not from power or riches, grandeur or glory, but from conviction of national innocence, information, and benevolence.

"In the midst of these pleasing ideas, we should be unfaithful to ourselves, if we should ever lose sight of the danger to our liberties, if any thing partial or extraneous should infect the purity of our free, fair, virtuous and independent elections. If an election is to be determined by a majority of a single vote, and that can be procured by a party through artifice or corruption, the government may be the choice of a party, for its own ends, not of the nation for the national good. If that solitary suf

frage can be obtained by foreign nations, by flattery or menaces, by fraud or violence, by terror, intrigue, or venality; the government may not be the choice of the American people, but of foreign nations. It may be foreign nations who govern us, and not we, the people, who govern ourselves: and candid men will acknowledge, that in such cases, choice would have little advantage to boast of, over lot or chance.

"Such is the amiable and interesting system of government, (and such are some of the abuses to which it may be exposed,) which the people of America have exhibited to the admiration and anxiety of the wise and virtuous of all nations for eight years; under the administration of a citizen who, by a long course of great actions, regulated by prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude, conducting a people inspired with the same virtues, and animated with the same ardent patriotism and love of liberty, to independence and peace, to increasing wealth and unexampled prosperity, has merited the gratitude of his fellow-citizens, commanded the highest praises of foreign nations, and secured immortal glory with posterity.

"In that retirement, which is his voluntary choice, may he long live to enjoy the delicious recollection of his services, the gratitude of mankind; the happy fruits of them to himself and the world, which are daily increasing, and that splendid prospect of the future fortunes of his country, which is opening from year to year. His name may be still a rampart, and the knowledge that he lives, a bulwark against all open or secret enemies of his country's peace.

"This example has been recommended to the imitation of his successors, by both houses of congress, and by the voice of the legislatures and the people, throughout the nation.

"On this subject it might become me better to be silent, or to speak with diffidence; but, as something may be expected, the occasion, I hope, will be admitted as an apology, if I venture to say, that, if a preference, upon principle, of a free republican government, formed upon long and serious reflection, after a diligent and impartial inquiry after truth; if an attachment to the constitution of the United States, and a conscientious determination to support it, until it shall be altered by the judgments and wishes of the people, expressed in the mode prescribed in it; if a respectful attention to the constitutions of the individual states, and a constant caution and delicacy towards the state governments; if an equal and impartial regard to the rights, interests, honour, and happiness of all the states in the union, without pre-

ference or regard to a northern or southern, eastern or western position, their various political opinions on essential points, or their personal attachments; if a love of virtuous men of all parties and denominations; if a love of science and letters, and a wish to patronize every rational effort to encourage schools, colleges, universities, academies, and every institution for propagating knowledge, virtue, and religion, among all classes of the people, not only for their benign influence on the happiness of life, in all its stages and classes, and of society in all its forms, but, as the only means of preserving our constitution from its natural enemies, the spirit of sophistry, the spirit of party, the spirit of intrigue, profligacy, and corruption, and the pestilence of foreign influence, which is the angel of destruction to elective governments; if a love of equal laws, of justice and humanity, in the interior administration; if an inclination to improve agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, for necessity, convenience, and defence; if a spirit of equity and humanity towards the aboriginal nations of America, and a disposition to meliorate their condition, by inclining them to be more friendly to us, and our citizens to be more friendly to them; if an inflexible determination to maintain peace and inviolable faith with all nations, and that system of neutrality and impartiality among the belligerent powers of Europe, which has been adopted by the government, and so solemnly sanctioned by both houses of congress, and applauded by the legislatures of the states and the public opinion, until it shall be otherwise ordained by congress; if a personal esteem for the French nation, formed in a residence of seven years chiefly among them, and a sincere desire to preserve the friendship, which has been so much for the honour and interest of both nations; if, while the conscious honour and integrity of the people of America, and the internal sentiment of their own power and energies must be preserved, an earnest endeavour to investigate every just cause, and remove every colourable pretence of complaint; if an intention to pursue, by amicable negotiation, a reparation for the injuries that have been committed on the commerce of our fellow-citizens, by whatever nation; and if success can not be obtained, to lay the facts before the legislature, that they may consider what further measures the honour and interest of the government and its constituents demand; if a resolution to do justice, as far as may depend upon me, at all times; and to all nations, and maintain peace, friendship, and benevolence, with all the world; if an unshaken confidence in the honour, spirit, and resources of the American people, on which I have so often hazarded

my all, and never been deceived ; if elevated ideas of the high destinies of this country, and of my own duties towards it, founded on a knowledge of the moral principles and intellectual improvements of the people, deeply engraven on my mind in early life, and not obscured but exalted by experience and age ; and with humble reverence I feel it my duty to add—if a veneration for the religion of a people, who profess and call themselves Christians, and a fixed resolution to consider a decent respect for christianity among the best recommendations for the public service, can enable me, in any degree, to comply with your wishes, it shall be my strenuous endeavour, that this sagacious injunction of the two Houses shall not be without effect.

“ With this great example before me ; with the sense and spirit, the faith and honour, the duty and interest of the same American people, pledged to support the constitution of the United States, I entertain no doubt of its continuance in all its energy ; and, my mind is prepared, without hesitation, to lay myself under the most solemn obligations to support it, to the utmost of my power.

“ And may that Being, who is supreme over all, the patron of order, the fountain of justice, and the protector, in all ages of the world, of virtuous liberty, continue his blessing upon this nation and its government, and give it all possible success and duration, consistent with the ends of his providence.”

Mr. Pinckney had been appointed minister plenipotentiary to the French republic in 1796. The object of his mission was stated, in his letter of credence, to be, “ to maintain that good understanding which, from the commencement of the alliance, had subsisted between the two nations ; and to efface unfavourable impressions, banish suspicions, and restore that cordiality which was at once the evidence and pledge of a friendly union.” On inspecting his letter of credence, the directory announced to him their determination “ not to receive another minister plenipotentiary from the United States, until after the redress of grievances demanded of the American government, which the French republic had a right to expect from it.” The American minister was afterward obliged, by a written mandate, to quit the territories of the French republic. Besides other hostile indications, American vessels were captured wherever found ; and, under the pretext of their wanting a document, with which the treaty of commerce had been uniformly understood to dispense, they were condemned as prizes.

In consequence of this serious state of the relations with France, the president, by proclamation,

summoned congress to meet on the 15th of June : when, in a firm and dignified speech, he stated the great and unprovoked outrages of the French government. Having mentioned a disposition indicated in the executive directory to separate the people of America from their government, “ such attempts,” he added, “ ought to be repelled with a decision which shall convince France and all the world that we are not a degraded people, humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear and sense of inferiority, fitted to be the miserable instruments of foreign influence, and regardless of national honour, character, and interest.” He expressed, however, his wish for an accommodation, and his purpose of attempting it. “ Retaining still the desire which has uniformly been manifested by the American government to preserve peace and friendship with all nations, and believing that neither the honour nor the interest of the United States absolutely forbade the repetition of advances for securing these desirable objects with France, he should,” he said, “ institute a fresh attempt at negotiation, and should not fail to promote and accelerate an accommodation on terms compatible with the rights, duties, interests, and honour of the nation.” In the mean time, he earnestly recommended it to congress to provide effectual measures of defence.

To make a last effort to obtain reparation and security, three envoys extraordinary were appointed, at the head of whom was General Pinckney. By their instructions, “ Peace and reconciliation were to be pursued by all means compatible with the honour and the faith of the United States ; but no national engagements were to be impaired ; no innovations to be permitted upon those internal regulations for the preservation of peace, which had been deliberately and uprightly established ; nor were the rights of the government to be surrendered.” These ambassadors also the directory refused to receive. They were, however, addressed by persons verbally instructed by Talleyrand, the minister of foreign relations, to make proposals. In explicit terms, these unofficial agents demanded a large sum of money before any negotiation could be opened. To this insulting demand a decided negative was given. A compliance was, nevertheless, repeatedly urged, until at length the envoys refused to hold with them any further communication.

When these events were known in the United States they excited general indignation. The spirit of party appeared to be extinct. “ Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute,” resounded from every quarter of the union. The treaty of alliance with

France was declared by congress to be no longer in force; and authority was given for capturing armed French vessels. Provision was made for raising immediately a small regular army, and, in case events should render it expedient, for augmenting it. A direct tax and additional internal duties were laid. To command the armies of the United States, President Adams, with the unanimous advice of the senate, appointed George Washington. He consented, but with great reluctance, to accept the office, declaring, however, that he cordially approved the measures of the government.

The first act of hostility between the two nations appears to have been committed by the *Insurgente*, which was in a short period after so signally beaten by an American frigate. The schooner *Retaliation*, Lieutenant-Commandant Bainbridge, being deluded into the power of this vessel, was captured and carried into Guadaloupe. Several other United States armed vessels were in company with the *Retaliation*, and pursued by the French squadron, but were probably saved from capture by the address of Lieutenant Bainbridge, who, being asked by the French commodore what was the force of the vessels chased, exaggerated it with so much adroitness as to induce him to recall his ships. The *Constellation* went to sea under the command of Captain Truxton. In February, 1799, he encountered the *Insurgente*, and, after a close action of about an hour and a half, compelled her to strike. The rate of the *Constellation* was thirty-two guns, that of the *Insurgente* forty. The former had three men wounded, one of whom shortly after died, and none killed; the latter had forty-one wounded, and twenty-nine killed. This victory, which was so brilliant and decisive, with such a wonderful disparity of loss, gave great eclat to the victor and to the navy. Commodore Truxton again put to sea in the *Constellation*, being destined to renew his triumphs, and the humiliation of the foe. In February, 1800, he fell in with the *Vengeance*, a French ship of fifty-four guns, with which he began an engagement that lasted, with great obstinacy and spirit on both sides, from eight o'clock in the evening till one in the morning, when the *Vengeance* was

completely silenced, and sheered off. The *Constellation*, having lost her mainmast, was too much injured to pursue her. The captain of the *Vengeance* is said to have twice surrendered during the contest, but his signals were not understood amidst the darkness of night and the confusion of battle.

The United States, thus victorious in arms at home and on the ocean, commanded the respect of their enemy; and the Directory made overtures of peace. The president immediately appointed ministers, who, on their arrival at Paris, found the executive authority in the possession of Bonaparte as first consul. They were promptly received, and in September, 1800, a treaty was concluded satisfactory to both countries.

The services of Washington had not been required in his capacity of commander in chief; but he did not live to witness the restoration of peace. On Friday, December 13, while attending some improvements upon his estate, he was exposed to a light rain, which wetted his neck and hair. Unapprehensive of danger, he passed the afternoon in his usual manner; but at night was seized with an inflammatory affection of the windpipe, attended by fever, and a quick and laborious respiration. About twelve or fourteen ounces of blood were taken from him. In the morning, his family physician, Dr. Craik, was sent for; but the utmost exertions of medical skill were applied in vain. Believing from the commencement of his complaint that it would be mortal, a few hours before his departure, and after repeated efforts to be understood, he succeeded in expressing a desire that he might be permitted to die without being disquieted by unavailing attempts to rescue him from his fate. When he could no longer swallow, he undressed himself and got into bed, there to await his dissolution. To his friend and physician he said, with difficulty, "Doctor, I am dying, and have been dying for a long time; but I am not afraid to die." Respiration became more and more contracted and imperfect until half-past eleven on Saturday night, when, retaining the full possession of his intellect, he expired without a struggle. Thus, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, died the father of his country.* In-

* "General Washington was exactly six feet in height; he appeared taller, as his shoulders rose a little higher than the true proportion. His eyes were of a grey, and his hair of a brown colour. His limbs were well formed, and indicated strength. His complexion was light, and his countenance serene and thoughtful. His manners were graceful, manly, and dignified. His general appearance never failed to engage the respect and esteem of all who approached him. Reserved, but not haughty, in his disposition, he was accessible to all in concerns of business; but he opened himself only to his confidential friends; and no art or address could draw from him an opinion which he thought prudent to conceal.

"He was not so much distinguished for brilliancy of genius as

for solidity of judgment, and consummate prudence of conduct. He was not so eminent for any one quality of greatness and worth, as for the union of those great, amiable, and good qualities, which are very rarely combined in the same character.

"In domestic and private life, he blended the authority of the master with the care and kindness of the guardian and friend. Solicitous for the welfare of his slaves, while at Mount Vernon, he every morning rode round his estates to examine their condition; for the sick, physicians were provided; and to the weak and infirm every necessary comfort was administered. The servitude of the negroes lay with weight upon his mind; he often made it the subject of conversation, and revolved several plans for their genera-

telligence of this event, as it rapidly spread, produced spontaneous, deep, and unaffected grief, suspending every other thought, and absorbing every different feeling. Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, immediately adjourned. On assembling the next day, the house of representatives resolved, "that the speaker's chair should be shrouded in black, and the members wear black during the session; and that a joint committee should be appointed to devise the most suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." The senate of the United States, in an address to the president on this melancholy occasion, indulged their patriotic pride, while they did not transgress the bounds of truth, in speaking of their Washington. "Ancient and modern names," said they, "are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendour of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory: he has travelled on to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of honour; he has deposited it safely where misfortune cannot tarnish it,—where malice cannot blast it."

According to the unanimous resolution of congress, a funeral procession moved from the legislative hall to the German Lutheran church, where an oration was delivered by General Lee, a representative from Virginia. The procession was grand and solemn; the oration impressive and eloquent. Throughout the union similar marks of affliction were exhibited; a whole people appeared in mourning. In every part of the republic funeral orations were delivered, and the best talents of the nation were devoted to an expression of the nation's grief.

In the year 1800 the seat of government of the United States was removed to Washington, in the

emancipation. His industry was unremitted, and his method so exact, that all the complicated business of his military command and civil administration, was managed without confusion and without hurry.

"Not feeling the lust of power, and ambitious only for honourable fame, he devoted himself to his country upon the most disinterested principles; and his actions wore not the semblance but the reality of virtue: the purity of his motives was accredited, and absolute confidence placed in his patriotism. While filling a public station, the performance of his duty took the place of pleasure, emolument, and every private consideration. During the more critical years of the war, a smile was scarcely seen upon his countenance; he gave himself no moments of relaxation; but his whole mind was engrossed to execute successfully his trust.

"He was as eminent for piety as for patriotism. His public and private conduct evince, that he impressively felt a sense of the su-

perintendence of God, and of the dependance of man. In his addresses, while at the head of the army, and of the national government, he gratefully noticed the signal blessings of Providence, and fervently commended his country to divine benediction. In private, he was known to have been habitually devout. In the establishment of his presidential household, he reserved to himself the sabbath, free from the interruptions of private visits, or public business; and, throughout the eight years of his civil administration, he gave to the institutions of christianity the influence of his example.

After congratulating the people of the United States on the assembling of congress at the permanent seat of their government, and congress on the prospect of a residence not to be changed, the president said, "It would be unbecoming the representatives of this nation to assemble for the first time in this solemn temple, without looking up to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and imploring his blessing. May this territory be the residence of virtue and happiness! In this city may that piety and virtue, that wisdom and magnanimity, that constancy and self-government, which adorned the great character whose name it bears, be for ever held in veneration! Here, and throughout our country, may simple manners, pure morals, and true religion, flourish for ever."

At this period a presidential election again occurred. From the time of the adoption of the constitution, the republican party had been gradually increasing in numbers. The two parties being now nearly equal, the contest inspired both with uncommon ardour. The federalists supported Mr. Adams and General Pinckney; the republicans, Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr. The two latter received a small majority of the electoral votes; and as they received also an equal number, the selection of one of them to be president devolved upon the house of representatives. After thirty-five trials, during which the nation felt intense solicitude, Mr. Jefferson was chosen. Colonel Burr received the votes of the federalists, and lost, in consequence, the confidence of his former friends. By the provisions of the constitution he became, of course, vice-president. On his inauguration, Mr. Jefferson made the following speech to both houses of congress.

"Friends and fellow-citizens,
"Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow-citizens which is here assembled, to express my grateful thanks for the favour with which they have been pleased to look

perintendence of God, and of the dependance of man. In his addresses, while at the head of the army, and of the national government, he gratefully noticed the signal blessings of Providence, and fervently commended his country to divine benediction. In private, he was known to have been habitually devout. In the establishment of his presidential household, he reserved to himself the sabbath, free from the interruptions of private visits, or public business; and, throughout the eight years of his civil administration, he gave to the institutions of christianity the influence of his example.

"Uniting the talents of the soldier with the qualifications of the statesman, and pursuing, unmoved by difficulties, the noblest end by the purest means, he had the supreme satisfaction of beholding the complete success of his great military and civil services, in the independence and happiness of his country."—Bancroft's *Life of Washington*, vol. ii. p. 214.

CAPITOL OF THE UNITED STATES, WASHINGTON.



towards me, to declare a sincere consciousness, that the task is above my talents; and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments, which the greatness of the charge, and the weakness of my powers, so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye; when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honour, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair, did not the presence of many, whom I here see, remind me, that, in the other high authorities provided by our constitution, I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal, on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked, amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

"During the contest of opinion through which we have past, the animation of discussions and of exertions, has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely, and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the constitution, all will of course arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All too will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which would be oppression. Let us then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind, let us restore to social intercourse, that harmony and affection without which, liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things. And let us reflect, that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long lost liberty, it was not wonderful

that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some, and less by others; and should divide opinions as to measures of safety; but every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans: we are all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong; that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear, that this government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one, where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said, that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or, have we found angels in the form of kings, to govern him? Let history answer this question.

"Let us then, with courage and confidence, pursue our own federal and republican principles; our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation, entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honour and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them, enlightened by a benign religion, professed indeed and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man, acknowledging and adoring an overruling providence, which, by all its dispensations, proves that it delights in the happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter; with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens, a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring

one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labour the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government; and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

"About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend every thing dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently, those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political: peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none: the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies: the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigour, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad: a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided: absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism: a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them: the supremacy of the civil over the military authority: economy in the public expense, that labour may be lightly burdened: the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith: encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid: the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason: freedom of religion; freedom of the press; and freedom of person, under the protection of the *habeas corpus*: and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation, which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages, and blood of our heroes, have been devoted to their attainment: they should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

"I repair, then, fellow-citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this, the greatest of all, I have learned to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man, to retire from this station with the reputation, and the favour, which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose pre-eminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love, and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional; and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not, if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage, is a great consolation to me for the past; and my future solicitude will be, to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others, by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

"Relying then on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choices it is in your power to make. And may that infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe, lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favourable issue for your peace and prosperity."

A second census of the inhabitants of the United States was completed in 1801. They amounted to 5,319,762, having in ten years increased nearly one million four hundred thousand. In the same number of years the exports increased from nineteen to ninety-four millions, and the revenue from 4,771,000 to 12,945,000 dollars. This rapid advance in the career of prosperity has no parallel in the history of nations, and is to be attributed principally to the institutions of the country, which, securing equal privileges to all, gave to the enterprise and industry of all free scope and full encouragement.

In 1802, the state of Ohio was admitted into the union. It was formerly a portion of the north-western territory, for the government of which, in 1787, an ordinance was passed by the continental congress. In thirty years from its first settlement, the number of its inhabitants exceeded half a million. The state

of Tennessee, which was previously a part of North Carolina, and which lies between that state and the river Mississippi, had been admitted in 1796.

The right of deposit at New Orleans, conceded to the citizens of the United States by Spain, and necessary to the people of the western country, had, until this period, been freely enjoyed. In October, the chief officer of that city prohibited the exercise of it in future. This violation of a solemn engagement produced, throughout the states of Ohio and Kentucky, indignant clamour and violent commotion. In congress a proposition was made to take possession by force of the whole province of Louisiana; but a more pacific course was adopted. Knowing that the province had been ceded, although not transferred, to France, the president instituted a negotiation to acquire it by purchase. In April, 1803, a treaty was concluded, conveying it to the United States for fifteen millions of dollars. Its acquisition was considered by the United States of the greatest importance, as it gave them the entire control of a river which is one of the noblest in the world.

At this period, also, there was another important acquisition of territory. The friendly tribe of Kaskaskia Indians, reduced by wars and other causes to a few individuals who were unable to defend themselves against the neighbouring tribes, transferred its country to the United States; reserving only a sufficiency to maintain its members in an agricultural way. The stipulations on the part of the United States were, to extend to them patronage and protection, and to give them certain annual aids, in money, implements of agriculture, and other articles of their choice. This ceded country extends along the Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois to and up the Ohio; and is esteemed as among the most fertile within the limits of the union.

The United States had for some time enjoyed the undisputed repose of peace, with only one exception. Tripoli, the least considerable of the Barbary states, had made demands, founded neither in right nor in compact, and had denounced war on the failure of the American government to comply with them before a given day. The president, on this occasion, sent a small squadron of frigates into the Mediterranean, with assurances to that power of the sincere desire of the American government to remain in peace; but with orders to protect our commerce against the threatened attack. It was a seasonable and salutary measure; for the bey had already declared war; and the American commerce in the Mediterranean was blockaded, while that of the Atlantic was in peril. The arrival of the squadron

dispelled the danger. The *Insurgente*, which had been so honourably added to the American navy, and the *Pickering*, of fourteen guns, the former commanded by Captain Fletcher, the latter by Captain Hillar, were lost in the equinoctial gale, in September, 1800. In 1801, the *Enterprise*, of fourteen guns, Captain Sterrett, fell in with a Tripolitan ship of war of equal force. The action continued three hours and a half, the corsair fighting with great obstinacy, and even desperation, until she struck, having lost fifty killed and wounded, while the *Enterprise* had not a man injured. In 1803, Commodore Preble assumed the command of the Mediterranean squadron, and after humbling the emperor of Morocco, who had begun a covert war upon American commerce, concentrated most of his force before Tripoli. On arriving off that port, Captain Bainbridge, in the frigate *Philadelphia*, of forty-four guns, was sent into the harbour to reconnoitre. While in eager pursuit of a small vessel, he unfortunately advanced so far that the frigate grounded, and all attempts to remove her were in vain. The sea around her was immediately covered with Tripolitan gunboats, and Captain Bainbridge was compelled to surrender. This misfortune, which threw a number of accomplished officers and a valiant crew into oppressive bondage, and which shed a gloom over the whole nation, as it seemed at once to increase the difficulties of a peace a hundred fold, was soon relieved by one of the most daring and chivalrous exploits that is found in naval annals. Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, then one of Commodore Preble's subalterns, proposed a plan for re-capturing or destroying the *Philadelphia*. The American squadron was at that time lying at Syracuse. Agreeably to the plan proposed, Lieutenant Decatur, in the ketch *Intrepid*, four guns and seventy-five men, proceeded, under the escort of the *Syren*, Captain Stewart, to the harbour of Tripoli. The *Philadelphia* lay within half gun-shot of the bashaw's castle, and several cruisers and gunboats surrounded her with jealous vigilance. The *Intrepid* entered the harbour alone, about eight o'clock in the evening, and succeeded in getting near the *Philadelphia*, between ten and eleven o'clock, without having awakened suspicion of her hostile designs. This vessel had been captured from the Tripolitans, and, assuming on this occasion her former national appearance, was permitted to warp alongside, under the alleged pretence that she had lost all her anchors. The moment the vessel came in contact, Decatur and his followers leaped on board, and soon overwhelmed a crew which was paralyzed with consternation. Twenty of the Tripolitans were killed. All the surrounding batteries being

opened upon the Philadelphia, she was immediately set on fire, and not abandoned until thoroughly wrapped in flames; when, a favouring breeze springing up, the Intrepid extricated herself from her prey, and sailed triumphantly out of the harbour amid the light of the conflagration. Not the slightest loss occurred on the side of the Americans to shade the splendour of the enterprise.

In July, 1804, Commodore Preble brought together all his forces before Tripoli, determined to try the effect of a bombardment. The enemy having sent some of his gunboats and galleys without the reef at the mouth of the harbour, two divisions of American gunboats were formed for the purpose of attacking them, while the large vessels assailed the batteries and town. On the 3d of August this plan was put in execution. The squadron approached within gun-shot of the town, and opened a tremendous fire of shot and shells, which was as promptly returned by the Tripolitan batteries and shipping. At the same time the two divisions of gunboats, the first under the command of Captain Somers, the second under Captain Stephen Decatur, who had been promoted as a reward for his late achievement, advanced against those of the enemy. The squadron was about two hours under the enemy's batteries, generally within pistol-shot, ranging by them in deliberate succession, alternately silencing their fires, and launching its thunders into the very palace of the bashaw; while a more animated battle was raging in another quarter. Simultaneously with the bombardment the American gunboats had closed in desperate conflict with the enemy. Captain Decatur, bearing down upon one of superior force, soon carried her by boarding, when, taking his prize in tow, he grappled with another, and in like manner transferred the fight to the enemy's deck. In the fierce encounter which followed this second attack, Captain Decatur, having broken his sword, closed with the Turkish commander, and both falling in the struggle, gave him a mortal wound with a pistol-shot, just as the Turk was raising his dirk to plunge it into his breast. Lieutenant Trippe, of Captain Decatur's squadron, had boarded a third large gunboat, with only one midshipman and nine men, when his boat fell off, and left him to wage the unequal fight of eleven against thirty-six, which was the number of the enemy. Courage and resolution, however, converted this devoted little band into a formidable host, which, after a sanguinary contest, obliged the numerous foe to yield, with the loss of fourteen killed and seven wounded. Lieutenant Trippe received eleven sabre

wounds, and had three of his party wounded, but none killed. Several bombardments and attacks succeeded each other at intervals throughout the month. Day after day death and devastation were poured into Tripoli with unsparing perseverance, each attack exhibiting instances of valour and devotedness which will give lustre to history. The eyes of Europe were drawn to the spot where a young nation, scarcely emerged into notice, was signally chastising the despotic and lawless infidel, to whom some of her most powerful governments were then paying tribute.

On the 4th of September, Commodore Preble, in order to try new experiments of annoyance, determined to send a fireship into the enemy's harbour. The Intrepid was fitted out for this service, being filled with powder, shells, and other combustible materials. Captain Somers, who had often been the emulous rival of Decatur in the career of glory, was appointed to conduct her in, having for his associates in the hazardous enterprise Lieutenants Wadsworth and Israel, all volunteers. The Argus, Vixen, and Nautilus, were to convoy the Intrepid as far as the mouth of the harbour. Captain Somers and Lieutenant Wadsworth made choice of two of the fleetest boats in the squadron, manned with picked crews, to bring them out. At eight o'clock in the evening she stood into the harbour with a moderate breeze. Several shot were fired at her from the batteries. She had nearly gained her place of destination when she exploded, without having made any of the signals previously concerted to show that the crew was safe. Night hung over the dreadful catastrophe, and left the whole squadron a prey to the most painful anxiety. The convoy hovered about the harbour until sunrise, when no remains could be discovered either of the Intrepid or her boats. Doubt was turned into certainty, that she had prematurely blown up, as one of the enemy's gunboats was observed to be missing, and several others much shattered and damaged. Commodore Preble, in his account, says, that he was led to believe "that those boats were detached from the enemy's flotilla to intercept the ketch, and without suspecting her to be a fireship, the missing boats had suddenly boarded her, when the gallant Somers and the heroes of his party observing the other three boats surrounding them, and no prospect of escape, determined at once to prefer death, and the destruction of the enemy, to captivity and torturing slavery, put a match to the train leading directly to the magazine, which at once blew the whole into the air, and terminated their existence;" and he

adds, that his "conjectures respecting this affair are founded on a resolution which Captain Somers and Lieutenants Wadsworth and Israel had formed, neither to be taken by the enemy, nor suffer him to get possession of the powder on board the *Intrepid*.*" Soon after these events, Commodore Preble gave up the command in the Mediterranean to Commodore Barron, and returned to the United States. His

* Goldsborough's Naval Chronicle, p. 237.

† In 1794, a proposition was brought forward for creating a navy, and after a sharp debate, a bill was passed by a majority of two only, in the house of representatives, for building four forty-four's and two thirty-six's. The most experienced and skilful ship-builders in the country were sought for, and employed, and the work began in earnest. Humphries and Hacket, master builders and modellers, did themselves great credit by the specimens they produced. In 1798 and 1799, this country had built up a considerable navy; six forty-four's, three thirty-six's, seven thirty-two's, and from fifteen to twenty, or more, smaller vessels of war. This sudden creation of a naval force showed the maritime world, what the resources and energies of our nation were, whenever they should be pushed to develop them. In 1798, the nation were in a state of agitation, and the secretary of war, who was then charged with superintending the concerns of the navy, addressed a letter to the Hon. Samuel Sewall, *chairman of the committee of the house of representatives for the protection of commerce, and the defence of the country*, containing his views of the necessary preparation for the exigencies of the times, to protect our *territory, property, and sovereignty*. All our naval forces were soon put in requisition. An act was passed in May, 1798, which authorized "the president to direct our cruisers to *seize, take, and bring into any port of the United States*, any vessel sailing under the authority of the French republic, hovering on our coast for the purpose of committing depredations on vessels belonging to our citizens," &c. In conformity to this act, Captain Dale, in the *Ganges*, who had been fitted out with limited instructions, received those of a broader nature, but still limited to come strictly within the act of the 28th of May. During the summer, others were ordered out, and our commerce in the West India seas was well protected. Until this period, we had no regular and systematic arrangement in this department; but at this period the cost of building and equipping the navies of other nations were examined, and rules for our own were readily to be found in them, if, in many items, they were considerably different. The strongest arguments were used to show the propriety of efficient measures, and were generally convincing and satisfactory. In this *quasi war*, as it was called by Mr. Adams at that time, the American navy took from the French republic, from 1798 to 1801, between eighty and ninety armed vessels, and re-captured many American vessels, which the French cruisers had taken from the citizens of the United States. The most conspicuous of the engagements in this naval contest, was that of the *Constellation*, Captain Truxton, and the *Insurgente*, of forty guns, and four hundred and nine men, in which the latter was taken; and that of the same American ship and commander, with the *Vengeance*, a fifty-four gun ship, which escaped after she had several times struck her flag. The next in point of size was the *Berceau*, of twenty-four guns, and two hundred and twenty men, taken by the *Boston*, Captain Little. Captain John Shaw, in the *Enterprise*, of twelve guns, captured six armed French vessels, and re-captured eleven American vessels, in a cruise of eight months. In these engagements, in one of which he contended with superior force, he took forty-seven guns and three hundred and seventy-nine men, and in all of them together, the enemy had thirty-one killed and sixty-six wounded. Although there were a few mistakes in the naval affairs of that period, yet, the whole course together, reflected the highest honour on our country, and gave evidence not only to France, but to the other nations, that we were fitted for a naval power, and should soon take our rank with the nations of Europe, on the high seas. Many young officers distinguished themselves, and gave early promise of the high character which they have since sustained. The

eminent services were enthusiastically acknowledged by his admiring fellow-citizens, as well as those of his associates in arms, "whose names," in the expressive language of congress on the occasion, "ought to live in the recollection and affection of a grateful country, and whose conduct ought to be regarded as an example to future generations."†

While the squadron remained before Tripoli other

whole cost of the creation and support of this navy was short of ten millions of dollars; not equal to the revenue of our nation for one year of this war.

Under the act of the third of March, 1801, all the ships and vessels belonging to the navy of the United States, were sold, excepting thirteen, and these, mostly frigates; they brought in the market but a small proportion of their original cost. This sacrifice was a matter of no importance, in comparison with the glory we had gained; aye, something more than fame was gained. The success of our naval forces taught, not only others, but ourselves, that it did not require the pressure of a revolutionary struggle, to make us a maritime nation, in the true naval sense of the word; a nation who could make the greatest exertions to protect and extend a lawful commerce, upon the broadest basis. Avarice might have wished us to have risked nothing, and to have purchased our mercantile privileges by debasement and sycophancy to other nations; and timidity preached to us a long homily upon the mighty powers of these nations, and entered into deep calculations upon the folly of risking any thing, when we were so weak and defenceless; but, thanks to heaven, the proud spirit of our fathers prevailed, and the honour of the nation was not compromised by parsimony or cowardice. It seemed a dream to all the world, that a navy could rise upon the bosom of the ocean, by the power of an infant nation, in so sudden a manner. The fabled pines of Mount Ida were not formed into ships, for the fugitive Trojans, more rapidly than the oaks of our pasture-grounds and forests were thrown into naval batteries, for the protection of commerce, and our national dignity. Scarcely had it been published in the English and continental gazettes, that our navy was sold off, and that we were destitute of a ship of war, before the seas were whitened with the canvass of a navy from our ports, that fled from no equal, and were caught by no superior force.

Scarcely had our differences with France been adjusted, before we were called to contend with a new foe; and then the diminution of our naval force was sorely felt. During our existence as colonies, our trade had been protected in the Mediterranean, by the naval power of the mother country; but after the peace of 1763, the protection of course ceased, and we were obliged to purchase an immunity from capture and slavery, from the sovereignties of Morocco and Algiers. This tribute was galling to a free people, but nothing else could be done to save a valuable commerce, and we consoled ourselves that the most powerful christian nations had done the same, and some of them were still doing the same; and, in fact, all of them, in some way or other, were still tributaries. In the year 1800, an indignity was offered our flag by the dey of Algiers. The ship which was sent to carry our tribute was forcibly sent on a mission from the dey to his master, the Grand Seignior, and although it was managed in such a manner as to produce in the mind of the master of the petty tyrant, a respect for the people of the new world, by the address of the American commander, still the insult was deeply felt in every part of our country. These powers on the coast of Africa were a terror to every mariner; for he, who feared no storms, dreaded captivity in these countries more than death itself. The Barbary powers, Algiers, Tunis, Morocco, and Tripoli, had been the scourge of christendom for ages. They had been pirates for a thousand years; from the time the Greeks had been driven from these shores to the present day, they had plundered the merchants trafficking in the Mediterranean, and made all persons they could get into their possession slaves; and these unfortunate beings they either ransomed at a great price, or cruelly devoted to labour and insults of the worst character. Spain, France, England, Portugal, Denmark, and Sweden, had suffered

deeds of heroism were performed. William Eaton, who had been a captain in the American army, was, at the commencement of this war, consul at Tunis.

immeasurably from the corsairs of these piratical governments, whenever they refused to pay a tribute for their safety. These corsairs were adventurous and skilful seamen, and lived and thrived on the depredations made on all "christian dogs," as they insultingly called their foe. They often swept the Adriatic, depredated on the coast of Spain, and Italy, and France, and infested all the seas of that region; and sometimes ventured on the Atlantic in search of prey. At different periods of history immense efforts had been made to subdue them. In the time of Ferdinand of Spain, he drove them from the seaboard, and for several years kept them in fear and dread of him; but in 1615, Barbarossa, a Turk, and one who had been a corsair, got possession of Algiers, and by every species of cruelty and intrigue, extended his influence and power along the coast for some distance. He fell, as most tyrants have done, in violence and blood, and his brother became, for the security of himself and friends, a tributary to the Grand Seignior. The formidable works erected by the Spaniards while they had possession of the country, were destroyed; and with thirty thousand christian slaves, then unransomed, he built the wall and other works which now defend the city. Spain and Italy, and all true christians, were in tortures at the treatment of their countrymen and fellow christians; and Charles V. of Spain, in 1641, made a bold effort to extirpate this nest of pirates at once. With one hundred and twenty ships, twenty galleys, and thirty thousand men and gentlemen, who had entered into it from religious views, as it was considered a holy war, he commenced his campaign. In this sickle eliminate the elements warred against him, and all this tremendous host were either destroyed by tempests, or killed by the foe, or returned disheartened, notwithstanding the bull of the pope, and the blessing of the cardinals and priests upon the holy expedition. France once in later years, in a fit of resentment, made a spirited attack upon them, but did not follow it up with any permanent efforts. It seems mysterious, but so it was, that the United States should be the first power in modern times who could, or who did, keep in check the corsairs of those seas; and who dared to blow the castles round the heads of those who sought protection in them.

In 1800, the bashaw of Tripoli was anxious to have tribute paid him also, and made his demand in a bold insulting manner. The Bey of Tunis also raised his voice for tribute. On the 15th of May, 1801, the bashaw of Tripoli declared war against the United States. This was precisely the act our naval commanders were desirous of; but the horrors of slavery made a great impression upon the minds of some of our citizens, who clamoured to have every sacrifice made, that we might be kept in security; fortunately this was not the general feeling. Before this declaration of war had been made, the president of the United States had sent Commodore Dale with a squadron of observation, consisting of three frigates and a schooner. His instructions were full of caution, yet not wanting in decision. On the 6th of August, 1801, Lieutenant Sterret, in the *Enterprise*, of twelve guns, took the first Tripolitan ship of war, or the first of any of these Barbary powers which ever struck to our flag. The prize mounted fourteen guns; she had twenty killed and thirty wounded in the action, but there was not an American injured.

This fight fully showed our superiority in naval tactics and gunnery over any thing these pirates could produce. Early in 1802, a relief squadron was sent out to the Mediterranean; Captain R. V. Morris was in command of it. The squadron was one of more efficiency than that of Commodore Dale's. It was well appointed, and provision made for ample supplies. In May, 1803, the bashaw of Tripoli proposed a peace; his *sine qua non* was two hundred thousand dollars, and the expenses of the war. The negotiation was instantly given up, and these terms considered inadmissible. He had become, however, quite tired of being blockaded in his own port. In June, Captain Morris was suspended, for it became apparent that he did not act with sufficient energy; nothing brilliant had been done under his command. The trade it is true had been protected, and probably he thought this the chief end of his duties. The secretary of the navy was not satisfied with this, and he ap-

He there became acquainted with Hamet Caramauly, whom a younger brother had excluded from the throne of Tripoli. With him he concerted an ex-

pointed Commodore Preble to take the command of the squadron. This was a fortunate appointment; Preble was a man of sterling talents, and well acquainted with his duty; of the most cool and determined bravery, and was panting for some occasion for distinction. He had with him some noble spirits, Bainbridge, Decatur and others, cast in the same mould, and animated by the same soul with himself. The squadron had not only to blockade Tripoli, but to watch the movements of Algiers, Morocco, and Tunis; but on the dey of Algiers seeming in better nature than usual, and the emperor of Morocco coming to terms, Preble made up his mind to attack Tripoli with what force he had, and a few gun-boats he had hired at Naples. On the 3d of August, 1804, he made the first attack. These gun-boats gave our men an opportunity of showing their personal strength, science, and bravery, in attack and defence; for the combatants came, as in ancient times, hand to hand and breast to breast. The minute details of this and the other attacks on this city, would furnish a story of as much prowess and chivalrous gallantry as any of the wars in the Holy Land. The deeds of the lover-knights were then sung by the minstrel, and for ages after were breathed in bower and hall, and are not yet forgotten, but still enamour the brave and the fair in this cool age of philosophy;—shall our heroes want an historian? After the second attack, which was made on the 5th of the same month, the bashaw lowered his terms for peace, offering to take five hundred dollars for each prisoner, and require no stipulation for peace hereafter. This also was not admissible. On the 28th, another attack was made; and the next on the 3d of September. The fickleness of the seas in winter would not admit of any further attacks this season. The next summer they were to be renewed with a vigorous determination to carry fire and sword into the palace of the bashaw. On the 10th of September, Preble surrendered his command to Commodore Barron. The secretary said that this was a matter of necessity. The secretary was an honourable man. Enough was done to induce the bashaw to make peace on the 3d of June, 1805, on favourable terms, or rather on just terms. Thus ended a war which surprised the nations of Europe. They had often smiled to think the United States, a new-born nation, should be so presumptuous as to suppose that she could put down these predatory hordes, which had exacted tribute from all the commercial world, from time immemorial; but it was done, and the lookers on were astonished at the events as they transpired. The Pope, who had ever been deeply interested in all these pagan wars, or rather, all these wars against pagan powers, declared that this infant nation had done more in a few years, in checking the insolence of these infidels, than all the nations of Europe for ages. The thunders of the Vatican had passed harmlessly over these pirates' heads, through more than ten successors of St. Peter, until the United States had brought these infidels to terms by the absolute force of naval power. The head of the church saw that the people of a free nation had felt the degradation of paying tribute, and were determined to do so no longer than they could concentrate their energies, and direct them to bear upon the general foe of christendom. The whole was indeed a wonder, that a nation that scarcely had risen into the great family of independent powers, should be able to grapple with, and in a measure subdue, these barbarians, who had been for so long a time the scourge of mankind. We had not taken one power alone, but all from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. The Doge, who had been wedded to the Adriatic, and promised for the dower of his bride, the dominion of the seas from the Delta of Egypt to the straits of Gibraltar, had never in the pride of aristocratic strength, claimed the honour of humbling the "insolent Turk" to the extent that the United States had done in a few years. The arm of liberty, when properly directed, was always deadly to despotism. These exertions gave our flag a rank among the nations of Europe, in these classical seas, in which so great a proportion of all the sea-fights in the annals of man had taken place, from the early ages of fable and romance to modern times. The corsair, who had been the terror of the world, was now found a furious, but not unconquerable foe; and the barbarians, whose tremendous fierceness had been the tale of wonder

pedition against the reigning sovereign, and repaired to the United States to obtain permission and the means to undertake it. Permission was granted, the co-operation of the squadron recommended, and such pecuniary assistance as could be spared was afforded. To raise an army in Egypt, and lead it to attack the usurper in his dominions, was the project which had been concerted. In the beginning of 1805, Eaton met Hamet at Alexandria, and was

appointed general of his forces. On the 6th of March, at the head of a respectable body of mounted Arabs, and about seventy Christians, he set out for Tripoli. His route lay across a desert one thousand miles in extent. On his march, he encountered peril, fatigue, and suffering, the description of which would resemble the exaggerations of romance. On the 25th of April, having been fifty days on the march, he arrived before Derne, a Tripolitan city on

in every age, seemed, in our mode of warfare, less dangerous than the aborigines we had been contending with from the cradle of our nation. We have sworn to pay no tribute in this region, but this were vain; shall not the mighty dead demand the tribute of a tear? And shall this be denied? Shall not the lover of his country shed one sacred dew drop of nature to the memory of Somers, Wadsworth, and Israel? Shall we repeat the glories of Salamis and of the Nile, and forget our own heroes who devoted themselves to destruction for our honour? Oh! no; such actions are rare on the page of history, and shall not be forgotten; the dust of the sons of men shall acknowledge that there does exist, in the soul of the brave, a romantic love of country and of fame, when reminded of the deeds and fate of these victims; and shall we be wanting in these reminiscences? No; generous spirits! you shall be brought forth on all proper occasions, and your country's historians charged with handing down to the latest posterity your noble sacrifice—that of self-immolation on your country's altar. Your business was to die, and you have finished it up; be it ours to take in charge your fame, and transmit it to future times.

Here I shall stop as to the history of our navy, for all the incidents on which future history is to be founded, are fully blazoned in the newspapers of the day, and so generally spread upon the pages of our literary and historical journals, that it would be premature, perhaps, to attempt to condense, connect, and correct them for history; the laurels of our navy are too green and dewy at this hour to be fit to garner up for preservation; but suffice it now to say, that we are contented with the present size of our navy, and are proud of its fame in every stage of its growth. A navy should always be in proportion to the number, the wealth, the commerce, and the spirit of a people. It should grow no faster than its duties are required, and never over represent the strength of a nation. Its growth should be so gradual that no ignorance of nautical subjects should ever be seen in the crew of a ship, and still new sailors should be instructed in every cruise. The greatest possible science and efficiency in the smallest possible compass, should be the standing maxim of those who love a navy. It is not the creation of a navy, that we are now, as a nation, to think of; it is only the management and increase of that navy, that should be brought forward as subjects of consideration; and for this increase we can have no particular anxiety. Skilful artificers to build a navy have never been wanting in this country since its earliest days; they abound now, and are possessed of all the improvements in the art of ship-building; and these are not a few. On our part of this continent we have timber enough for all the navies of the world; our forests and pastures produce it faster than it can be used; and science has taught us to make as much again as we used to, of what we have. In addition to these great stores, the providence of a late secretary of the navy, with the assistance of congress, has secured an abundance of the best of live oak, by reserving for the use of the government, an immense forest of this growth in Florida. This cost the nation but little more than the sagacious efforts of a man of political forecast; the worth of a statesman is seldom known until he passes away; and those who do the most good, often share the fate that the ignorant and time-serving deserve, or a worse one. We can never want for sailors, as long as our cod and whale fishery are pursued, and our foreign commerce is protected.

Our mariners have amounted to one hundred and eight thousand, and over; a fourth part of these can, on an emergency, be spared for the navy, and these, with a small proportion of fresh recruits,

would instantly make up a most formidable force for naval operations. The iron and hemp, or its substitute, cotton, can easily be found here, and will be supplied as fast as wanted. The only materiel we were ever charged to be wanting in, was scientific navigators, not hardy seamen, and these we are every day schooling for our requisitions. The two hundred and fifty lieutenants, and the four hundred and sixteen midshipmen, will supply the place of those who, in the course of nature, pass away, and the list of our veteran naval officers is rapidly diminishing. Those who come up will not naturally be greater men than their predecessors; but it will not be denied that their advantages for obtaining knowledge will be much greater. Bravery remains as it has been—and how could it be exceeded?—nautical science is advancing with us as in other countries. There is not a discovery in agriculture, the arts, or in manufacturing, that has not a bearing upon our navy, directly or indirectly. The cost of building, supporting, and educating a navy, is now nearly reduced to a standing certainty. The people can at once make calculations for themselves; there is no mystery about the matter; for they can at a glance estimate the expenses of this branch of power. One man from every hundred persons, in our community, and two days labour every year for those persons in our country capable of labour, will support a navy far superior to whatever the most ambitious statesman will ever ask of the country. And to whom is this paid? All to ourselves: *millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute*, was the maxim of our infancy as a nation. This will be perpetual; but a wiser one will be, never to ask, or seek for that power, that will make other nations tributary to us, except through the medium of a liberal reciprocity in commerce. That nation is hated, however much it may be feared, who domineers over another from the mere consciousness of power; and that nation despised, that succumbs, while it can maintain its existence and independence by any sacrifices whatever. We must not be too impatient for greatness; we are indeed apt to be so, for we have witnessed what no other nation has before seen, a people grow as rapidly into wealth and power as an enterprising individual ever did. Other nations have waited for centuries, for what we have experienced in the course of half a human life, a fourfold increase. The growth of the navy of our mother country, has been slow, compared with ours; but in truth no comparison exists. They made their navy for self-existence, and for an extension of power; ours grew out of a spirit of independence, and will, we trust, be maintained for the same glorious principle. But if all the ships we now own, were sunk in the ocean, and every navy officer with them, gallant, skilful, and intelligent as they are, the American navy would not be destroyed. The navy exists in the hearts and wills of the people; and in the event of its destruction, it would be re-created as certain as the existence of the nation; all prejudices against a navy have been overcome and destroyed for ever; and this is sufficient. The permanence of our navy depends on public opinion, and this is made up irrevocably. The decree of this republic has gone forth; and none but the God of battles can reverse it, and that decree is, *the United States must and shall be a naval power, and her flag shall be respected in every quarter of the globe*. This decree rests on no contingency, no change of party, no particular administration of government; it is incorporated with our *habits*, it is a good share of our *feelings*, and it is, also, a part of our *fame*. A mighty, a growing people, whose impulses are "*thought-executing fires*," and whose settled determination is fate, have lifted their voice, and it must be obeyed.

—American Editor.

the Mediterranean, and found in the harbour a part of the American squadron destined to assist him. He learnt also that the usurper, having received notice of his approach, had raised a considerable army, and was then within a day's march of the city. No time was therefore to be lost. The next morning he summoned the governor to surrender, who returned for answer, "My head or yours." The city was assaulted, and after a contest of two hours and a half, possession was gained. The Christians suffered severely, and the general was slightly wounded. Great exertions were immediately made to fortify the city. On the 8th of May it was attacked by the Tripolitan army. Although ten times more numerous than Eaton's band, the assailants, after persisting four hours in the attempt, were compelled to retire. On the 10th of June another battle was fought, in

which the enemy were defeated. The next day the American frigate *Constitution* arrived in the harbour, which so terrified the Tripolitans that they fled precipitately to the desert. The frigate came, however, to arrest the operations of Eaton in the midst of his brilliant and successful career. Alarmed at his progress, the reigning bashaw had offered terms of peace, which, being much more favourable than had before been offered, were accepted by Mr. Lear, the authorized agent of the government. Sixty thousand dollars were given as a ransom for the unfortunate American prisoners, and an engagement was made to withdraw all support from Hamet. The nation, proud of the exploits of Eaton,* regretted this diplomatic interference, but the treaty was subsequently ratified by the president and senate.

During the year 1804 the Delaware Indians re-

* Every country has its own chivalrous characters, and our own, young as it is, abounds in them. A volume would not contain the names of those who have passed the ordinary bounds of duty, in the high callings of patriotic display. From John Smith and Miles Standish, down to Wadsworth and his gallant friends, who made themselves a sacrifice on the altar of their country's glory, there have not been wanting men who emulated the heroes of antiquity. Among these may be ranked William Eaton, who was born at Woodstock, in Connecticut, on the 20th of February, 1764. His father was a small farmer, and William was one of thirteen children. He was considered a bright boy, and distinguished himself in the common school in his native town, the good people of which thought him destined to make a superior man; but nothing offering to suit him in the way of traffic, or as a profession, he, at sixteen years of age, enlisted as a common soldier. In this situation he remained until 1783, when he was discharged with the rank of corporal. He was now determined on the study of the languages, and by dint of application, yet with very little assistance, he prepared himself to enter Dartmouth college. On leaving college, in order to earn a subsistence, he commenced a school, which he continued for three years; but he was not satisfied with his employment, and panted for something of a more active nature. The house of representatives in the state of Vermont, made him, for a time, their clerk, after which, by the recommendations of individuals of that state, he obtained a captain's commission in the army of the United States. He proceeded to the frontiers with his company, where he served under General Wayne, and gained the reputation of a gallant officer. In 1797, he was appointed consul at Tunis. In the discharge of his duties in this office, he was frequently embroiled with the Bey, and his life endangered by the daring and independent course he pursued. He may be said to have bearded the barbarian in his castle. The course of his conduct in this situation was such as no representative of any christian power had ever set an example, and he escaped death by a miracle. About this time, the bashaw of Tripoli declared war against the United States. The reigning bashaw was a usurper, and the lawful one, his brother, was at Tunis, in exile. Eaton concerted a plan with the exile, to attack Tripoli by land, while our squadron should co-operate with them, on the sea shore. Eaton returned to the United States, and laid his plan before our government; but they, thinking the scheme altogether too romantic, yet not wishing wholly to discourage it, made him agent for the government; and he sailed with the fleet for the Mediterranean. He proceeded to Alexandria, and by address and management, prevailed on the viceroy of Egypt to suffer him to have an interview with the exiled Bey, who was now among the Mamalukes, in a most distressed situation. They met near Grand Cairo, and entered into a convention for the purpose of attacking Tripoli. Eaton was to be commander in chief of the land forces. Their army consisted of a

few American sailors, a small company of artillery, a few straggling Greeks, the servants of Hamet Bashaw, and some camel drivers. With this motley band, he dashed across the desert, in the most noble style, fearless of all difficulties. They were joined by a few Arabian cavalry, and after suffering every hardship, arising from hunger, thirst, and a scorching sun, they reached Bomba, where they found the *Argus* and *Hornet*, under the command of Captain Hull, who supplied him and his men with provisions. The army of near four hundred, continued their march to Derne. On the 25th of April, 1804, they encamped near the city, on an eminence which commanded the place, and forthwith sent in a flag to demand a surrender. The inhabitants of Derne thought the exiled Bey was demented, and treated the summons with contempt. A furious assault was made by this strange army, and the place was carried after a short, but desperate action. Sixteen days afterwards, several thousand troops of the bashaw's army attacked the victors, but were repulsed with great loss. Shortly after this, another attack was made upon Eaton's forces, and again the Tripolitans were defeated. Eight days after this engagement, another battle was fought, in which Eaton contended with ten times his force. In this he would have been successful, but at the precise moment when victory was about to perch on his adventurous standard, he received the appalling intelligence, that the American commissioners in the fleet, had made a peace with the bashaw then in power. It was stipulated, that Eaton should evacuate Derne, and repair to the fleet. This was a death-blow to his hopes. He felt himself insulted and disgraced, to be obliged, after all his exertions and sacrifices, to leave his friends like a recreant or a coward; but there was no other course for him to pursue. Hamet Bashaw came to the United States, with a few of his followers, and the remainder of the army fled to the mountains. The commissioners acknowledged that his success paved the way to the treaty of peace. The president of the United States, in a message to congress, spoke highly of General Eaton's services; and the citizens every where hailed him as worthy of a place in the lists of chivalry.

Something more substantial than praise was awarded him by the state of Massachusetts, the legislature of which granted him 10,000 acres of land, as a reward for his heroism and services. Yet, notwithstanding all the honours bestowed on him, his feelings were wounded beyond a cure. He could not forget that the laurel was within his grasp, and that it had been snatched from him, as he thought, by envious feelings at his prospect of brilliant success. The people of the town in which he resided, elected him as their representative to the legislature of Massachusetts, and he was received in Boston with every mark of attention. There he entered deeply into public business, and seemed anxious to become an orator. He had a good voice, a fine command of expressive language, and at first made a strong impression upon the public; but he talked when he had not examined the subject, and often involved himself

linquished to the United States their title to an extensive tract east of the Mississippi, between the Wabash and Ohio, for which they were to receive annuities in animals and implements for agriculture, and in other necessities. This was an important acquisition, not only for its extent and fertility, but because, by its commanding the Ohio for three hundred miles, and nearly half that distance the Wabash, the produce of the settled country could be safely conveyed down those rivers, and, with the cession recently made by the Kaskaskias, it nearly consolidated the possessions of the United States north of the Ohio, from Lake Erie to the Mississippi.

Early in the following year Mr. Jefferson was re-elected to fill the president's chair by the decided majority of sixty-two votes against sixteen, a circumstance which he viewed as an indication of a great decay in the strength of the federal party.* George Clinton was also elected vice-president.

The American government at this period began to be seriously affected by the contest which was raging in Europe. Under the guidance of the splendid talents of Napoleon the military prowess of France had brought most of the European nations to her feet. England, however, still retained almost undisputed command of the ocean, expelling every hostile navy from the seas. America profited from the destruction of the ships and commerce of other nations; being neutral, her vessels carried from port to port the productions of France and the dependant kingdoms; and also to the ports of those kingdoms the manufactures of England: indeed, few ships were found on the ocean except those of the United States and Great Britain. These advantages were, however, too great to be long enjoyed unmolested. American ships carrying to Europe the produce of French colonies were, in the early stage of the war, captured by British cruisers, and condemned by their courts as lawful prizes; and now several European ports under the control of France were, by British orders in council, dated in May, 1806, declared in a state of blockade, although not invested with a British fleet; and American vessels attempting to enter those ports were also captured and condemned. France and her allies suffered, as well as the United States, from these proceedings; but her vengeance fell not so much upon the belli-

gerent as upon the neutral party. By a decree, issued at Berlin in November, 1806, the French emperor declared the British Islands in a state of blockade, and of course authorized the capture of all neutral vessels attempting to trade with those islands. From these measures of both nations the commerce of the United States severely suffered, and their merchants loudly demanded of the government redress and protection.

This was not the only grievance to which the contest between the European powers gave rise. Great Britain claimed a right to search for and seize English sailors, even on board neutral vessels while traversing the ocean. In the exercise of this pretended right, citizens of the United States were seized, dragged from their friends, transported to distant parts of the world, compelled to perform the duty of British sailors, and to fight with nations at peace with their own. Against this outrage upon personal liberty and the rights of American citizens, Washington, Adams, and Jefferson had remonstrated in vain. The abuse continued, and every year added to its aggravation. In June, 1807, a circumstance occurred which highly and justly incensed the Americans. The frigate *Chesapeake*, being ordered on a cruise in the Mediterranean sea, under the command of Commodore Barron, sailing from Hampton Roads, was come up with by the British ship of war *Leopard*, one of a squadron then at anchor within the limits of the United States. An officer was sent from the *Leopard* to the *Chesapeake*, with a note from the captain respecting some deserters from some of his Britannic majesty's ships, supposed to be serving as part of the crew of the *Chesapeake*, and enclosing a copy of an order from Vice-Admiral Berkeley, requiring and directing the commanders of ships and vessels under his command, in case of meeting with the American frigate at sea, and without the limits of the United States, to show the order to her captain, and to require to search his ship for the deserters from certain ships therein named, and to proceed and search for them; and if a similar demand should be made by the American, he was permitted to search for deserters from their service, according to the customs and usage of civilized nations on terms of amity with each other. Commodore Barron gave an answer, purporting that he knew of

in blunders, from which he had no art to get free; and at length lost his influence in debate. He was chafed by the slightest opposition, and such irritability will never do for one who enters upon the arena of debate. He became irregular in his habits, and sought to drown his sorrows in the wine cup; but he forgot that miseries are sadly multiplied by drink, as images are in the vision of the

inebriated. He died in 1811. In some of his compositions, there is a depth and force that is impressive. His mind was of an epic cast, and had he lived in the days of the crusades, his name would have been numbered with the Dunois' of song.—*Knapp's American Biography*.

* *Memoirs and Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. iv. p. 34.

no such men as were described; that the recruiting officers for the Chesapeake had been particularly instructed by the government, through him, not to enter any deserters from his Britannic Majesty's ships; that he knew of none such being in her; that he was instructed never to permit the crew of any ship under his command to be mustered by any officers but her own; that he was disposed to preserve harmony, and hoped his answer would prove satisfactory. The *Leopard*, shortly after this answer was received by her commander, ranged along side of the *Chesapeake*, and commenced a heavy fire upon her. The *Chesapeake*, unprepared for action, made no resistance, but having suffered much damage, and lost three men killed, and eighteen wounded, Commodore Barron ordered his colours to be struck, and sent a lieutenant on board the *Leopard*, to inform her commander that he considered the *Chesapeake* her prize. The commander of the *Leopard* sent an officer on board, who took possession of the *Chesapeake*, mustered her crew, and, carrying off four of her men, abandoned the ship. Commodore Barron, finding that the *Chesapeake* was very much injured, returned, with the advice of his officers, to Hampton Roads. On receiving information of this outrage, the president, by proclamation, interdicted the harbours and waters of the United States to all armed British vessels, forbade intercourse with them, and ordered a sufficient force for the protection of Norfolk, and such other preparations as the occasion appeared to require. An armed vessel of the United States was despatched with instructions to the American minister at London to call on the British government for the satisfaction and security which this outrage required.

Bonaparte having declared his purpose of enforcing with rigour the Berlin decree; the British government having solemnly asserted the right of search and impressment, and having intimated their intention to adopt measures in retaliation of the French decree, the president recommended to congress that the seamen, ships, and merchandise of the United States should be detained in port to preserve them from the dangers which threatened them on the ocean; and a law laying an indefinite embargo was in consequence enacted. A few days only had elapsed when information was received that Great Britain had prohibited neutrals, except upon most injurious conditions, from trading with France or her allies, comprising nearly every maritime nation of Europe. This was followed in a few weeks by a decree issued by Bonaparte, at Milan, declaring that every neutral vessel which should submit to be

visited by a British ship, or comply with the terms demanded, should be confiscated, if afterwards found in his ports, or taken by his cruisers. Thus, at the date of the embargo, were orders and decrees in existence rendering liable to capture almost every American vessel sailing on the ocean. In the New England states, the embargo, withholding the merchant from a career in which he had been highly prosperous, and in which he imagined that he might still be favoured by fortune, occasioned discontent and clamour. The federalists, more numerous there than in any other part of the union, pronounced it a measure unwise and oppressive. These representations, and the distress which the people endured, induced a zealous opposition to the measures of the government.

The president, in his message on the opening of the tenth congress, stated the continued disregard shown by the belligerent nations to neutral rights, so destructive to the American commerce; and referred it to the wisdom of congress to decide on the course best adapted to such a state of things. "With the Barbary powers," he said, "we continue in harmony, with the exception of an unjustifiable proceeding of the dey of Algiers towards our consul to that regency," the character and circumstances of which he laid before congress. "With our Indian neighbours the public peace has been steadily maintained. From a conviction that we consider them as a part of ourselves, and cherish with sincerity their rights and interests, the attachment of the Indian tribes is gaining strength daily, is extending from the nearer to the more remote, and will amply requite us for the justice and friendship practised towards them. Husbandry and household manufacture are advancing among them, more rapidly with the southern than northern tribes, from circumstances of soil and climate; and one of the two great divisions of the Cherokee nation has now under consideration to solicit the friendship of the United States, and to be identified with us in laws and government in such progressive manner as we shall think best."

Mr. Jefferson, following and confirming the example of Washington, determined not to continue in office for a longer term than eight years. "Never did a prisoner," says the president of the American republic, "released from his chains, feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of power. Nature intended me for the tranquil pursuits of science, by rendering them my supreme delight. But the enormities of the times in which I have lived have forced me to take a part in resisting them, and to commit myself on the boisterous ocean of political passions. I thank God for the opportunity

of retiring from them without censure, and carrying with me the most consoling proofs of public approbation. I leave every thing in the hands of men so able to take care of them, that if we are destined to meet misfortunes it will be because no human wisdom could avert them.”*

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION OF MR. MADISON.

MR. JEFFERSON was succeeded in the presidency by Mr. Madison. He stated in his inaugural address, that, “Unwilling to depart from examples of the most revered authority, I avail myself of the occasion, now presented, to express the profound impression made on me by the call of my country to the station, to the duties of which I am about to pledge myself, by the most solemn of sanctions. So distinguished a mark of confidence, proceeding from the deliberate and tranquil suffrage of a free and virtuous nation, would, under any circumstances, have commanded my gratitude and devotion, as well as filled me with an awful sense of the trust to be assumed. Under the various circumstances which give peculiar solemnity to the existing period, I feel, that both the honour and the responsibility, allotted to me, are inexpressibly enhanced.

“The present situation of the world is indeed without a parallel; and that of our country full of difficulties. The pressure of these too is the more severely felt, because they have fallen upon us at a moment, when national prosperity being at a height not before attained, the contrast resulting from this change has been rendered the more striking. Under the benign influence of our republican institutions, and the maintenance of peace with all nations, whilst so many of them were engaged in bloody and wasteful wars, the fruits of a just policy were enjoyed in an unrivalled growth of our faculties and resources. Proofs of this were seen in the improvements of agriculture; in the successful enterprises of commerce; in the progress of manufactures and useful arts; in the increase of the public revenue, and the use made of it in reducing the public debt; and in the valuable works and establishments every where multiplying over the face of our land.

“It is a precious reflection, that the transition from this prosperous condition of our country to the scene, which has for some time been distressing us, is not

chargeable on any unwarrantable views, nor, as I trust, on any involuntary errors in the public councils. Indulging no passions which trespass on the rights or the repose of other nations, it has been the true glory of the United States to cultivate peace, by observing justice, and to entitle themselves to the respect of the nations at war by fulfilling their neutral obligations with the most scrupulous impartiality. If there be candour in the world, the truth of these assertions will not be questioned. Posterity at least will do justice to them.

“This unexceptionable course could not avail against the injustice and violence of the belligerent powers. In their rage against each other, or impelled by more direct motives, principles of retaliation have been introduced, equally contrary to universal reason and acknowledged law. How long their arbitrary edicts will be continued in spite of the demonstrations, that not even a pretext for them has been given by the United States, and of the fair and liberal attempts to induce a revocation of them, cannot be anticipated. Assuring myself, that under every vicissitude, the determined spirit and united councils of the nation will be safeguards to its honour, and its essential interests, I repair to the post assigned me with no other discouragement than what springs from my own inadequacy to its high duties. If I do not sink under the weight of this deep conviction, it is because I find some support in a consciousness of the purposes, and a confidence in the principles which I bring with me into this arduous service.

“To cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations having correspondent dispositions; to maintain sincere neutrality towards belligerent nations; to prefer, in all cases, amicable discussions and reasonable accommodation of differences, to a decision of them by an appeal to arms; to exclude foreign intrigues and foreign partialities, so degrading to all countries and so baneful to free ones; to foster a spirit of independence, too just to invade the rights of others, too proud to surrender our own, too liberal to indulge unworthy prejudices ourselves, and too elevated not to look down upon them in others; to hold the union of the states as the basis of their peace and happiness; to support the constitution, which is the cement of the union, as well in its limitations as in its authorities; to respect the rights and authorities reserved to the states and to the people, as equally incorporated with and essential to the success of the general system; to avoid the slightest interference with the rights of conscience or the functions of religion, so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction; to preserve, in their full energy, the other salutary provisions in behalf of pri-

* Memoirs, &c. vol. iv. p. 129.

vate and personal rights, and of the freedom of the press; to observe economy in public expenditures; to liberate the public resources by an honourable discharge of the public debts; to keep within the requisite limits a standing military force, always remembering, that an armed and trained militia is the firmest bulwark of republics, that without standing armies their liberty can never be in danger, nor, with large ones, safe; to promote, by authorized means, improvements friendly to agriculture, to manufactures, and to external as well as internal commerce; to favour, in like manner, the advancement of science and the diffusion of information, as the best aliment to true liberty; to carry on the benevolent plans which have been so meritoriously applied to the conversion of our aboriginal neighbours, from the degradation and wretchedness of savage life, to a participation of the improvements of which the human mind and manners are susceptible in a civilized state:—as far as sentiments and intentions such as these can aid the fulfilment of my duty, they will be a resource which cannot fail me.

"It is my good fortune, moreover, to have the path in which I am to tread, lighted by examples of illustrious services, successfully rendered in the most trying difficulties, by those who have marched before me. Of those of my immediate predecessor, it might least become me here to speak; I may, however, be pardoned for not suppressing the sympathy, with which my heart is full, in the rich reward he enjoys in the benedictions of a beloved country, gratefully bestowed for exalted talents, zealously devoted, through a long career, to the advancement of its highest interest and happiness. But the source to which I look for the aids, which alone can supply my deficiencies, is in the well tried intelligence and virtue of my fellow-citizens, and in the councils of those representing them in the other departments associated in the care of the national interests. In these, my confidence will, under every difficulty, be best placed; next to that, we have all been encouraged to feel in the guardianship and guidance of that Almighty Being, whose power regulates the destiny of nations, whose blessings have been so conspicuously dispensed to this rising republic, and to whom we are bound to address our devout gratitude for the past, as well as our fervent supplications and best hopes for the future."

One of the first acts of congress under the new president was to repeal the embargo; but at the same time to prohibit all intercourse with France and England.

In the non-intercourse law a provision was inserted, that if either nation should revoke her hostile edicts, and the president should announce that fact

by proclamation, then the law should cease to be in force in regard to the nation so revoking. On the 23d of April, Mr. Erskine, minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty to the United States, pledged his court to repeal its anti-neutral decrees by the 10th of June; and, in consequence of an arrangement now made with the British minister, the president proclaimed that commercial intercourse would be renewed on that day; but this arrangement was disavowed by the ministry; and, in October, Mr. Erskine was replaced by Mr. Jackson, who soon giving offence to the American government, all further intercourse with him was refused, and he was recalled.

The Rambouillet decree, alleged to be designed to retaliate the act of congress, which forbade French vessels to enter the ports of the United States, was issued by Bonaparte on the 23d of March. By this decree, all American vessels and cargoes, arriving in any of the ports of France, or of countries occupied by French troops, were ordered to be seized and condemned.

On the 1st of May congress passed an act, excluding British and French armed vessels from the waters of the United States; but providing, that if either of the above nations should modify its edicts before the 3d of March, 1811, so that they should cease to violate neutral commerce, of which fact the president was to give notice by proclamation, and the other nation should not, within three months after, pursue a similar course, commercial intercourse with the first might be renewed; but not with the other.

In August the French government assured Mr. Armstrong, the American envoy at Paris, that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked, the revocation to take effect on the first day of November ensuing. Confiding in this assurance, the president, on the second day of November, issued his proclamation, declaring that unrestrained commerce with France was allowed, but that all intercourse with Great Britain was prohibited.

Great Britain having previously expressed a willingness to repeal her orders, whenever France should repeal her decrees, was now called upon by the American envoy to fulfil that engagement. The British ministry objected, however, that the French decrees could not be considered as repealed, a letter from the minister of state not being, for that purpose, a document of sufficient authority; and still persisted to enforce the orders in council. For this purpose British ships of war were stationed before the principal harbours of the United States. All American merchantmen, departing or returning, were

boarded, searched, and many of them sent to British ports as legal prizes. The contempt in which the British officers held the Republican navy, in one instance, led to an action. Commodore Rogers, in the President frigate, met in the evening a vessel on the coast of Virginia: he hailed; but, instead of receiving an answer, was hailed in turn, and a shot was fired, which struck the mainmast of the President. The fire was instantly returned by the commodore, and continued for a few minutes, when, finding his antagonist was of inferior force, and that her guns were almost silenced, he desisted. On hailing again, an answer was given, that the ship was the British sloop of war, *Little Belt*, of eighteen guns. Thirty-two of her men were killed and wounded, and the ship was much disabled.

For several years the Indian tribes, residing near the sources of the Mississippi, had occupied themselves in murdering and robbing the white settlers in their vicinity. At length the frontier inhabitants, being seriously alarmed by their hostile indications, in the autumn of 1811 Governor Harrison resolved to move towards the Prophet's town, on the Wabash, with a body of Kentucky and Indiana militia, and the fourth United States regiment, under Colonel Boyd, to demand satisfaction of the Indians, and to put a stop to their threatened hostilities. His expedition was made early in November. On his approach within a few miles of the Prophet's town, the principal chiefs came out with offers of peace and submission, and requested the governor to encamp for the night; but this was only a treacherous artifice. At four in the morning the camp was furiously assailed, and a bloody contest ensued; the Indians were however repulsed. The loss on the part of the Americans was sixty-two killed, and one hundred and twenty-six wounded, and a still greater number on the side of the Indians. Governor Harrison, having destroyed the Prophet's town, and established forts, returned to Vincennes.

In November reparation was made by the British for the attack on the Chesapeake. Mr. Foster, the British envoy, informed the secretary of the United States, that he was instructed to repeat to the American government the prompt disavowal made by his majesty, on being apprized of the unauthorized act of the officer in command of his naval forces on the coast of America, whose recall from a highly important and honourable command immediately ensued, as a mark of his majesty's disapprobation; that he was authorized to offer, in addition to that disavowal on the part of his royal highness, the immediate restoration, as far as circumstances would admit, of the men

who, in consequence of Admiral Berkeley's orders, were forcibly taken out of the Chesapeake, to the vessels from which they were taken; or, if that ship were no longer in commission, to such seaport of the United States as the American government may name for the purpose; and that he was also authorized to offer to the American government a suitable pecuniary provision for the sufferers, in consequence of the attack on the Chesapeake, including the families of those seamen who fell in the action, and of the wounded survivors. The president acceded to these propositions; and the officer commanding the Chesapeake, then lying in the harbour of Boston, was instructed to receive the men who were to be restored to that ship. The British envoy, however, could give no assurance that his government was disposed to make a satisfactory arrangement of the subject of impressment, or to repeal the orders in council. These orders, on the contrary, continued to be enforced with rigour; and, on the restoration of a free commerce with France, a large number of American vessels, laden with rich cargoes, and destined to her ports, fell into the power of British cruisers, which, since 1803, had captured nine hundred American vessels.

Early in November, 1811, President Madison summoned the congress. His message indicating an apprehension of hostilities with Great Britain, the committee of foreign relations in the house of representatives reported resolutions for filling up the ranks of the army; for raising an additional force of ten thousand men; for authorizing the president to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers, and for ordering out the militia when he should judge it necessary; for repairing the navy; and for authorizing the arming of merchantmen in self-defence. A bill from the senate, for raising twenty-five thousand men, after much discussion, was also agreed to by the house.

The American congress, although continuing the preparations for war, still cherished the hope that a change of policy in Europe would render unnecessary an appeal to arms till May in the following year. Towards the close of that season, the *Hornet* arrived from London, bringing information that no prospect existed of a favourable change. On the 1st of June, the president sent a message to congress, recounting the wrongs received from Great Britain, and submitting the question, whether the United States should continue to endure them, or resort to war? The message was considered with closed doors. On the 18th, an act was passed, declaring war against Great Britain; and the next day a proclamation was issued. Against this declaration, however, the representatives, belonging to the federal

party, presented a solemn protest, which was written with great ability.

At the time of the declaration of war, General Hull was also governor of the Michigan territory, of which Detroit is the capital. On the 12th of July, with two thousand regulars and volunteers, he crossed the river dividing the United States from Canada, apparently intending to attack Malden, and thence to proceed to Montreal. Information was, however, received, that Mackinaw, an American post above Detroit, had surrendered to a large body of British and Indians, who were rushing down the river in numbers sufficient to overwhelm the American forces. Panic-struck, General Hull hastened back to Detroit. General Brock, the commander at Malden, pursued him, and erected batteries opposite Detroit. The next day, meeting with no resistance, General Brock resolved to march directly forward and assault the fort. The American troops awaited the approach of the enemy, and anticipated victory; but, to their dismay, General Hull opened a correspondence, which ended in the surrender of the army, and of the territory of Michigan. An event so disgraceful, occurring in a quarter where success was confidently anticipated, caused the greatest mortification and amazement throughout the union.

General Van Rensselaer, of the New York militia, had the command of the troops which were called the army of the centre. His head-quarters were at Lewistown on the river Niagara, and on the opposite side was Queenstown, a fortified British post. The militia displaying great eagerness to be led against the enemy, the general determined to cross the river at the head of about one thousand men: though successful at first, he was compelled, after a long and obstinate engagement, to surrender. General Brock, the British commander, fell in rallying his troops.

The army of the north, which was under the immediate command of General Dearborn, was stationed at Greenbush, near Albany, and at Plattsburgh, on Lake Champlain. From the latter post, a detachment marched a short distance into Canada, surprised a small body of British and Indians, and destroyed a considerable quantity of public stores. Other movements were anxiously expected by the people; but, after the misfortunes of Detroit and Niagara, the general deemed it inexpedient to engage in any important enterprise.

While, on land, defeat and disgrace attended the arms of the republic, on the ocean they gained victories, which compensated their loss, and relieved their wounded pride. On the 19th of August, Cap-

tain Hull, commanding the Constitution, of forty-four guns, fell in with the British frigate, *Le Guerriere*. She advanced towards the Constitution, firing broadsides at intervals; the American reserved her fire till she had approached within half pistol shot, when a tremendous cannonade was directed upon her, and in thirty minutes, every mast and nearly every spar being shot away, Captain Dacres struck his flag. Of the crew, fifty were killed and sixty-four wounded; while the Constitution had only seven killed and seven wounded. The *Guerriere* received so much injury, that it was thought to be impossible to get her into port, and she was burned. Captain Hull, on his return to the United States, was welcomed with enthusiasm by his grateful and admiring countrymen. The vast difference in the number of killed and wounded certainly evinced great skill, as well as bravery, on the part of the American seamen. But this was the first only of a series of naval victories. On the 18th of October, Captain Jones, in the *Wasp*, of eighteen guns, captured the *Frolic*, of twenty-two, after a bloody conflict of three-quarters of an hour. In this action the Americans obtained a victory over a superior force; and, on their part, but eight were killed and wounded, while on that of the enemy about eighty. The *Wasp* was unfortunately captured, soon after her victory, by a British ship of the line. On the 25th, the frigate United States, commanded by Captain Decatur, captured the British frigate *Macedonian*. In this instance, also, the disparity of loss was astonishingly great: on the part of the enemy, a hundred and four were killed and wounded; on that of the Americans but eleven. The United States brought her prize safely to New York. A most desperate action was fought, on the 29th of December, between the Constitution, of forty-four guns, then commanded by Captain Bainbridge, and the British frigate *Java*, of thirty-eight. The combat continued more than three hours; nor did the *Java* strike till she was reduced to a mere wreck. Of her crew, a hundred and sixty one were killed and wounded, while of that of the Constitution there were only thirty-four.

These naval victories were peculiarly gratifying to the feelings of the Americans; they were gained in the midst of disasters on land, and by that class of citizens whose rights had been violated; they were gained over a nation whom long-continued success had taught to consider themselves lords of the sea, and who had confidently affirmed that the whole American navy would soon be swept from the ocean. Many British merchantmen were also captured, both by the American navy and by privateers, which is-



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sued from almost every port, and were remarkably successful. The number of prizes made during the first seven months of the war exceeded five hundred.

At the commencement of the session of congress, held in the autumn of 1812, the president, in his message, stated that immediately after the declaration of war, he communicated to the British government the terms on which its progress might be arrested; that these terms were, the repeal of the orders in council, the discharge of American seamen, and the abandonment of the practice of impressment; and that the ministry had declined to accede to his offers. He also stated that, at an early period of the war, he had received official information of the repeal of the orders in council; that two propositions for an armistice had been made to him, both of which he had rejected, as they could not have been accepted without conceding to Great Britain the right of impressment. The rejection of these propositions was approved by the national representatives, who, far from abandoning the ground they had taken, adopted more vigorous measures for the prosecution of the war.

While the war was proceeding in America, a friendly power abroad interposed for its termination. Soon after the spring session of congress, an offer was communicated from the emperor of Russia of his mediation, as the common friend of the United States and Great Britain, for the purpose of facilitating a peace between them. The offer was immediately accepted by the American government, and provision made for the contemplated negotiation. Albert Gallatin, James A. Bayard, and John Quincy Adams, were appointed commissioners, and invested with the requisite powers to conclude a treaty of peace with persons clothed with like powers on the part of Great Britain. They were also authorized to enter into such conventional regulations of the commerce between the two countries as might be mutually advantageous. The two first named envoys preceded to join their colleague at St. Petersburg, where he then was as resident minister from the United States. A commission was also given to the envoys, authorizing them to conclude a treaty of commerce with Russia, with a view to strengthen the amicable relations, and improve the beneficial intercourse, between the two countries.

On the 24th of May, congress was convened by proclamation of the president. Laws were enacted, imposing a direct tax of three millions of dollars; authorizing the collection of various internal duties; providing for a loan of seven and a half millions of dollars; and prohibiting the merchant vessels of the United States from sailing under British licenses.

Near the close of the session, a committee appointed to inquire into the subject made a long report upon the spirit and manner in which the war had been conducted by the British.

The scene of the campaign of 1813 was principally in the north, towards Canada. Brigadier-General Winchester, of the United States army, and nearly five hundred men, officers and soldiers, were made prisoners at Frenchtown, by a division of the British army from Detroit, with their Indian allies, under Colonel Procter. Colonel Procter leaving the Americans without a guard, the Indians returned, and deeds of horror followed. The wounded officers were dragged from the houses, killed, and scalped in the streets. The buildings were set on fire. Some who attempted to escape were forced back into the flames, while others were put to death by the tomahawk, and left shockingly mangled in the highway. The infamy of this butchery does not fall upon the perpetrators alone, but extends to those who were able, and were bound by a solemn engagement, to restrain them. The battle and massacre at Frenchtown clothed Kentucky and Ohio in mourning. Other volunteers, indignant at the treachery and cruelty of their foes, hastened to the aid of Harrison. He marched to the rapids of the Miami, where he erected a fort, which he called Forts Meigs, in honour of the governor of Ohio. On the 1st of May it was invested by a large number of Indians, and by a party of British troops from Malden, the whole commanded by Colonel Procter. An unsuccessful attempt to raise the siege was made by General Clay, at the head of twelve hundred Kentuckians; but the fort continued to be defended with bravery and skill. The Indians, unaccustomed to sieges, became weary and discontented; and, on the 8th of May, they deserted their allies. The British, despairing of success, then made a precipitate retreat.

On the northern frontier a body of troops had been assembled, under the command of General Dearborn, at Sackett's Harbour, and great exertions were made by Commodore Chauncey to build and equip a squadron on Lake Ontario, sufficiently powerful to contend with that of the British. By the 25th of April the naval preparations were so far completed, that the general and seventeen thousand troops were conveyed across the lake to the attack of York, the capital of Upper Canada. On the 27th, an advanced party, commanded by Brigadier-General Pike, who was born in a camp, and bred a soldier from his birth, landed, although opposed at the water's edge by a superior force. After a short but severe conflict, the British were driven to their fortifica-

tions. The rest of the troops having landed, the whole party pressed forward, carried the first battery by assault, and were moving towards the main works, when the English magazine blew up, with a tremendous explosion, hurling upon the advancing troops immense quantities of stone and timber. Numbers were killed; the gallant Pike received a mortal wound; the troops halted for a moment, but, recovering from the shock, again pressed forward, and soon gained possession of the town. Of the British troops, one hundred were killed, nearly three hundred were wounded, and the same number made prisoners.

The object of the expedition attained, the squadron and troops returned to Sackett's Harbour, and subsequently sailed to Fort George, situated at the head of the lake. After a warm engagement, the British abandoned the fort and retired to the heights, at the head of Burlington Bay.

While the greater part of the American army was thus employed, the British made an attack upon the important post of Sackett's Harbour. On the 27th of May, their squadron appeared before the town. Alarm guns instantly assembled the citizens of the neighbourhood. General Brown's force amounted to about one thousand men; a slight breastwork was hastily thrown up at the only place where the British could land, and behind this he placed the militia, the regulars, under Colonel Backus, forming a second line. On the morning of the 29th, one thousand British troops landed from the squadron, and advanced towards the breastwork; the militia gave way, but by the bravery of the regulars, under the skilful arrangement of General Brown, the British were repulsed, and re-embarked so hastily as to leave behind most of their wounded.

The sea coast was harassed by predatory warfare, carried on by large detachments from the powerful navy of Great Britain. One squadron, stationed in Delaware Bay, captured and burnt every merchant vessel which came within its reach, while a more powerful squadron, commanded by Admiral Cockburn, destroyed the farm-houses and gentlemen's seats along the shore of Chesapeake Bay. Frenchtown, Havre-de-Grace, Fredricktown, and Georgetown were sacked and burnt. Norfolk was saved from a similar fate by the determined bravery of a small force stationed on Craney Island, in the harbour. A furious attack was made upon Hampton, which, notwithstanding the gallant resistance of its small garrison, was captured.

The ocean was the theatre of sanguinary conflicts. Captain Lawrence, in the sloop of war *Hornet*, on

the 23d of February, met the British brig *Peacock*, and a fierce combat ensued. In less than fifteen minutes the *Peacock* struck her colours, displaying at the same time a signal of distress. The victors hastened to the relief of the vanquished; the same strength which had been exerted to conquer was equally ready to save; but the *Peacock* sank before all her crew could be removed, carrying down nine British seamen, and three brave and generous Americans. On his return to the United States, Captain Lawrence was promoted to the command of the frigate *Chesapeake*, then in the harbour of Boston. For several weeks the British frigate *Shannon*, of equal force, had been cruising before the port; and Captain Broke, her commander, had announced his wish to meet, in single combat, an American frigate. Inflamed by this challenge, Captain Lawrence, although his crew was just enlisted, set sail on the 1st of June to seek the *Shannon*. Towards evening of the same day they met, and instantly engaged, with unexampled fury. In a very few minutes, and in quick succession, the sailing master of the *Chesapeake* was killed, Captain Lawrence and three lieutenants were severely wounded, her rigging was so cut to pieces that she fell on board the *Shannon*, Captain Lawrence received a second and mortal wound, and was carried below; at this instant, Captain Broke, at the head of his marines, gallantly boarded the *Chesapeake*, when resistance ceased, and the American flag was struck by the British. Of the crew of the *Shannon* twenty-four were killed and fifty-six wounded. Of that of the *Chesapeake*, forty-eight were killed and nearly one hundred wounded. This unexpected defeat impelled the Americans to seek for circumstances consoling to their pride, and in the journals of the day many such were stated to have preceded and attended the action. The youthful and intrepid Lawrence was lamented, with sorrow deep, sincere, and lasting. When carried below, he was asked if the colours should be struck. "No," he replied, "they shall wave while I live." Delirious from excess of suffering, he continued to exclaim, "Don't give up the ship!"—an expression consecrated by his countrymen. He uttered but few other words during the four days that he survived his defeat.

The next encounter at sea was between the American brig *Argus* and the British brig *Pelican*, in which the latter was victorious. Soon after, the American brig *Enterprise*, commanded by Lieutenant Burrows, captured the British brig *Boxer*, commanded by Captain Blyth. Both commanders were killed in the action, and were buried, each by the other's side, in Portland.

While each nation was busily employed in equipping a squadron on Lake Erie, General Clay remained inactive at Fort Meigs. About the last of July, a large number of British and Indians appeared before the fort, hoping to entice the garrison to a general action in the field. After waiting a few days without succeeding, they decamped, and proceeded to Fort Stephenson, on the river Sandusky. This fort was little more than a picketing, surrounded by a ditch, and the garrison consisted of but one hundred and sixty men, who were commanded by Major Croghan, a youth of twenty-one. The force of the assailants was estimated at about four hundred in uniform, and as many Indians; they were repulsed, and their loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, is supposed to have exceeded one hundred and fifty, those of the remainder who were not able to escape were taken off during the night by the Indians. The whole loss of Major Croghan during the siege was one killed and seven slightly wounded. About three the next morning the British sailed down the river, leaving behind them a boat containing clothing and considerable military stores.

By the exertions of Commodore Perry, an American squadron had been fitted out on Lake Erie early in September. It consisted of nine small vessels, in all carrying fifty-four guns. A British squadron had also been built and equipped, under the superintendence of Commodore Barclay. It consisted of six vessels, mounting sixty-three guns. Commodore Perry, immediately sailing, offered battle to his adversary, and on the 10th of September, the British commander left the harbour of Malden to accept the offer. In a few hours the wind shifted, giving the Americans the advantage. Perry, forming the line of battle, hoisted his flag, on which were inscribed the words of the dying Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship." Loud buzzas from all the vessels proclaimed the animation which this motto inspired. About noon the firing commenced; and after a short action two of the British vessels surrendered, and the rest of the American squadron now joining in the battle, the victory was rendered decisive and complete. The British loss was forty-one killed, and ninety-four wounded. The American loss was twenty-seven killed, and ninety-six wounded, of which number twenty-one were killed and sixty-two wounded on board the flag-ship *Lawrence*, whose whole complement of able bodied men before the action was about one hundred. The commodore gave intelligence of the victory to General Harrison in these words: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and

one sloop." The Americans were now masters of the lake; but the territory of Michigan was still in the possession of Colonel Procter. The next movements were against the British and Indians at Detroit and Malden. General Harrison had previously assembled a portion of the Ohio militia on the Sandusky river; and on the 7th of September four thousand from Kentucky, the flower of the state, with Governor Shelby at their head, arrived at his camp. With the co-operation of the fleet, it was determined to proceed at once to Malden. On the 27th the troops were received on board, and reached Malden on the same day; but the British had, in the mean time, destroyed the fort and public stores, and had retreated along the Thames towards the Moravian villages, together with Tecumseh's Indians, amounting to twelve or fifteen hundred. It was now resolved to proceed in pursuit of Procter. On the 5th of October a severe battle was fought between the two armies at the river Thames, and the British army was taken by the Americans. In this battle Tecumseh was killed, and the Indians fled. The British loss was nineteen regulars killed, and fifty wounded, and about six hundred prisoners. The American loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to upwards of fifty. Procter made his escape down the Thames. On the 29th of September the Americans took possession of Detroit, which, on the approach of Harrison's army, had been abandoned by the British. Preparations were now made for subduing Upper Canada, and taking Montreal; but owing to the difficulties attending the concentration of the troops, and perhaps also to the want of vigour in the commanders, that project was abandoned, and the army under Wilkinson, marching to French Mills, there encamped for the winter. This abortive issue of the campaign occasioned murmurs throughout the nation, and the causes which led to it have never been fully developed. The severest censure fell upon General Armstrong, who was secretary of war, and upon General Hampton. The latter soon after resigned his commission in the army, and General Izard was selected to command the post at Plattsburgh.

Major-General Harrison, commander in chief of the eighth military district in the United States, issued a proclamation, stating, that the enemy having been driven from the territory of Michigan, and a part of the army under his command having taken possession of it, it became necessary that the civil government of the territory should be re-established, and the former officers resume the exercise of their authority. He therefore proclaimed, that all appointments and commissions which have been derived from British

officers were at an end; that the citizens were restored to all the rights and privileges which they enjoyed previously to the capitulation made by General Hull on the 15th of August, 1812; and, until the will of the government should be known, directed that all persons having civil offices in the territory of Michigan, at the period of the capitulation of Detroit, should resume the exercise of the powers appertaining to their offices respectively.

The United States squadron, chased by Commodore Hardy with a superior naval force, had taken refuge in the harbour of New London, where the decayed and feeble state of the fortifications afforded a precarious defence. The menacing appearance of the British squadron at the entrance of the harbour, and the strong probability that the town would be destroyed in the conflict, which had been long expected, produced among the inhabitants the greatest consternation. In this moment of alarm, the major-general of the third division, and the brigadier-general of the third brigade, considered themselves justified, at the earnest entreaty of the citizens, in summoning the militia to their assistance. Governor Smith, of Connecticut, approved this proceeding, and immediately forwarded supplies, and adopted measures of defence. "On this occasion," said the governor to the legislature, "I could not hesitate as to the course which it became my duty to pursue. The government of Connecticut, the last to invite hostilities, should be the first to repel aggression."

The Indians at the southern extremity of the union had imbibed the same hostile spirit as those at the north-western. They had been visited by Tecumseh, and by his eloquence had been persuaded that the great spirit required them to unite and attempt the extirpation of the whites. In the fall of 1812, a cruel war was carried on by the Creeks and Seminoles against the frontier inhabitants of Georgia. General Jackson, at the head of two thousand five hundred volunteers from Tennessee, marched into the country of the Indians. Overawed by his presence, they desisted for a time from hostility; but, after his return, their animosity burst forth with increased and fatal violence. Dreading their cruelty, about three hundred men, women, and children, sought safety in Fort Mimms, in the Tensaw settlement. Although frequent warnings of an intended attack had been given them, yet, at noon day, on the 30th of August, they were surprised by a party of six hundred Indians, who, with axes, cut their way into the fort, and drove the people into the houses which it enclosed. To these they set fire. Many persons were burnt, and many killed by the toma-

hawk. Only seventeen escaped to carry the horrid tidings to the neighbouring stations. The whites resolved on vengeance. Again General Jackson, at the head of three thousand five hundred militia of Tennessee, marched into the southern wilderness. A detachment under General Coffee encountering at Tallushatchie a body of Indians, a sanguinary conflict ensued. The latter fought with desperation, neither giving nor receiving quarter, until nearly every warrior had perished. Yet still was the spirit of the Creeks unsubdued, and their faith in victory unshaken. With no little sagacity and skill they selected and fortified another position on the Tallapoosa, called by themselves Tohopeka, and by the whites Horse-shoe Bend. Here nearly a thousand warriors, animated with a fierce and determined resolution, were collected. Three thousand men, commanded by General Jackson, marched to attack this post. To prevent escape, a detachment under General Coffee encircled the Bend. The main body advanced to the fortress; and for a few minutes the opposing forces were engaged muzzle to muzzle at the port-holes; but at length the troops, leaping over the walls, mingled in furious combat with the savages. When the Indians, fleeing to the river, beheld the troops on the opposite bank, they returned and fought with increased fury and desperation. Six hundred warriors were killed; four only yielded themselves prisoners; the remaining three hundred escaped. Of the whites, fifty-five were killed, and one hundred and forty-six wounded. It was deemed probable that further resistance would be made by the Indians at a place called the Hickory-ground; but on General Jackson's arriving thither in April, 1814, the principal chiefs came out to meet him, and among them was Wetherford, a half-blood, distinguished equally for his talents and cruelty. "I am in your power," said he, "do with me what you please. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely. There was a time when I had a choice; I have none now, even hope is ended. Once I could animate my warriors; but I cannot animate the dead. They can no longer hear my voice; their bones are at Tallushatchie, Talladega, Emuckfaw, and Tohopeka. While there was a chance of success I never supplicated peace; but my people are gone, and I now ask it for my nation and myself." Peace was concluded, and General Jackson and his troops enjoyed an honourable but short repose.

It was the declared intention of the British to lay waste the whole American coast, from Maine to Georgia. Of this intention demonstration was made

by their descent upon Pettipauge, and the destruction which followed in that harbour. Early in April, a number of British barges, supposed to contain about two hundred and twenty men, entered the mouth of Connecticut River, passed up seven or eight miles, and came on shore at a part of Saybrook called Pettipauge, where they destroyed about twenty-five vessels. Guards of militia were placed without delay at nearly all the vulnerable points on the seaboard, and where troops could not be stationed, patrols of videttes were constantly maintained.

On the 25th of April, Admiral Cochrane declared, in addition to the ports and places blockaded by Admiral Warren, all the remaining ports, harbours, bays, creeks, rivers, inlets, outlets, islands, and sea coasts of the United States, from Black Point, on Long Island Sound, to the northern and eastern boundaries between the United States and the British province of New Brunswick, to be in a state of strict and rigorous blockade. On the other hand, the president of the United States issued a proclamation, declaring that the blockade proclaimed by the British of the whole Atlantic coast of the United States, nearly two thousand miles in extent, being incapable of execution by any adequate force actually stationed for the purpose, formed no lawful prohibition or obstacle to such neutral and friendly vessels as may choose to visit and trade with the United States; and strictly ordered and instructed all the public armed vessels of the United States, and all private armed vessels commissioned as privateers, or with letters of marque and reprisal, not to interrupt, detain, or molest any vessels belonging to neutral powers, bound to any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States; but, on the contrary, to render all such vessels all the aid and kind offices which they might need or require.

The pacification in Europe offered to the British a large disposable force, both naval and military, and with it the means of giving to the war in America a character of new and increased activity and extent. The friends of the administration anticipated a severer conflict, and prepared for greater sacrifices and greater sufferings. Its opposers, where difficulties thickened and danger pressed, were encouraged to make more vigorous efforts to wrest the reins of authority from men who, they asserted, had shown themselves incompetent to hold them. The president deemed it advisable to strengthen the line of the Atlantic, and therefore called on the executive of several states to organize and hold in readiness for immediate service a corps of ninety-three thousand five hundred men.

The hostile movements on the northern frontier

were now becoming vigorous and interesting. In the beginning of July, General Brown, who had been assiduously employed in disciplining his troops, crossed the Niagara with about three thousand men, and took possession, without opposition, of Fort Erie. In a strong position at Chippewa, a few miles distant, was intrenched an equal number of British troops, commanded by General Riall. On the 4th, General Brown approached their works; and the next day, on the plains of Chippewa, an obstinate and sanguinary battle was fought, which compelled the British to retire to their intrenchments. In this action, which was fought with great judgment and coolness on both sides, the loss of the Americans was about four hundred men, that of the British was upwards of five hundred. Soon afterwards, General Riall, abandoning his works, retired to the heights of Burlington. Here Lieutenant-General Drummond, with a large re-enforcement, joined him, and assuming the command, led back the army towards the American camp. On the 25th was fought the battle of Bridgewater, which began at four in the afternoon, and continued until midnight. After a desperate conflict, the British troops were withdrawn, and the Americans left in possession of the field. The loss on both sides was severe, and nearly equal. Generals Brown and Scott having both been severely wounded, the command devolved upon General Ripley. He remained a few hours upon the hill, collected the wounded, and then returned unmolested to the camp. This battle was fought near the cataract of Niagara, whose roar was silenced by the thunder of cannon and the din of arms, but was distinctly heard during the pauses of the fight. The American general found his force so much weakened, that he deemed it prudent again to occupy Fort Erie. On the 4th of August it was invested by General Drummond with five thousand troops. In the night between the 14th and 15th, the besiegers made a daring assault upon the fort, which was repelled with conspicuous gallantry by the garrison, the former losing more than nine hundred men, the latter but eighty-four. The siege was still continued. On the 2d of September, General Brown, having recovered from his wounds, threw himself into the fort, and took command of the garrison. For their fate great anxiety was felt by the nation, which was, however, in some degree removed, by the march from Plattsburgh of five thousand men to their relief. After an hour of close fighting they entered the fort, having killed, wounded, and taken one thousand of the British. The loss of the Americans was also considerable, amounting to more than five hundred. On the 21st of September, the forty-

ninth day of the siege, General Drummond withdrew his forces.

The march of the troops from Plattsburgh having left that post almost defenceless, the enemy determined to attack it by land, and, at the same time, to attempt the destruction of the American flotilla on Lake Champlain. On the 3d of September, Sir George Prevost, the governor-general of Canada, at the head of fourteen thousand men, entered the territories of the United States. On the 6th they arrived at Plattsburgh. It is situated near Lake Champlain, on the northern bank of the small river Saranac. On their approach, the American troops, who were posted on the opposite bank, tore up the planks of the bridges, with which they formed slight breastworks, and prepared to dispute the passage of the stream. The British employed themselves for several days in erecting batteries, while the American forces were daily augmented by the arrival of volunteers and militia. Early in the morning of the 11th, the British squadron, commanded by Commodore Downie, appeared off the harbour of Plattsburgh, where that of the United States, commanded by Commodore Macdonough, lay at anchor prepared for battle. At nine o'clock the action commenced. Seldom has there been a more furious encounter than the bosom of this transparent and peaceful lake was now called to witness. During the naval conflict, the British on land began a heavy cannonade upon the American lines, and attempted at different places to cross the Saranac; but as often as the British advanced into the water they were repelled by a destructive fire from the militia. At half past eleven the shout of victory heard along the American lines announced the result of the battle on the lake. Thus deprived of naval aid, in the afternoon the British withdrew to their intrenchments, and in the night they commenced a precipitate retreat. Upon the lake the American loss was one hundred and ten; the British one hundred and ninety-four, besides prisoners. On land, the American loss was one hundred and nineteen; that of the British has been estimated as high as two thousand five hundred.

The inhabitants of the middle and southern states, anticipating a great augmentation of the English force, and uncertain where the blow would fall, made exertions to place every exposed position in a posture of defence. About the middle of August, a British squadron of between fifty and sixty sail arrived in the Chesapeake, with troops destined for the attack of Washington, the capital of the United States. A body of five thousand of them having

landed, an action was fought at Bladensburg, six miles from Washington. General Winder commanded the whole American force; Commodore Barney the flotilla. The British were commanded by Major-General Ross and Rear-Admiral Cockburn. The Americans were repulsed, and the British advanced towards the capital. A body of militia had been assembled in this emergency; but the president and heads of departments, on reviewing the force brought out for defence, despaired of success, and dispersed. General Ross, at the head of about seven hundred men, took possession of Washington, and burned the capitol, or senate-house, the President's house, and public offices, the arsenal, the navy yard, and the bridge over the Potomac. The loss of the British in this expedition was nearly a thousand men, in killed, wounded, and missing; the loss of the Americans was ten or twelve killed, and thirty or forty wounded. Commodore Barney's horse was killed under him, and himself wounded in the thigh and taken prisoner; but he was paroled on the field of battle for his bravery. The capture of Washington reflected no credit upon those by whom it ought to have been defended; but the destruction of the national edifices was still more disgraceful to the character of the invaders. The whole civilized world exclaimed against the act, as a violation of the rules of modern warfare. The capitals of most of the European kingdoms had lately been in the power of an enemy; but in no instance had the conqueror been guilty of similar conduct. The act was also as impolitic as it was barbarous; it naturally excited an indignant spirit throughout the republic, and led its inhabitants to vie with each other in exerting all their faculties to overcome the ravagers of their country.

After the capture of Washington, the British army re-embarked on board the fleet in the Patuxent, and Admiral Cockburn moved down that river, and proceeded up the Chesapeake. On the 29th of August, the corporation of Alexandria submitted to articles of capitulation, and the city was delivered up to the British. On the 11th of September, the British admiral appeared at the mouth of the Patapsco, fourteen miles from Baltimore, with a fleet of ships of war and transports amounting to fifty sail. The next day six thousand troops were landed at North Point, and commenced their march towards the city. In this march, when the foremost ranks were harassed by a brisk fire from a wood, Major-General Ross was mortally wounded. A battle was fought on this day. The American forces, the militia, and the inhabitants of Baltimore, made a gallant defence.



THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE, WASHINGTON.



but were compelled to retreat ; the British, however, abandoning the attempt to get possession of the city, retired to their shipping during the night of the 13th of September.

On the ocean, the *Essex*, commanded by Captain Porter, after a bloody combat, struck to a British frigate and sloop of war, whose united force was much superior. The American sloop *Peacock* captured the *Epervier* of equal force. The sloop *Wasp*, commanded by Captain Blakely, captured the *Reindeer*, and afterwards, in the same cruise, sank the *Avon*, both of superior force. She made several other prizes, but never returned into port ; she probably foundered at sea.

The closing scene of this unnecessary and disgraceful war, the more detestable when contemplated as a series of human sacrifices for the preservation of a commercial system, was creditable to the genius and bravery of the American republic. The operations of the British in Louisiana were commenced by a small expedition, the naval part under the command of Captain Percy, and the troops under Colonel Nicholls. They landed and took forcible possession of Pensacola, and were aided by the Spaniards in all their proceedings ; they collected all the Indians that would resort to their standard ; and Colonel Nicholls then sent an officer to the piratical establishment at Barrataria to enlist the chief, Lafitte, and his followers, in their cause ; the most liberal and tempting offers were made them. These people, however, showed a decided preference for the American cause ; they deceived the English by delay ; conveyed intelligence of their designs to the Governor at New Orleans, and offered their services to defend the country. Disappointed in securing their aid, the expedition proceeded to the attack of Fort Bowyer, on Mobile point, commanded by Major Lawrence, with one hundred and thirty men. The result, however, was a loss to the besiegers of more than two hundred men ; the commodore's ship was so disabled that they set fire to her, and she blew up, and the remaining three vessels, shattered and filled with wounded men, returned to Pensacola. While the British thus sheltered in this place, where they were busily occupied in bringing over the Indians to join them, General Jackson formed an expedition of about four thousand men, regulars and militia, to dislodge them. He summoned the town, was refused entrance by the Spanish governor, and his flag of truce was fired upon ; the British soldiers being in the forts, where their flag had been hoisted, in conjunction with the Spanish, the day before the American forces appeared. Preparations were imme-

diately made to carry the place ; one battery having been taken by storm, with slight loss on either side, the governor surrendered, the English having previously retired on board their ships. The forts below, which commanded the passage, were blown up, and this enabled the English fleet to put to sea.

General Jackson then evacuated the Spanish territory, and marched his troops back to Mobile and New Orleans, which he reached on the second day of December. Having reviewed a corps of volunteers the day of his arrival, he immediately proceeded to visit every post in the neighbourhood, to give orders for adding fortifications, and establishing defensive works and outposts in every spot where the enemy might be expected, as there was the greatest uncertainty where a landing would be made ; he mingled with the citizens, and infused into the greater part his own spirit and energy. By his presence and exhortations they were animated to exertions of which before they were not supposed to be capable. All who could wield a spade, or carry a musket, were either put to work upon the fortifications, or trained in the art of defending them. The Mississippi, upon the eastern bank of which New Orleans stands, flows to the ocean in several channels ; one leaving the main stream above the city, runs east of it, and forms in its course Lake Ponchartrain and Lake Borgne. Early in December, the British entered this channel, with a force of about eight thousand men, a part of whom had just left the shores of the Chesapeake, the remainder having arrived direct from England. A small squadron of gunboats, under Lieutenant Jones, was despatched to oppose their passage into the lake. These were met by a superior force, and after a spirited conflict, in which the killed and wounded of the British exceeded the whole number of the Americans, they were compelled to surrender. The loss of the gunboats left no means of watching the movements of the enemy, or of ascertaining where the landing would be made. Orders were given for increased vigilance at every post ; the people of colour were formed into a battalion ; the offer of the Barratarians to volunteer, on condition of a pardon for previous offences, if they conducted themselves with bravery and fidelity, was accepted. General Jackson, after applying to the legislature to suspend the act of *habeas corpus*, and finding that they were consuming these extreme moments in discussion, proclaimed martial law, and from that moment his means became more commensurate with the weight of responsibility he had to sustain.

On the 22d, the British, having landed, took a

position near the main channel of the river, about eight miles below the city. In the evening of the 23d, General Jackson made a sudden and furious attack upon their camp. They were thrown into disorder; but they soon rallied, and fought with a bravery at least equal to that of the assailants. Satisfied with the advantage first gained, he withdrew his troops, fortified a strong position four miles below New Orleans, and supported it by batteries erected on the west bank of the river. On the 28th of December, and the 1st of January, vigorous but unsuccessful attacks were made upon these fortifications by the English. In the mean time, both armies had received re-enforcements; and General Sir E. Pakenham, the British commander, resolved to exert all his strength in a combined attack upon the American positions on both sides of the river. With almost incredible industry, he caused a canal, leading from a creek emptying itself into Lake Borgne to the main channel of the Mississippi, to be dug, that he might remove a part of his boats and artillery to that river. On the 7th of January, from the movements observed in the British camp, a speedy attack was anticipated. This was made early on the 8th. The British troops, formed in a close column of about sixty men in front, the men shouldering their muskets, all carrying fascines, and some with ladders, advanced towards the American fortifications, from whence an incessant fire was kept up on the column, which continued to advance, until the musketry of the troops of Tennessee and Kentucky, joined with the fire of the artillery, began to make an impression on it which soon threw it into confusion. For some time the British officers succeeded in animating the courage of their troops, making them advance obliquely to the left, to avoid the fire of a battery, every discharge from which opened the column, and mowed down whole files, which were almost instantaneously replaced by new troops coming up close after the first: but these also shared the same fate, until at last, after twenty-five minutes continual firing, through which a few platoons advanced to the edge of the ditch, the column entirely broke, and part of the troops dispersed, and ran to take shelter among the bushes on the right. The rest retired to the ditch where they had been when first perceived, four hundred yards from the American lines. There the officers with some difficulty rallied their troops, and again drew them up for a second attack, the soldiers having laid down their knapsacks at the edge of the ditch, that they might be less encumbered. And now, for the second time, the column, recruited with the troops that formed the rear, ad-

vanced. Again it was received with the same gallant fire of musketry and artillery, till it at last broke again, and retired in the utmost confusion. In vain did the officers now endeavour, as before, to revive the courage of their men; to no purpose did they strike them with the flat of their swords, to force them to advance: they were insensible of every thing but danger, and saw nothing but death, which had struck so many of their comrades. The attack had hardly begun, when the British commander-in-chief, Sir Edward Pakenham, fell a victim to his own intrepidity, while endeavouring to animate his troops with ardour for the assault. Soon after his fall, two other generals, Keane and Gibbs, were carried off the field of battle, dangerously wounded. A great number of officers of rank had fallen: the ground over which the column had marched was strewn with the dead and wounded. Such slaughter on their side, with scarcely any loss on the American, spread consternation through the British ranks, as they were now convinced of the impossibility of carrying the lines, and saw that even to advance was certain death. Some of the British troops had penetrated into the wood towards the extremity of the American line, to make a false attack, or to ascertain whether a real one were practicable. These the troops under General Coffee no sooner perceived, than they opened on them a brisk fire with their rifles, which made them retire. The greater part of those who, on the column's being repulsed, had taken shelter in the thickets, only escaped the batteries to be killed by the musketry. During the whole hour that the attack lasted, the American fire did not slacken for a single moment. By half after eight in the morning, the fire of the musketry had ceased. The whole plain on the left, as also the side of the river, from the road to the edge of the water, was covered with the British soldiers who had fallen. About four hundred wounded prisoners were taken, and at least double that number of wounded men escaped into the British camp; and a space of ground, extending from the ditch of the American lines to that on which the enemy drew up his troops, two hundred and fifty yards in length, by about two hundred in breadth, was literally covered with men, either dead or severely wounded.* Perhaps a greater disparity of loss never occurred; that of the British in killed, wounded, and prisoners, in this attack, which was not made with sufficient judgment, and which, besides, was embarrassed by unforeseen circumstances, was upwards of two thou-

* Historical Memoir of the War in Louisiana, by Major A. L. Latour, Engineer in the United States Army.—Philadelphia, 1816.

sand men; the killed and wounded of the Americans was only *thirteen*.

The events of the day on the west side of the river present a striking instance of the uncertainty of military operations. There the Americans were thrice the number of their brave assailants, and were protected by intrenchments; but they ingloriously fled. They were closely pursued, until the British party, receiving intelligence of the defeat of the main army, withdrew from pursuit, and recrossed the river. They then returned and resumed possession of their intrenchments. General Lambert, upon whom the command of the British army had devolved, having lost all hopes of success, prepared to return to his shipping. In his retreat he was not molested: General Jackson wisely resolving to hazard nothing that he had gained, in attempting to gain still more.

The Americans naturally indulged in ecstasies of joy for this signal victory. *Te Deum* was sung at New Orleans, and every demonstration of gratitude manifested by the inhabitants of the Union generally. In speaking of gratitude on this occasion, however, we must not omit a ludicrous instance of the meanness which party-spirit will sometimes exhibit. The state of Louisiana passed votes of thanks to several of the officers concerned in the defence, and omitted General Jackson.*

Although the results of the war had been honourable to the American arms, a large portion of the inhabitants of the New England states were unceasingly opposed to the measures of the administration. The governor of Massachusetts convoked the general court of that state; the legislature of Connecticut was about to hold its usual semi-annual session; and

* The reason for this omission was, that, while they were wrangling and delaying to suspend the *habeas corpus* in a moment of the most imperious necessity, the general, to save the country, proclaimed martial law. In consequence of the omission of thanks by the legislature, some of the citizens of New Orleans presented an address to the general; the answer to which is highly characteristic of the gallant officer, now president of the United States:—"Although born and bred in the land of freedom," says the general, "popular favour has always been with me a secondary object. My first wish in political life has been, to be useful to my country. Yet I am not insensible to the good opinion of my fellow-citizens; I would do much to obtain it; but I can not, for this purpose, sacrifice my own conscience, or what I conceive to be the interests of my country. These principles have prepared me to receive with just satisfaction the address you have presented. The first wish of my heart, the safety of our country, has been accomplished; and it affords me the greatest happiness to know, that the means taken to secure this object, have met the approbation of those who have had the best opportunities of judging of their propriety, and who, from their various relations, might be supposed the most ready to censure any which had been improperly resorted to. The distinction you draw, gentlemen, between those who only declaim about civil rights, and those who fight to maintain them, shows how just and practical a knowledge you have of the true principles of liberty—without such knowledge all theory is useless or mischievous. It is matter of surprise, that they who boast themselves the cham-

the legislature of Rhode Island also assembled. When these several bodies met, what should be done in this unexampled state of affairs became a subject of most solemn deliberation. To insure unity of views and concert in action, the legislature of Massachusetts proposed a 'Conference' by delegates from the legislatures of the New England states, and of any other states that might accede to the measure. Their resolution for this purpose, and the circular letter accompanying it, show, that the duty proposed to be assigned to these delegates was merely to devise and recommend to the states, measures for their security and defence, and such measures as were "not repugnant to their federal obligations as members of the Union." The proposition was readily assented to by several states, and the delegates appointed in pursuance of it met at Hartford, on the 15th of December following. The convention recommended, 1. That the states they represent take measures to protect their citizens from "forcible draughts, conscriptions, or impressments, not authorized by the constitution of the United States." 2. That an earnest application be made to the government of the United States, requesting their consent to some arrangement, whereby the states separately, or in concert, may take upon themselves the defence of their territory against the enemy, and that a reasonable portion of the taxes collected within the states be appropriated to this object. 3. That the several governors be authorized by law to employ the military force under their command in assisting any state requesting it, to repel the invasions of the public enemy. 4. That several amendments of the constitution of the United States, calculated in their view to prevent a recurrence of

pions of those rights and privileges, should not, when they were first put in danger by the proclamation of martial law, have manifested that lively sensibility of which they have since made so ostentatious a display. So far, however, was this from being the case, that this measure not only met, then, the open support of those who, when their country was invaded, thought resistance a virtue, and the silent approbation of all, but even received the particular recommendation and encouragement of many who now inveigh the most bitterly against it. It was not until a victory, secured by that very measure, had lessened the danger which occasioned the resort to it, that the present feeling guardians of our rights discovered that the commanding general ought to have suffered his posts to be abandoned through the interference of a foreign agent—his ranks to be thinned by desertion, and his whole army to be broken to pieces by mutiny; while yet a powerful force of the enemy remained on our coast, and within a few hours sail of your city. Under these circumstances, fellow-soldiers, your resolution to let others declaim about privileges and constitutional rights, will never draw upon you the charge of being indifferent to those inestimable blessings; your attachment to them has been proved by a stronger title—that of having nobly fought to preserve them. You, who have thus supported them against the open pretensions of a powerful enemy, will never, I trust, surrender them to the underhand machinations of men who stand aloof in the hour of peril, and who, when the danger is gone, claim to be the 'defenders of your constitution.'

the evils of which they complain, be proposed by the states they represent for adoption either by the state legislatures, or by a convention chosen by the people of each state. Lastly, That if the application of these states to the government of the United States should be unsuccessful, and peace should not be concluded, and the defence of these states be still neglected, it would, in their opinion, be expedient for the legislatures of the several states to appoint delegates to another convention, to meet at Boston, in June, with such powers and instructions as the exigency of a crisis so momentous may require. The effect of these proceedings upon the public mind in the aggrieved states, was alike seasonable and salutary. The very proposal to call a convention, and the confidence reposed in the men delegated to that trust, served greatly to allay the passions, and to inspire confidence and hope. Nor was the influence of this body upon the national councils less percepti-

* It could hardly be expected that a writer not residing in this country, could, if he wished to, be an impartial historian in all things, and give his readers a precise account of the effects of the war of 1812 on the United States. It was, in many respects, an expensive contest, every thing having been done by the government to great disadvantage, from the fact, that no preparations had been made for the crisis; but the national debt was nothing, in comparison with the advantageous change the war produced in the reasoning and habits of the people. This event brought the work shops from Europe to our own shores, and we were taught how to acquire and to maintain a true state of independence. Perhaps in the zeal of a new pursuit, the manufacturing interest was too far extended, but this evil will, in the end, cure itself. The maxim of political economy, that was once broached by the Edinburgh Review, that "the Americans should not be allowed to make a hob-nail," will no longer be repeated. The empire of the arts and manufactures is now divided between the two countries. We have as much of it as we desire, and can extend it to our wants. As the learned author of this history, Mr. Hinton, has said but little of political economy, the American editor may be pardoned for an otherwise prolix note.

As our country now presents herself to our view, we feel a self-congratulation and patriotic pride, that is at once just and useful. National pride is always found with pure patriotism. Twenty-four states, independent in all their civil polity and domestic relations, confederated to form one great people, is a novelty under the sun. These states, stretching through so many degrees of latitude, give a great variety of climate and of productions. The agricultural capacity of the country, as a whole, is not only equal to all our own wants, but to the wants of all others, if they should make us their granary. Most of the states are fitted for manufacturing; nature supplying water power to an incalculable extent. This country is also wonderfully fitted for commerce, from its extended seaboard, and numerous safe harbours, and great navigable rivers. It is well calculated for a great naval power, as our ship-timber is abundant, and may be cultivated to any extent required; and our river navigation and fisheries are nurseries for seamen. It is as yet so thinly settled, compared to its territory, that we can have no anxiety of a crowded population. The institutions of law, medicine, and divinity, are in a most flourishing condition, and we count more than half a hundred colleges, with an immense number of minor schools. It is a country full of inventive power, which puts every particle of mind into action. It is also remarkable for enterprise, and the people seize upon all the improvements of other nations. It has a mass of population, which have, more than any other people, *sound minds in sound bodies*, arising more from its moral and political

character, than from any other causes. It is a country that has no national religion, but within her borders every one worships God in his own way, if he do not disturb his neighbour; a country without grades in society fixed by law, and where primogeniture and entailment do not exist. It is a country where every one has a right to bear arms for protection and defence, and which could muster two millions of soldiers, if they were necessary, for self-defence. It is a country increasing in population, arts, sciences, letters, and wealth, with the comforts and enjoyments of social life, faster than any other in the world. In short, it is a country that "*knows her rights, and knowing, dares maintain*" them.

During the preceding year, the British government

Should we be content to take this heritage of ours, without being mindful what it cost our ancestors to present it to us, as it is? Or should we examine the subject most minutely, as we have time or leisure?

Ours is the first nation in the annals of history, that became masters of themselves at once. Freedom has, in general, been gained slowly, and lost rapidly. The magna charta of British liberties, although the foundation of our free institutions, was nothing more than a string of concessions from a tyrant to barons and bishops, who were too strong for him. The great mess of the people had, after this, to gain their rights by slow degrees from the feudal lords of the country. This was done by the yeomanry, artisans, merchants, lawyers, and judges, by determination and perseverance. It is much more difficult to wrest power from aristocrats than from kings; and in the hands of the former it has been more dangerous and cruel than in the latter. The Alexanders, Cæsars, and Charlemagnes, had clemency and generosity in their nature; while the five hundred magnates of Venice, wrapt in the petty consequence of aristocratic pride, breathed their cruel edicts with malignity. Our government emanated from ourselves, and was formed with wholesome jealousies and cautious reservations, and has since been watched with the utmost scrupulosity. But we are in no danger: the staff is in our own hands; we can change the rulers often, if we do not like them, and they can do us but little harm, even at the worst that we can imagine.

It would require a volume to touch upon all the prominent features of our history. We will therefore leave the broad-cast view of our country, to make a few observations on the origin and the progress of the arts; their necessary connexion with the happiness of a great portion of our community; their uses in national defence; for the advancement of national prosperity; for the support of national independence and national pride and glory; and their influence in forming the social, intellectual, moral, and political character of man.

The arts undoubtedly made great progress in early times, for

had declined to treat under the mediation of Russia, and a direct negotiation had been agreed on. Ghent

they had their origin in necessity, and she is the mother of invention. Every new and useful invention was not only hailed as a blessing to mankind, but its author was at once raised to a divinity, and worshipped with the gods. The Scriptures, the oldest of all histories extant, give the invention of dress to Deity, but *man himself soon sought out many inventions*, for he was made but *little lower than the angels*, in all the capacities of acquiring knowledge. He must have improved rapidly, for it is said, "Cain builded a city;" certain it is, that the monuments of primitive architecture remain in the East, for the astonishment of the traveller of the present day. Time has not been able to destroy them, nor has the much-learned antiquary satisfied us of the precise time when these temples and pyramids were erected.

In early Greece, the arts, both useful and polite, were held in high estimation. The acute and tasteful Athenians were artists and connoisseurs from childhood. Some of their greatest men came out of their workshops. Socrates was a sculptor, and Demosthenes, the master orator of that and every other age, spent a good portion of his boyhood in his father's manufactory of swords and common cutlery. And such was his knowledge of the business, that he impeached the integrity of his guardians, when only seventeen years of age, and won his cause by an argument from his own mouth. The Parthenon alone is a sufficient proof of the successful attention paid the arts in Athens, in her happiest days.

In Rome, the arts, though often patronized by individuals, did not hold the same rank as in Athens; the nation was too fierce and warlike for their successful cultivation. The passion for conquest swallowed up a taste for the arts. The spoils of conquered provinces made them forget the honest earnings of industry, and with them, the fame of skilful artists. The early Roman emperors became the patrons of letters and the arts; in truth, the arts and letters were inseparable, if not equally cherished at the same time. Religious zeal uniting with the skill and science of the architect, in the first centuries of christianity, was turned to the erection of monasteries and churches, and some of them remain to this day, as the highest specimens of talent and taste.

The arts were then almost exclusively confined to architecture; at least, the higher efforts of the artists were certainly to be found in public edifices. Naval architecture was still in its infancy; very little improvement had been made in ship-building, until the use of cannon on board of the large vessels, and this was not until 1444. In 1485, the Great Harry, as she was called, was built by Henry VII. Wonder as she was to the nations, her tonnage was but little more than one of our sloops of war.

Printing came in use about the time cannon were brought into naval warfare. These two inventions changed the character of Europe in less than half a century, and by the time our fathers came to settle this country, science, the arts, and particularly letters, had made great advances. They brought with them all the elementary learning of the age, and sufficient of practical skill for their purposes; but the cultivation of the soil soon offered more inducements than the workshops, and the mechanics were nearly lost in the farmers, visiting their shops only in the winter season. Domestic manufacturing was however carried on, as far as they could find flax and wool, and hides for leather; and for the first century, there can be no doubt, that more than half of the ordinary wants of the population were supplied within doors. Domestic industry was every where encouraged, and every house was a busy workshop, particularly in female industry. The hum of the spinning-wheel, and the sound of the shuttle, were heard in all our borders, and before the close of the first century, some parts of our country exported shoes and hats to the West Indies, somewhat clandestinely, for fear of the mother country; but their great traffic was in vessels built here, and sold to the colonists of Spain. It was not uncommon to get off in them some of these articles of home manufacture. Our manufacturing interests had a great accession of intelligence and industry in the host of Huguenots who fled to this country, after the revocation of the edict of Nantz, in 1686. Their descendants are among the most respectable of our countrymen at this day. Prosperity, and a new order of manufacturing, was every

was ultimately determined as the place of meeting; and in the autumn of 1814 the commissioners prose-

where found with them. At that period the French were much in advance of the English in the excellence of their goods. Before the close of the first century, foundries were erected in several of our colonies, and a considerable supply of iron was had from them.

The arts are necessary for the advancement of national prosperity. It has been said by some politicians, that the United States should, for centuries to come, keep *her workshops in Europe*. This maxim, perhaps, was well enough to a certain extent, so far as it related to the finest goods, when we were building up a government, and had the carrying-trade of the world, and when the wars in Europe increased the value of our exports, by very high prices paid for all articles of provision; but now the scene is changed, and the balance of trade is against us, and as we have less to buy with, we must trust, in a good measure, to our own resources, and reflect upon what is best for this country in general.

Putting out of the computation the two millions of slaves in our country, we have more than ten millions of free white inhabitants, and most of them live well. The demand for articles of necessity, comfort, and luxury, together with the elegancies of taste, is immense. If these can be had among ourselves easier than by commerce, why should they not be produced?

The arts are necessary for national defence. No country can be safe, happy, great, or glorious, without every means for self-defence within herself. Our seaboard is as yet but partially fortified, and even where strong works have been erected, they are not as yet entirely supplied with cannon, nor can they be for years to come, unless the government quicken its hand in supplying them.

To preserve peace we must be prepared for war. I long for the "*Saturnian rule*" as well as the most ardent member of the peace society can do, but my belief is, that a *golden age* must be preserved by the implements of war—those sharp instruments forged in an iron age. In twenty years, with judicious appropriations, our sea-coast and frontiers will be amply fortified in a substantial and permanent manner. The army is growing up in the best of all possible forms, in the expanded intelligence of the officers, and not in useless numbers of soldiers, that can be raised in a day, and disciplined in a few weeks. Our navy is gradually increasing, and there is no danger that discipline and nautical skill will be retrograde with them. The day has passed, when men can be covered with glory, without being fraught with knowledge, and adorned with virtue. There is no danger of our becoming a martial people, and running into a love of conquest. The danger is on the other hand, that commerce, agriculture, and the peaceful arts, the sciences, and letters, will engross our attention, and leave us too little of martial or naval spirit. It was ordained or suffered by the Almighty, that our nation should grow up through great and protracted struggles. Every step of our national progress, up to our independence, has been of painful exertion, and loss of blood. "This country has, in its various portions, and in different ages of its existence, been engaged in more than fifty wars, and fought more than a hundred battles, by land and sea, before the war of the revolution commenced. We have not been a nation of peace from our birth, nor can we exist, if we at once *beat our swords into ploughshares, and our spears into pruning hooks*. In such a state, the Philistines would be upon us. This is the decree of the God of battles, that freedom can be preserved only by brave hearts and muscular arms; and it is equally true, that the most powerful, when enlightened, are the most generous.

The arts are necessary for the strength, the honour, pride, and glory of a nation. The strength of a nation consists of *high-souled men*, but also in *battlement, wall, and tower*; in a word, in their possessions; such wealth as is *real*, and will go down to posterity improved and increased. Save the soil on which we live, most of our wealth and strength has been the growth of about half a century.

The fact is, that every attempt made by England to retard the progress of the arts in this country, has, in the end, been one of the sources of their advancement.

The first attack upon the arts and commerce of this country, was the famous Navigation Act, passed in 1651, two years after the death of Charles I., by the parliament of the commonwealth, and

cuted their labours, but at first with very doubtful success. By the 24th of December, a treaty was

confirmed and enlarged by Charles II., in 1660. By this act the whole commerce of the colonies would have been nearly destroyed, if it had been regarded, but it was evaded in many ways.

In 1761, the British government began to draw closer the cords of commercial restrictions. In 1765, the sugar act was passed. And the same year the *stamp act*. The effect of this throughout the colonies was electrical. The irritation continued until the war broke out.

The effects of the non-importation agreement gave great impulse to domestic manufactures. The class which graduated at Harvard College in 1770, appeared in clothes of domestic manufacture. An impulse was given to spinning and weaving, in all parts of the country; but it was hard to cut off the people from the use of British goods at once. The manufacturing of leather had, from the early settlement, been considerably attended to by the colonists.

The arts, at the commencement of the struggle, were in a low state. There was but a small supply of powder, and only four cannon, to begin the fight with. There was a scarcity of mechanics; but many of the mechanics from the enemy deserted to us after the defeat of the Hessians at Trenton.

The effects of the peace of 1783 were a sad blow to the arts for many years. The manufactures of England were poured in upon us, and the importer could undersell the artist. The prosperity of the carrying trade, from the peace of 1783 until 1806, enriched the United States beyond calculation. The decline of commerce, after 1806, brought on some attention to the arts, but their progress was slow.

The war of 1812 had a beneficial effect on the arts; it transplanted the work-shops from England to the United States. Now we can be said to be independent; before we were not. The attention to our manufacturing interests will in the end benefit the merchant, the farmer, and the whole mass of society, in a *pecuniary* point of view. *Lyceums* have been established; lectures given; knowledge generally diffused, and political economy studied.

There is no danger of the number of mechanics increasing too rapidly in this country, for their proportion has not yet reached but a small part of the maximum that the nation will bear. In England, one hundred agricultural families will support sixty-six other families. These are calculated in the following manner: 1 priest, 2 lawyers, 4 medical men, 4 schoolmasters, 6 tailors, 8 carpenters, 5 smiths, 3 braziers, 2 cabinet-makers, 14 manufacturers, 10 traders, or clerks, or accountants. Now we do not average any thing like this, while Great Britain nearly doubles it, in some portions of the calculation. Her land is better cultivated than ours, but we are not limited or confined.

Some mechanics are apprehensive of labour-saving machines; but we have no just reason to fear any thing from this quarter yet. In the year 1776, Hargrave, in England, invented the first spinning-jenny, an invention which has saved countless millions to the kingdom, and I believe the wages of the workers in cotton is as great, in proportion to articles of living, as they were before this invention. In England, it is calculated that there are 15,000 steam-engines at work, which will average twenty-five horse power; but we can never want but a small portion of this number, as our country abounds with the best of all power—the water-power, which was but little known when our ancestors came to this country.

Among the mechanics of a former age, many distinguished men have arisen to adorn every walk of life. They have passed from the work-shop to the battle field, and from thence to the hall of legislation, and to the bench of justice. It was not alone the mental culture of these men that made them great; it was their moral education that gave them the high stand they took in society. They were educated in the doctrines of strict obedience, and were not indulged in any romantic ideas of self-government; but were content with their time of service that the wisdom of the law had directed. This was one cause of their superiority; they waited patiently to become free, and masters of themselves; and when they had reached the proper age, they were equal to their business, and set up with the confidence of their fellow-citizens. These men had acquired habits of industry and firmness of purpose, and start-

ed in life with a moral weight of character. Society opened its arms to receive them, and they came fairly into the ranks of men, having been thoroughly initiated into the art, craft, and mystery they professed, as far as it was taught in their day. They had received parental, as well as professional education. They were directed by men whose hearts were right, who laboured for their children, that they might be good, leaving it to Providence to direct them in future life. Honesty and integrity are the basis of every character, and this their fathers knew.

"Though they, each tome of human lore unknown,
The brilliant path of science never trod,
The sacred volume claim'd their hearts alone,
Which taught the way to glory and to God.

"Here they from Truth's eternal fountain drew
The pure and gladdening water day by day;
Learnt, since our days are evil, fleet, and few
To walk in Wisdom's bright and peaceful way."

When the moral character is found to be correct and substantial, every particle of intelligence tells. The great man, who conducted our revolution as chief in arms, owed his success to the weight of his moral character, more than to his genius and military skill, however great they might have been. Honesty and integrity is credit every where, and in all stations. Themistocles was a greater man than Aristides; but the advice of the latter was followed, when he agreed that what Themistocles counselled would be beneficial to his country, but would at the same time take from the honesty and good faith of the nation.

It is my sincere belief, that the artists, mechanics, and manufacturers, at the present day, are as elevated in the scale of morals, as the agriculturists and the professional men of the country. The fear of corruption was the foundation of the opinion of our statesmen, that our work-shops should be long kept in Europe. Those who have introduced them here, were willing to be responsible for the result, and time has proved that they knew what they were doing. Some of the best schools in our country are connected with the manufacturing interests. The great proportion of those children connected with the establishments at Lowell, Chelmsford, and other places, are better educated than the great mass of the yeomanry throughout our country. I speak from an acquaintance with the fact.

The education of all classes should be watched with a hundred eyes; the philanthropist of the present age should never forget, that no plans of benefiting mankind are worth a single thought, unless they are connected with education. Not that education which gives a smattering of all things to every one, but that which teaches every one to think wisely and to act well. We are privileged in this respect above all other nations who have preceded us, for they began the arts when mental and moral cultivation were low; we came to regard them when we had considered and reasoned upon other matters of vital importance. We had agreed on forms of governments, adopted constitutions, erected tribunals of justice, and passed wise laws for the protection of property, and life, and public peace, and security, before the arts began to be cherished to any considerable extent. But we should not be satisfied by thinking that we began right; we must keep constantly in the right, to do justice to ourselves as a nation. There is no difficulty in this; it is only to see that every successive age has the proper degree of education offered them; not only offered, but attended to. But few can become learned by the simple love of intelligence. The recompense of reward must be set before the eyes of the young, to stimulate them to exertion. We must not only tell them that knowledge is power, but demonstrate it.

We often reason erroneously upon nations, and the happiness they enjoy; we draw upon our imaginations instead of our judgments. We consider an age of successful war as one of happiness, as well as of glory. Nothing is more common than to hear lamentations over Greece. The days of her worthies are called

the following year it received the ratification of the president.*

While the people of the United States were rejoicing at the return of peace, their attention was called to a new scene of war. By a message from the president to the house of representatives, with a

back; her great men conjured up; the political wisdom of Solon, the military prowess of Miltiades, and the eloquence of Demosthenes, are set before us. Here Sappho sung, and Lais danced. Here Ilissus flowed on and fell in lovely cascades, and Hymettus was covered with flowers and honey; then the Muses haunted every grove, and the reign of Apollo was unquestioned. In all this we forget that Athens was cursed with slaves; that at times she had 200,000 slaves to 30,000 freemen; and that, like some of our southern states, the freemen lived in constant dread of them. Sparta also, with all her freedom, had her Helots, a race she was obliged to keep from increasing too fast, by repeated assassinations. The young reader revels in the descriptions of ancient Greece, and thinks that nothing can ever be made of her now. It is perhaps cruel to dissolve a charm so refreshing to the classical mind, but it is our duty to look at these things with the eye of reason. Athens is now without slaves. All her citizens are free; she has sent to this country some of her learned men, to learn the nature of our improvements, and they are engaged in their duties; they will carry back numerous models from our patent office and our manufacturing towns. They will build mills on the sacred streams; perforate Pindus and Hymettus for ores, and becoming a manufacturing, commercial, and naval people, will resume a new station; if not one of as much glory, yet one of more true happiness. Former ages have been called after the metals in use among mankind—an age of gold, of silver, of brass, or iron. Political economists have discarded these terms, leaving them to the poet only, and have assumed new names, such as an age of *invention*, of *industry*, of *productiveness*, all centering in *utility*. It is true, the natural world does not now furnish the hero with monsters to overcome, or prodigies to describe, such as the age of chivalry produced, yet there is still enough of things unknown to demand the utmost exertions of the human mind. Genius and taste may be occupied, if the days of romance are past.

The useful arts, in their regular course, cherish the fine arts. The great quantities of paper manufactured in this country facilitates the multiplication of books. Competition among publishers leads to good editions, ornamented with engravings. Twenty-five years ago, when Delaplaine began his Repository, there was hardly an engraver in this country, and now there are hundreds fully employed. As the engraver finds employment, the painter sees his art becoming more in fashion. And the sculptor has now some chance of fame with the painters and engravers. From the consumption of the single article of paper in the United States, the folly of keeping our work-shops in Europe may be seen. There is not enough of the precious metals in our banks, from Louisiana to Maine, to purchase paper sufficient to supply the market for three years. Many other articles would illustrate our position, that we must be a manufacturing people to be a prosperous people.

The use of the article of iron is great almost beyond calculation. Two hundred and ten thousand tons of iron are used in this country every year, about one half of which we make ourselves, and ours is the best that can be found. In the article of shoes, forty millions of pairs of shoes and boots are made in a year, for home consumption, and for foreign markets. For harnesses and saddles, also, a large amount of capital is paid yearly, and a great portion of these was formerly imported. Does not every ridge, every plain, in fact, every tree and every blade of grass, feel the influence of this domestic industry? Every village throughout the manufacturing districts, feels the effects of this labour; and do not the seaports flourish as much, or more, than they did when we had to depend entirely on England and on France for all our manufactures? Every thing done for the manufacturing interests assists every other class in the community. The greater consumption of domestic goods, the better price the farmer will get for his produce.

report of the secretary of state, it appeared that the dey of Algiers had violently, and without just cause obliged the consul of the United States, and all the American citizens in Algiers, to leave that place, in violation of the treaty then subsisting between the two nations; that he had exacted from the consul,

There is a common chain that binds all interests together in this country, when a sound judgment is exercised in our national councils. The harmony of the whole is the safety of the whole. This must teach us how wise it is to select the best and most discerning men for rulers, and not to trust our dearest interests to those who wish to ride into power on their talents as demagogues or sycophants.

We think that we are now living in peace. The echo of the last groan of the Indian has passed over his smouldering wigwam, and the children of Black Hawk are no more. The border-rooper has cleft them down, and thrown the fire-brand into their dwellings. This no doubt was policy, but the philanthropist weeps at the necessity of it.

We think that having achieved our independence by a long and painful struggle, and having a second time tried our strength with England, that we are, and shall long remain, in peace with her. If, in the mind of the warrior, all is peace, because the sword is not red with blood; if all is peace, because no vessel of war is proudly carrying her thunders along our coast, to destroy our commerce, and no din of martial preparation is heard; the political economist and thinking statesman sees that England, as a giant with a hundred hands and as many eyes, is waging an honest war upon our industry, invention, and prosperity. She has a right to take care of her own industry, by every fair policy. This is a war which we must see and feel may be wasting to us; but the sword can not, by international law, and should not, by any excitement, leap from its scabbard, to decide the rivalry of mind and industry. We must meet policy by policy, until we find the effect of our unity, strength, and wisdom. Such a contest will be a preservative of peace between the two nations, and a lasting blessing to the world.—*American Editor*.

* By the first article of this treaty it was agreed, that there shall be a firm and universal peace between his Britannic Majesty and the United States, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people, of every degree, without exception of places or persons; and that all hostilities, both by sea and land, shall cease as soon as this treaty shall have been ratified by both parties. By the third article, all prisoners of war taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the ratifications of this treaty. By the fourth article, the decision of the conflicting claims of the United States and of Great Britain to several islands in the bay of Passamaquoddy, was referred to two commissioners, one to be appointed by his Britannic Majesty, and one by the president of the United States, with the advice and consent of the senate; and it was agreed, in the event of the two commissioners differing upon all or any of the matters referred to them, or of their not acting, they shall make report or reports to their respective governments, which report or reports they agreed to refer to some friendly sovereign or state, to be then named for that purpose, and engaged to consider such decision to be final and conclusive. By the ninth article, the United States engaged to put an end, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians, with whom they may be at war at the time of such ratification, provided they shall agree to desist from all hostilities against the United States; and his Britannic Majesty, on his part, entered into a correspondent engagement on the like condition of their desisting from all hostilities against him and his subjects. The tenth article has respect to the abolition of the slave trade: "Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice; and whereas both his majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition; it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object."

under pain of immediate imprisonment, a large sum of money, to which he had no just claim; and that these acts of violence and outrage had been followed by the capture of at least one American vessel, and by the seizure of an American citizen on board of a neutral vessel; that the captured persons were yet held in captivity, with the exception of two of them, who had been ransomed; that every effort to obtain the release of the others had proved abortive; and that there was some reason to believe they were held by the dey as means by which he calculated to extort from the United States a degrading treaty. The president observed, that the considerations which rendered it unnecessary and unimportant to commence hostile operations on the part of the United States, were now terminated by the peace with Great Britain, which opened the prospect of an active and valuable trade of their citizens within the range of the Algerine cruisers; and recommended to congress the consideration of an act declaring the existence of a state of war between the United States and the dey of Algiers, and of such provisions as might be requisite for the prosecution of it to a successful issue. A committee of congress, to whom was referred a bill "for the protection of the commerce of the United States against the Algerine cruisers," after a statement of facts, concluded their report by expressing their united opinion, "that the dey of Algiers considers his treaty with the United States as at an end, and is waging war with them;" and in March war was declared against the Algerines.

An expedition was immediately ordered to the Mediterranean, under the command of Commodore Bainbridge. The squadron in advance on that service, under Commodore Decatur, lost not a moment after its arrival in the Mediterranean, in seeking the naval force of the enemy, then cruising in that sea, and succeeded in capturing two of his ships, one of them commanded by the Algerine admiral. The American commander, after this demonstration of skill and prowess, hastened to the port of Algiers, where he readily obtained peace, in the stipulated terms of which the rights and honour of the United States were particularly consulted, by a perpetual relinquishment, on the part of the dey, of all pretensions to tribute from them. The impressions thus made, strengthened by subsequent transactions with the regencies of Tunis and Tripoli, by the appearance of the larger force which followed under Commodore Bainbridge, and by the judicious precautionary arrangements left by him in that quarter, afforded a reasonable prospect of future security for the valuable

portion of American commerce which passes within reach of the Barbary cruisers.*

President Madison, in his message to the congress of 1816, having adverted to the peace of Europe and to that of the United States with Great Britain, said, he had the "satisfaction to state, generally, that they remained in amity with foreign powers." He proceeded to say, that the posture of affairs with Algiers at that moment was not known; but that the dey had found a pretext for complaining of a violation of the last treaty, and presenting as the alternative, war or a renewal of the former treaty, which stipulated, among other things, an annual tribute. "The answer," says the president, "with an explicit declaration that the United States preferred war to tribute, required his recognition and observance of the treaty last made, which abolishes tribute, and the slavery of our captured citizens. The result of the answer has not been received. Should he renew his warfare on our commerce, we rely on the protection it will find in our naval force actually in the Mediterranean. With the other Barbary states our affairs have undergone no change. With reference to the aborigines of our own country," he continues, "the Indian tribes within our limits appear also disposed to remain in peace. From several of them purchases of lands have been made, particularly favourable to the wishes and security of our frontier settlements as well as to the general interests of the nation. In some instances, the titles, though not supported by due proof, and clashing those of one tribe with the claims of another, have been extinguished by double purchases, the benevolent policy of the United States preferring the augmented expense to the hazard of doing injustice, or to the enforcement of justice against a feeble and untutored people, by means involving or threatening an effusion of blood. I am happy to add, that the tranquillity which has been restored among the tribes themselves, as well as between them and our own population, will favour the resumption of the work of civilization, which had made an encouraging progress among some tribes; and that the facility is increasing for extending that divided and individual ownership, which exists now in moveable property only, to the soil itself; and of thus establishing, in the culture and improvement of it, the true foundation for a transit from the habits of a savage to the arts and comforts of social life."

The doubtful state of the relations between the United States and the dey of Algiers, to which the president alluded in his message, arose either from a

* Message of the president to congress, December 3, 1815.

strong impulse of the love of extortion in the dey, or from the influence of some foreign personages;* the rising differences were, however, settled by the prudent management of the American consul, Mr. Shaler, and peace has not since been broken on the part of the Algerines.

Among the incidents of domestic interest which indicate the rapid growth and increasing prosperity of the republic, we may notice the formation of the territory of Indiana into a state, and its admission into the union; the progress of canals in various states; the institution of a national bank; and the arrival of many thousand emigrants, chiefly from Great Britain.† Treaties were, during this year, negotiated with the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee Indians, ceding large portions of their respective territories to the United States, and acknowledging their tribes to be under the protection of the republic.

CHAPTER VI.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF JAMES MONROE, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, AND PART OF THAT OF ANDREW JACKSON.

THE events of the existing generation can never be considered fully ripe for the historian; we have therefore been concise in our narrative of recent transactions. The closing chapter of this narrative, although comprising a period of eighteen years, will exhibit still more strikingly a happy brevity, through the absence of events which constitute the chief materials of history; and our earnest hope is, that every succeeding decade will possess an equally diminished claim on the historic pen—an indication that an interchange of benevolent acts constitutes an increasing proportion of national proceedings, giving little to record, but much to enjoy. Ambition and the love of glory, the brilliant but delusive offspring of disordered minds, may excite to deeds which engage the admiration of the unreflecting mass of mankind; but they are deeds which, while they gratify the pride of a few, blast the happiness of multitudes; and, like family feuds, spread their baneful influence through distant generations. Under the heated and deadly glare of military glory, the arts and sciences which contribute to the enjoyment of life wither, and give place to the luxurious growth of rancorous weeds, whose blossoms are decked, indeed, with gorgeous

colours, but whose fruit is the dust of bitterness and despair.

A circumstance peculiar to the constitution of the United States, also tends to abridge our present labours;—the history of the United States during the remainder of the period we propose to include relating chiefly to measures of internal improvement, which are, for the most part, conducted by the respective states, and not by the general government, the arrangements of the work necessarily transfer our notice of these transactions to a subsequent section, which will treat of them in connexion with the statistics and topography of the states in which they have occurred.

The term of Mr. Madison's administration having expired in the year 1817, James Monroe was inaugurated president, and Daniel D. Tompkins vice-president. On his inauguration, Mr. Monroe delivered the following address to both houses of congress:—

“I should be destitute of feeling, if I was not deeply affected by the strong proof which my fellow-citizens have given me of their confidence, in calling me to the high office, whose functions I am about to assume. As the expression of their good opinion of my conduct in the public service, I derive from it a gratification, which those who are conscious of having done all that they could to merit it, can alone feel. My sensibility is increased by a just estimate of the importance of the trust, and of the nature and extent of its duties; with the proper discharge of which, the highest interests of a great and free people are intimately connected. Conscious of my own deficiency. I cannot enter on these duties without great anxiety for the result. From a just responsibility I will never shrink; calculating with confidence, that in my best efforts to promote the public welfare, my motives will always be duly appreciated, and my conduct be viewed with that candour and indulgence which I have experienced in other stations.

“In commencing the duties of the chief executive office, it has been the practice of the distinguished men who have gone before me, to explain the principles which would govern them in their respective administrations. In following their venerated example, my attention is naturally drawn to the great causes which have contributed, in a principal degree, to produce the present happy condition of the United States. They will best explain the nature of our duties, and shed much light on the policy which ought to be pursued in future.

“From the commencement of our revolution to the present day, almost forty years have elapsed, and from the establishment of this constitution, twenty-

* North American Review, vol. xxii. p. 422.

† This year, 1192 American and foreign vessels arrived at New York, bringing to that port alone 7122 passengers.

eight. Through this whole term the government has been what may emphatically be called, self-government; and what has been the effect? To whatever object we turn our attention, whether it relates to our foreign or domestic concerns, we find abundant cause to felicitate ourselves in the excellence of our institutions. During a period fraught with difficulties, and marked by very extraordinary events, the United States have flourished beyond example. Their citizens, individually, have been happy, and the nation prosperous.

"Under this constitution, our commerce has been wisely regulated with foreign nations, and between the states; new states have been admitted into our union; our territory has been enlarged, by fair and honourable treaty, and with great advantage to the original states; the states, respectively, protected by the national government, under a mild parental system, against foreign dangers, and enjoying within their separate spheres, by a wise partition of power, a just proportion of the sovereignty, have improved their police, extended their settlements, and attained a strength and maturity, which are the best proofs of wholesome laws, well administered. And if we look to the condition of individuals, what a proud spectacle does it exhibit? On whom has oppression fallen in any quarter of our union? Who has been deprived of any right of person or property? Who restrained in offering his vows in the mode in which he prefers, to the Divine Author of his being? It is well known, that all these blessings have been enjoyed in their fullest extent; and I add with peculiar satisfaction, that there has been no example of a capital punishment being inflicted on any one for the crime of high treason.

"Some, who might admit the competency of our government to these beneficent duties, might doubt it in trials which put to the test its strength and efficiency, as a member of the great community of nations. Here, too, experience has afforded us the most satisfactory proof in its favour. Just as this constitution was put into action, several of the principal states of Europe had become much agitated, and some of them seriously convulsed. Destructive wars ensued, which have, of late only, been terminated. In the course of these conflicts, the United States received great injury from several of the parties. It was their interest to stand aloof from the contest; to demand justice from the party committing the injury; and to cultivate, by a fair and honourable conduct, the friendship of all. War became, at length, inevitable, and the result has shown, that our government is equal to that, the greatest of trials, under the most unfavour-

able circumstances. Of the virtue of the people, and of the heroic exploits of the army, the navy, and the militia, I need not speak.

"Such, then, is the happy government under which we live: a government adequate to every purpose for which the social compact is formed; a government elective in all its branches, under which every citizen may, by his merit, obtain the highest trust recognised by the constitution; which contains within it no cause of discord; none to put at variance one portion of the community with another; a government which protects every citizen in the full enjoyment of his rights, and is able to protect the nation against injustice from foreign powers.

"Other considerations of the highest importance admonish us to cherish our union, and cling to the government which supports it. Fortunate as we are in our political institutions, we have not been less so in other circumstances, on which our prosperity and happiness essentially depend. Situated within the temperate zone, and extending through many degrees of latitude along the Atlantic, the United States enjoy all the varieties of climate, and every production incident to that portion of the globe. Penetrating, internally, to the great lakes, and beyond the source of the great rivers which communicate through our whole interior, no country was ever happier with respect to its domain. Blessed too with a fertile soil, our produce has always been very abundant, leaving, even in years the least favourable, a surplus for the wants of our fellow men in other countries. Such is our peculiar felicity, that there is not a part of our union that is not particularly interested in preserving it. The great agricultural interest of the nation prospers under its protection. Local interests are not less fostered by it. Our fellow-citizens of the north, engaged in navigation, find great encouragement in being made the favoured carriers of the vast productions of the other portions of the United States, while the inhabitants of these are amply recompensed, in their turn, by the nursery for seamen and naval force, thus formed and reared up for the support of our common rights. Our manufactures find a generous encouragement by the policy which patronizes domestic industry; and the surplus of our produce, a steady and profitable market by local wants, in less favoured parts at home.

"Such, then, being the highly favoured condition of our country, it is the interest of every citizen to maintain it. What are the dangers which menace us? If any exist, they ought to be ascertained and guarded against.

"In explaining my sentiments on this subject, it

may be asked, what raised us to the present happy state? How did we accomplish the revolution? How remedy the defects of the first instrument of our union, by infusing into the national government sufficient power for national purposes, without impairing the just rights of the states, or affecting those of individuals? How sustain, and pass with glory through the late war? The government has been in the hands of the people. To the people, therefore, and to the faithful and able depositories of their trust, is the credit due. Had the people of the United States been educated in different principles; had they been less intelligent, less independent, or less virtuous, can it be believed that we should have maintained the same steady and consistent career, or been blessed with the same success? While then the constituent body retains its present sound and healthful state, every thing will be safe. They will choose competent and faithful representatives of every department. It is only when the people become ignorant and corrupt, when they degenerate into a populace, that they are incapable of exercising the sovereignty. Usurpation is then an easy attainment, and a usurper soon found. The people themselves become the willing instruments of their own debasement and ruin. Let us then look to the great cause, and endeavour to preserve it in full force. Let us, by all wise and constitutional measures, promote intelligence among the people, as the best means of preserving our liberties.

"Dangers from abroad are not less deserving of attention. Experiencing the fortune of other nations, the United States may be again involved in war, and it may, in that event, be the object of the adverse party to overset our government, to break our union, and demolish us as a nation. Our distance from Europe, and the just, moderate, and pacific policy of our government, may form some security against these dangers, but they ought to be anticipated and guarded against. Many of our citizens are engaged in commerce and navigation, and all of them are in a certain degree dependent on their prosperous state. Many are engaged in the fisheries. These interests are exposed to invasion in the wars between other powers, and we should disregard the faithful admonition of experience if we did not expect it. We must support our rights or lose our character, and with it perhaps our liberties. A people who fail to do it, can scarcely be said to hold a place among independent nations. National honour is national property of the highest value. The sentiment in the mind of every citizen, is national strength. It ought therefore to be cherished.

"To secure us against these dangers, our coast and inland frontiers should be fortified, our army and navy regulated upon just principles as to the force of each, be kept in perfect order, and our militia be placed on the best practicable footing. To put our extensive coast in such a state of defence, as to secure our cities and interior from invasion, will be attended with expense, but the work when finished will be permanent, and it is fair to presume that a single campaign of invasion, by a naval force superior to our own, aided by a few thousand land troops, would expose us to greater expense, without taking into the estimate the loss of property, and distress of our citizens, than would be sufficient for this great work. Our land and naval forces should be moderate, but adequate to the necessary purposes. The former to garrison and preserve our fortifications and to meet the first invasions of a foreign foe; and, while constituting the elements of a greater force, to preserve the science, as well as all the necessary implements of war, in a state to be brought into activity in the event of war. The latter, retained within the limits proper in a state of peace, might aid in maintaining the neutrality of the United States with dignity in the wars of other powers, and in saving the property of their citizens from spoliation. In time of war, with the enlargement of which the great naval resources of the country render it susceptible, and which should be duly fostered in time of peace, it would contribute essentially both as an auxiliary of defence, and as a powerful engine of annoyance, to diminish the calamities of war, and to bring the war to a speedy and honourable termination.

"But it always ought to be held prominently in view, that the safety of these states, and of every thing dear to a free people, must depend in an eminent degree on the militia. Invasions may be made, too formidable to be resisted by any land and naval force, which it would comport either with the principles of our government, or the circumstances of the United States, to maintain. In such cases, recourse must be had to the great body of the people, and in a manner to produce the best effect. It is of the highest importance, therefore, that they be so organized and trained, as to be prepared for any emergency. The arrangement should be such, as to put at the command of the government the ardent patriotism and youthful vigour of the country. If formed on equal and just principles, it cannot be oppressive. It is the crisis which makes the pressure, and not the laws which provide a remedy for it. This arrangement should be formed too in time of peace, to be better prepared for war. With such an organization of

such a people, the United States have nothing to dread from foreign invasion. At its approach, an overwhelming force of gallant men might always be put in motion.

"Other interests of high importance will claim attention, among which the improvement of our country by roads and canals, proceeding always with a constitutional sanction, holds a distinguished place. By thus facilitating the intercourse between the states, we shall add much to the convenience and comfort of our fellow-citizens; much to the ornament of the country; and, what is of a greater importance, we shall shorten distances, and by making each part more accessible to, and dependent on the other, we shall bind the union more closely together. Nature has done so much for us by intersecting the country with so many great rivers, bays, and lakes, approaching from distant points so near to each other, that the inducement to complete the work seems to be peculiarly strong. A more-interesting spectacle was perhaps never seen than is exhibited within the United States; a territory so vast, and advantageously situated, containing objects so grand, so useful, so happily connected in all their parts.

"Our manufactures will likewise require the systematic and fostering care of the government. Possessing, as we do, all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil and industry, we ought not to depend in the degree we have done on the supplies from other countries. While we are thus dependent, the sudden event of war unsought and unexpected, can not fail to plunge us into the most serious difficulties. It is important, too, that the capital which nourishes our manufactures should be domestic, as its influence in that case, instead of exhausting, as it may do in foreign hands, would be felt advantageously on agriculture, and every other branch of industry. Equally important is it to provide at home a market for our raw materials, as by extending the competition, it will enhance the price, and protect the cultivator against the casualties incident to foreign markets.

"With the Indian tribes it is our duty to cultivate friendly relations, and to act with kindness and liberality in all our transactions. Equally proper is it to persevere in our efforts to extend to them the advantages of civilization.

"The great amount of our revenue, and the flourishing state of the treasury, are a full proof of the competency of the national resources for any emergency, as they are, of the willingness of our fellow-citizens to bear the burdens which the public necessities require. The vast amount of vacant lands,

the value of which daily augments, forms an additional resource of great extent and duration. These resources, besides accomplishing every other necessary purpose, put it completely in the power of the United States to discharge the national debt at an early period. Peace is the best time for improvement and preparation of every kind; it is in peace that our commerce flourishes most, that taxes are most easily paid, and that the revenue is most productive.

"The executive is charged officially, in the departments under it, with the disbursement of the public money, and is responsible for the faithful application of it to the purposes for which it is raised. The legislature is the watchful guard over the public purse. It is its duty to see that the disbursement has been honestly made. To meet the requisite responsibility, every facility should be afforded to the executive to enable it to bring the public agents, intrusted with the public money, strictly and promptly to account. Nothing should be presumed against them; but if, with the requisite faculties, the public money is suffered to lie, long and uselessly, in their hands, they will not be the only defaulters, nor will the demoralizing effect be confined to them. It will evince a relaxation, and want of tone in the administration, which will be felt by the whole community. I shall do all that I can, to secure economy and fidelity in this important branch of the administration, and I doubt not, that the legislature will perform its duty with equal zeal. A thorough examination should be regularly made, and I will promote it.

"It is particularly gratifying to me, to enter on the discharge of these duties, at a time when the United States are blessed with peace. It is a state most consistent with their prosperity and happiness. It will be my sincere desire to preserve it so far as depends on the executive, on just principles with all nations, claiming nothing unreasonable of any, and rendering to each what is its due.

"Equally gratifying is it, to witness the increased harmony of opinion which pervades our union. Discord does not belong to our system. Union is recommended, as well by the free and benign principles of our government, extending its blessings to every individual, as by the other eminent advantages attending it. The American people have encountered together great dangers, and sustained severe trials with success. They constitute one great family with a common interest. Experience has enlightened us on some questions of essential importance to the country. The progress has been slow, dictated by a just reflection, and faithful regard to every interest connected with it. To promote this harmony, in accord

with the principles of our republican government, and in a manner to give them the most complete effect, and to advance in all other respects the best interests of our union, will be the object of my constant and zealous exertions.

"Never did a government commence under auspices so favourable, nor ever was success so complete. If we look to the history of other nations, ancient and modern, we find no example of a growth so rapid, so gigantic; of a people so prosperous and happy. In contemplating what we have still to perform, the heart of every citizen must expand with joy when he reflects how near our government has approached to perfection; that in respect to it, we have no essential improvement to make; that the great object is to preserve it in the essential principles and features which characterize it, and, that is to be done, by preserving the virtue and enlightening the minds of the people; and as a security against foreign dangers, to adopt such arrangements as are indispensable to the support of our independence, our rights, and liberties. If we persevere in the career in which we have advanced so far, and in the path already traced, we cannot fail, by the favour of a gracious Providence, to attain the high destiny which seems to await us.

"In the administration of the illustrious men who have preceded me in this high station, with some of whom I have been connected by the closest ties from early life, examples are presented, which will always be found highly instructive, and useful to their successors. From these I shall endeavour to derive all the advantages which they may afford. Of my immediate predecessor, under whom so important a portion of this great and successful experiment has been made, I shall be pardoned for expressing my earnest wishes that he may long enjoy, in his retirement, the affections of a grateful country, the best reward of exalted talents, and the most faithful and meritorious services. Relying on the aid to be derived from the other departments of the government, I enter on the trust to which I have been called by the suffrages of my fellow-citizens, with my fervent prayers to the Almighty, that He will be graciously pleased to continue to us that protection, which He has already so conspicuously displayed in our favour."

During this year the republic received another accession by the erection of the territory of Mississippi into a state, and its admission into the union. By the act of admission it is provided, that the public lands, while belonging to the United States, and for five years from the day of sale, shall be exempted from all taxes; that lands belonging to the citizens of the United States residing without the state, shall

never be taxed higher than lands belonging to persons residing within the state; and that the river Mississippi, and the navigable rivers and waters leading into it, or into the gulf of Mexico, shall be common highways, and for ever free of toll or duty to all the citizens of the United States. In return for this concession, congress provided, that, after paying a debt to Georgia and indemnifying certain claimants, five per cent. of the net proceeds of the public lands, lying within the state, shall be devoted to the making of roads and canals for the benefit of the state.

In the summer of this year an expedition was undertaken against East Florida by persons claiming to act under the authority of some of the revolted Spanish colonies. The leader of this expedition styled himself "Citizen Gregor M'Gregor, brigadier-general of the armies of the united provinces of New Grenada and Venezuela, and general in chief, employed to liberate the provinces of both the Floridas, commissioned by the supreme governments of Mexico and South America." The persons that combined for this purpose took possession of Amelia Island, at the mouth of St. Mary's River, near the boundary of the state of Georgia. The president, apprised of this transaction, ordered an expedition, consisting of naval and land forces, to repel the invaders, and to occupy the island. A squadron, under the command of J. D. Henley, with troops under the command of James Banhead, arrived off Amelia Island on the 22d of December, and the next day took possession of it, hoisting the American flag at Fernandina. The president, in a message to congress relative to the capture, observed, "In expelling these adventurers from these posts, it was not intended to make any conquest from Spain, or to injure, in any degree, the cause of the colonies." The real reason of the measure seems to have been, that the invasion interfered with endeavours which were then making on the part of the United States to obtain the cession of the Floridas from the Spaniards.

In the following year the union received the accession of another state, that of Illinois. At the time of its admission, the government of the United States granted to the state one section or thirty-sixth part of every township for the support of schools, and three per cent. of the net proceeds of the United States lands lying within the state for the encouragement of learning, of which one sixth part must be exclusively bestowed on a college or university. The constitution happily provides, that no more slaves shall be introduced into the state. In 1819 the Alabama territory was admitted as a state into the union; and the Arkansaw territory was, by an act of congress,

erected into a territorial government. In the following year the district of Maine was separated from Massachusetts, formed into a distinct state, and admitted into the union.

During this year the American congress did themselves honour by providing more effectually against carrying on the slave trade. The enactment declared, that if any citizen of the United States, being of the ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any person whatever being of the crew or ship's company of any ship or vessel owned by, or navigated for, any citizens of the United States, shall on foreign shore seize any negro or mulatto, not held to service or labour by the laws either of the states or territories of the United States, with intent to make him a slave, or shall decoy or forcibly bring or receive him on board with such intent, he shall be adjudged a pirate, and on conviction shall suffer death.

A treaty for the cession of the Floridas was concluded at Washington, February 22, 1819, between Spain and the United States. In the year 1821 it was reluctantly ratified by the king of Spain, and possession was taken of those provinces according to the terms of the treaty. On the 1st of July, General Jackson, who had been appointed governor of the Floridas, issued a proclamation, declaring "that the government heretofore exercised over the said provinces under the authority of Spain has ceased, and that that of the United States of America is established over the same; that the inhabitants thereof will be incorporated in the union of the United States, as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the federal constitution, and admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges, rights, and immunities of the citizens of the United States; that in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion they profess; that all laws and municipal regulations which were in existence at the cessation of the late government remain in full force, and all civil officers charged with their execution," with certain exceptions and limitations, "are continued in their functions." On the 7th of July, the colonel commandant, Don Jose Gallava, commissioner on the part of his Catholic majesty, made to Major-General Jackson, the commissioner of the United States, a delivery of the keys of the town of Pensacola, of the archives, documents, and other articles, mentioned in the inventories, declaring that he releases from their oath of allegiance to Spain the citizens and inhabitants of West Florida who may choose to remain under the dominion of the United States. On the same day, Colonel Joseph Cop-

pinger, governor of East Florida, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, announcing that, on the 10th day of this month, "possession will be given to Colonel Robert Butler, the commissioner legally authorized by the United States." The American authorities were accordingly put in possession of the Floridas.

During this year Missouri was admitted as a state into the union, forming the eleventh state added to the thirteen confederated states which signed the declaration of independence, making the present number of the United States twenty-four. The proposition for the admission of this state, which was brought forward in the session of 1819, produced vehement discussion in the congress, and excited an intense interest throughout the whole union. The inhabitants of Missouri, the territory having been considered as a part of Louisiana, had derived from their connexion with the Spaniards and French the custom, which they deemed equivalent to the right, of possessing slaves; it was proposed, however, in admitting the territory to the privileges of a state, to prevent the increase and to insure the ultimate abolition of slavery, by the insertion of the following clause:—"Provided, that the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and that all the children born within the said state after the admission thereof into the Union shall be free at the age of twenty-five years." Judging from the previous views and measures of the general government, in similar and analogous cases, it could hardly have been conjectured, that the result of proposing such a limited and qualified restriction would be doubtful. The house of representatives, after a short but animated debate, refused to pass the bill without the restriction; but the senate refused to pass the bill with it; consequently the bill itself was lost, and Missouri still continued under her former territorial government. Such was the rapidity with which the several proceedings passed in the two houses of congress, that it was scarcely known beyond its walls that such a question was agitated, before it was decided. When, however, it came to be generally known what principles had been advanced, what votes had been given, with what ardour and vehemence the advocates of slavery had urged their demands, not merely upon the justice, the reason, and good sense of congress, but upon their interests, their prejudices, and their fears, by how slender a majority a measure had been checked, which, in the estimation of many of the best friends of American liberty, would have been productive of incalculable and interminable mischiefs, it excited a

feeling of universal surprise and alarm. It is instructive to observe that many of the staunchest advocates of liberal ideas, who delighted in appropriating to themselves exclusively the name of republicans, suffered their jealousy of the interference of the congress in the internal government of an individual state, to engage them on the side of the perpetrators of slavery. Jefferson, who prided himself in being the devoted friend of liberty, thus expresses himself: "The real question, as seen in the states afflicted with this unfortunate population, is, are our slaves to be presented with freedom and a dagger? For, if congress has the power to regulate the conditions of the inhabitants of the states within the states, it will be but another exercise of that power to declare that all shall be free. Are we then to see again Athenian and Lacedæmonian confederacies?—to wage another Peloponnesian war to settle the ascendancy between them? Or is this the tocsin of merely a servile war? That remains to be seen; but not, I hope, by you or me. Surely they will parley awhile, and give us time to get out of the way."* The consequence of this combination of the advocates of the sovereignty of individual states with those who make a traffic of the bodies of their fellow men, was the passing of the bill for the admission of Missouri in the next session of the congress, without the restricting clause; a circumstance which occasioned the deep regret and mortification of most of the inhabitants of the northern states, and excited feelings which it has been feared by many may ultimately lead to a dissolution of the union.†

No circumstances of particular interest in the transactions of the general government occurred till the year 1824, when articles of a convention between the United States of America and Great Britain for the suppression of the African slave trade, were subscribed at London by plenipotentiaries appointed for that purpose. By the first article, the commanders and commissioned officers of each of the two high contracting parties, duly authorized by their respective governments to cruise on the coast of Africa, America, and the West Indies, for the suppression of the slave trade, are empowered, under certain restrictions, to detain, examine, capture, and deliver over for trial and adjudication by some competent tribunal, any ship or vessel concerned in the

illicit traffic of slaves, and carrying the flag of the other.

In the spring of this year a convention was also concluded between the United States of America and the emperor of Russia. By the third article of this convention it was agreed, "that, hereafter, there shall not be formed by the citizens of the United States, or under the authority of the said States, any establishment upon the northern [north-west] coast of America, nor in any of the islands adjacent, to the north of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes of north latitude; and that, in the same manner, there shall be none formed by Russian subjects, or under the authority of Russia, south of the same parallel."

This year is signalized in American history by the visit of the venerable La Fayette, on the express invitation of congress. He arrived in the harbour of New York on the 13th of August, and proceeded to the residence of the vice-president at Staten Island. A committee of the corporation of the city of New York, and a great number of distinguished citizens, proceeded to Staten Island to welcome him to their capital. A splendid escort of steamboats, decorated with the flags of every nation, and bearing thousands of citizens, brought him to the view of assembled multitudes at New York, who manifested their joy at beholding him, by acclamations, and by tears. At the city hall the officers of the city and many citizens were presented to him; and he was welcomed by an address from the mayor. While he was at New York, deputations from Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Haven, and from many other cities, arrived with invitations for him to visit them. After remaining a few days at New York, he proceeded to Boston, where he met with the same cordial reception. The general soon after returned to New York, visited Albany and the town's on Hudson River, and afterwards passed through the intermediate states to Virginia. He returned to Washington during the session of congress, and remained there several weeks. Congress voted him the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, and a township of land, as a remuneration, in part, of his services during the war of the revolution, and as a testimony of their gratitude.

General Lafayette was present at the imposing ceremony of laying the corner stone of the Bunker Hill Monument, on the 17th of June, 1825, to which

* *Memoirs*, vol. iv. p. 347.

† "The coincidence of a marked principle, moral and political, with a geographical line, once conceived, I feared would never more be obliterated from the mind; that it would be recurring on every occasion, and renewing irritations, until it would kindle such mutual and mortal hatred, as to render separation preferable to eternal discord. I have been among the most sanguine in believing

that our union would be of long duration. I now doubt it much, and see the event at no great distance, and the direct consequence of this question; not by the line which has been so confidently counted on; the laws of nature control this; but by the Potomac, Ohio, and Missouri, or, more probably, the Mississippi upwards to our northern boundary."—*Jefferson's Memoirs*, vol. iv. p. 331.

he had been invited by the Association formed for the purpose of erecting a memorial to those which fell in the battle of June 17, 1775.*

* The sun rose clear, on the fiftieth anniversary of Bunker's Hill; and thousands of voices, joined with the cheerful sound of bells and the roar of artillery, saluted him with their patriotic shouts. At seven A. M. passing through this crowd, which was excited by glorious recollections of the 17th of June, 1775, General Lafayette proceeded to the grand lodge of Massachusetts, where deputations from the grand lodges of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, and New Jersey, were assembled, with the officers of the chapter of the Knights Templars, to receive and compliment him.

At ten o'clock, 2,000 Free-masons, sixteen companies of volunteer infantry, a corps of mounted militia, with the different corporations, and the civil and military authorities, proceeded to the state-house, where the procession was formed under the inspection of Gen. Lyman; while the Grand Masters of the Masonic order went for Gen. Lafayette, who had returned to the house of Mr. Lloyd, on leaving the lodge.

At half past ten the procession began to move: it consisted of about 7,000 persons; two hundred officers and soldiers of the revolution marched in front, and forty veterans, glorious relics of the battle of Bunker's Hill, followed them in eight open carriages. They were decorated with a broad ribbon, on which was this inscription:—"17th June, 1775." Some of them had on their shoulders the cartridge-belts they had worn on that memorable day; and one of them, who had been a drummer, still bore the drum with which he had several times rallied the American battalions, when broken by the English columns. Behind them marched a long line of persons formed of the numerous subscribers to the monument, six abreast; and 2,000 Masons, clad in rich ornaments, and bearing the instruments and symbols of their order. Last came Gen. Lafayette, in an elegant carriage, drawn by six beautiful white horses. Next behind him followed a long line of coaches, in which were his son, his secretary, the governor of Massachusetts and his staff; finally, a great number of persons of distinction, natives and strangers. This column proceeded, with the sound of music and ringing of bells, through the midst of 200,000 citizens, who had assembled from all the states of the union; while the general was at intervals saluted by artillery and general acclamations. He arrived at Bunker's Hill at half past twelve, and the whole crowd was soon ranged in regular order on the hill, where the monument was to be erected, to witness the national gratitude expressed to the first heroes of the revolution.

The humble pyramid erected in former times, over the remains of Warren and his companions, which we had seen on our first visit to Bunker's Hill, had disappeared. From the largest piece of wood it contained, a cane had been formed, which was mounted with gold, and bore an inscription referring to its origin, and stating, that it had been presented by the Masons of Charlestown to Gen. Lafayette, who accepted it as a precious relic of the American revolution. A large excavation which had been made at that place, showed that the new monument was to be raised on the same spot.

A few moments after we had taken our places around that excavation, and silence had been obtained throughout the numerous crowd that surrounded, awaiting the ceremony in solemn silence, the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, accompanied by the principal dignitaries of the order, Brother Lafayette, Mr. Webster, and the principal architect, proceeded to lay the first stone of the monument, with the forms prescribed by the Masonic order. In an iron chest were placed medals, pieces of money, and a silver plate, on which was engraved the order of ceremonies. This box was placed under the stone, on which the Grand Master poured wheat, oil, and wine; while the Rev. Mr. Allen, the chaplain of the day, pronounced the benediction. The Masonic command to finish the monument was then given, and a salute of artillery announced that this part of the ceremony was accomplished.

The procession then moved to a vast amphitheatre, formed on the northeastern declivity of the hill. At the centre of its base was raised a covered platform, from which the orator of the day was to raise his voice, and address an audience of 15,000 persons, as-

In the year 1825, John Quincy Adams was inaugurated president of the United States, and John C. Calhoun, vice-president. On his inauguration,

assembled in the amphitheatre. All the revolutionary officers and soldiers, several of whom had come from great distances to witness this solemnity, were seated opposite the stage, the survivors of Bunker's Hill forming a little group in their front. At the head of that party was placed, in a large chair, the only surviving general of the revolution, Lafayette. Immediately behind were 2,000 ladies, brilliantly dressed, who seemed to form a guard of honour for those venerable old men, and to protect them from the tumultuous throng of the crowd. Beyond the ladies, more than 10,000 persons were seated on the numerous benches which were placed on the side of the hill, the top of which was crowned by upwards of 30,000 spectators, who, although beyond the reach of the orator's voice, stood motionless, and in the most profound silence. After the agitation which necessarily accompanies the movements of so large a crowd, had been tranquillized, the melodious sound of a large choir of singers was heard, who were concealed behind the stage, and raised a patriotic and religious song, the deep melody of which agreeably prepared the minds of all for the impressions of eloquence. This music was succeeded by a prayer from Dr. Thaxter; and when the venerable pastor, who had had the honour of fighting at Bunker's Hill, presented himself before the assembly, with his white locks falling in long silver curls on his shoulders; when he raised towards heaven his hands enfeebled by age, and with a voice still strong, implored the benedictions of the Almighty on the proceedings of that day, the whole audience seemed penetrated with inexpressible emotions. At length the orator of the day, Mr. Webster, presented himself in his turn; his tall stature, his athletic form, the noble expression of his countenance, and the fire of his eye, perfectly harmonized with the solemnity of the scene. Mr. Webster, who had been for a long time rendered popular by the charms of his eloquence, was welcomed by the assembly with every expression of pleasure. The murmur of satisfaction with which he was saluted, ascended from the base of the hill to the summit, and prevented him for a few instants from beginning his discourse.

During his discourse, the orator was sometimes interrupted by bursts of applause from the audience, who could not repress the expression of their sympathetic feelings, when Mr. Webster addressed the revolutionary veterans, and Gen. Lafayette; and while they, uncovering their venerable heads, arose to receive the thanks which were offered them in the name of the people. A hymn, sung in choir by the whole assembly, succeeded this speech, and terminated the second part of the ceremony.

At the signal given by a field piece, the procession formed anew, mounted the hill, and went to seat themselves at a banquet prepared on the summit. There, under an immense wooden covering, 4,000 persons took their places without confusion. The tables were spread with so much art, that the voice of the president, and all those who offered toasts, or made speeches, were easily heard, not only by the company, but also by a great number of spectators stationed without. The names of Warren, the orator of the day, and the guest of the nation, were proposed by turns during the repast. Before leaving the table, the general rose to return thanks to the members of the monument association, and expressed himself in these terms:

"I will now ask your attention, only to thank you in the name of my revolutionary companions in arms, as well as in my own name, gentlemen, for the testimonies of esteem and affection, I may say filial affection, with which we have been this day loaded. We offer you our best wishes for the preservation of republican liberty and equality, self-government, and happy union between the states of the confederation: objects for which we fought and bled,—for it is on them that the hopes of mankind now rest. Permit me to give you the following toast: 'Bunker's Hill, and the Holy Resistance to oppression, which has freed the American hemisphere;—the anniversary toast at the jubilee of the next half century shall be:—Europe Disenthralled.' This toast was received with transport; and immediately after the company returned to the city.—*Levasseur's Journal.*

Mr. Adams delivered the following address to both houses of congress :

"In compliance with a usage, coeval with the existence of our federal constitution, and sanctioned by the example of my predecessors, in the career upon which I am about to enter, I appear, my fellow-citizens, in your presence, and in that of heaven, to bind myself by the solemnity of religious obligation, to the faithful performance of the duties allotted to me in the station to which I have been called.

"In unfolding to my countrymen the principles by which I shall be governed, in the fulfilment of those duties, my first resort will be to that constitution, which I shall swear, to the best of my ability, to preserve, protect, and defend. That revered instrument enumerates the powers and prescribes the duties of the executive magistrate; and, in its first words, declares the purposes to which these, and the whole action of the government, instituted by it, should be invariably and sacredly devoted: to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to the people of this union, in their successive generations. Since the adoption of this social compact, one of these generations has passed away. It is the work of our forefathers. Administered by some of its most eminent men, who contributed to its formation, through a most eventful period in the annals of the world, and through all the vicissitudes of peace and war, incidental to the condition of associated man, it has not disappointed the hopes and aspirations of those illustrious benefactors of their age and nation. It has promoted the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all; it has, to an extent far beyond the ordinary lot of humanity, secured the freedom and happiness of this people. We now receive it as a precious inheritance from those to whom we are indebted for its establishment, doubly bound by the examples which they have left us, and by the blessings which we have enjoyed, as the fruits of their labours, to transmit the same, unimpaired, to the succeeding generation.

"In the compass of thirty-six years since this great national covenant was instituted, a body of laws, enacted under its authority, and in conformity with its provisions, has unfolded its powers, and carried into practical operation its effective energies. Subordinate departments have distributed the executive functions in their various relations to foreign affairs, to the revenue and expenditures, and to the military force of the union, by land and sea. A co-ordinate department of the judiciary has expounded the con-

stitution and the laws; settling, in harmonious coincidence with the legislative will, numerous weighty questions of construction, which the imperfection of human language had rendered unavoidable. The year of jubilee, since the first formation of our union, has just elapsed; that of the declaration of our independence, is at hand. The consummation of both was effected by this constitution.

"Since that period, a population of four millions has multiplied to twelve; a territory bounded by the Mississippi, has been extended from sea to sea; new states have been admitted to the union, in numbers equal to those of the first confederation; treaties of peace, amity, and commerce, have been concluded with the principal dominions of the earth; the people of other nations, inhabitants of regions acquired, not by conquest, but by compact, have been united with us in the participation of our rights and duties, or our burdens and blessings; the forest has fallen by the axe of our woodsmen; the soil has been made to teem by the tillage of our farmers; our commerce has whitened every ocean; the dominion of every man over physical nature has been extended by the invention of our artists; liberty and law have marched hand in hand; all the purposes of human association have been accomplished as effectively as under any other government on the globe; and at a cost little exceeding, in a whole generation, the expenditure of other nations in a single year.

"Such is the unexaggerated picture of our condition, under a constitution founded upon the republican principle of equal rights. To admit that this picture has its shades, is but to say, that it is still the condition of men upon earth. From evil, physical, moral and political, it is not our claim to be exempt. We have suffered, sometimes by the visitation of heaven, through disease; often, by the wrongs and injustice of other nations, even to the extremities of war; and lastly, by dissensions among ourselves—dissensions, perhaps, inseparable from the enjoyment of freedom, but which have, more than once, appeared to threaten the dissolution of the union, and, with it, the overthrow of all the enjoyments of our present lot, and all our earthly hopes of the future. The causes of these dissensions have been various; founded upon differences of speculation in the theory of republican government; upon conflicting views of policy, in our relations with foreign nations; upon jealousies of partial and sectional interests, aggravated by prejudices and prepossessions which strangers to each other are ever apt to entertain.

"It is a source of gratification and of encouragement to me, to observe that the great result of this

experiment, upon the theory of human rights, has, at the close of that generation by which it was formed, been crowned with success, equal to the most sanguine expectations of its founders. Union, justice, tranquillity, the common defence, the general welfare, and the blessings of liberty, all have been promoted by the government under which we have lived. Standing at this point of time; looking back to that generation which has gone by, and forward to that which is advancing, we may, at once, indulge in grateful exultation, and in cheering hope. From the experience of the past, we derive instructive lessons for the future. Of the two great political parties which have divided the opinions and feelings of our country, the candid and the just will now admit, that both have contributed splendid talents, spotless integrity, ardent patriotism, and disinterested sacrifices, to the formation and administration of this government; and that both have required a liberal indulgence for a portion of human infirmity and error. The revolutionary wars of Europe, commencing precisely at the moment when the government of the United States first went into operation under this constitution, excited a collision of sentiments and of sympathies which kindled all the passions, and embittered the conflict of parties, till the nation was involved in war, and the union was shaken to its centre.

"This time of trial embraced a period of five and twenty years, during which, the policy of the union in its relations with Europe, constituted the principal basis of our political divisions, and the most arduous part of the action of our federal government. With the catastrophe in which the wars of the French revolution terminated, and our own subsequent peace with Great Britain, this baneful weed of party strife was uprooted. From that time, no difference of principle, connected either with the theory of government, or with our intercourse with foreign nations, has existed or been called forth, in force sufficient to sustain a continued combination of parties, or to give more than wholesome animation to the public sentiment or legislative debate. Our political creed is, without a dissenting voice that can be heard, that the will of the people is the source, and the happiness of the people the end, of all legitimate government upon earth—that the best security for the beneficence and the best guarantee against the abuse of power, consists in the freedom, the purity, and the frequency of popular elections—that the general government of the union, and the separate governments of the states, are all sovereignties of limited powers; fellow-servants of the same masters; uncontrolled within their respective spheres; uncontrollable but by

encroachments upon each other—that the firmest security of peace is the preparation, during peace, of the defences of war—that a rigorous economy and accountability of public expenditures, should guard against the aggravation, and alleviate, when possible, the burden of taxation—that the military should be kept in strict subordination to the civil power—that the freedom of the press and of religious opinion should be inviolate—that the policy of our country is peace, and the ark of our salvation, union, are articles of faith upon which we are all now agreed. If there have been those who doubted whether a confederated representative democracy were a government competent to the wise and orderly management of the common concerns of a mighty nation, those doubts have been dispelled. If there have been projects of partial confederacies to be erected on the ruins of the union, they have been scattered to the winds: if there have been dangerous attachments to one foreign nation and antipathies against another, they have been extinguished. Ten years of peace, at home and abroad, have assuaged the animosities of political contention, and blended into harmony the most discordant elements of public opinion. There still remains one effort of magnanimity, one sacrifice of prejudice and passion, to be made by the individuals throughout the nation, who have heretofore followed the standards of political party. It is that of discarding every remnant of rancour against each other; of embracing, as countrymen and friends, and of yielding to talents and virtue alone, that confidence which, in times of contention for principle, was bestowed only upon those who wore the badge of party communion.

"The collisions of party spirit, which originated in speculative opinions, or in different views of administrative policy, are, in their nature, transitory. Those which are founded on geographical divisions, adverse interests of soil, climate, and modes of domestic life, are more permanent, and therefore perhaps more dangerous. It is this which gives inestimable value to the character of our government, at once federal and national. It holds out to us a perpetual admonition to preserve alike, and with equal anxiety, the rights of each individual state in its own government, and the rights of the whole nation in that of the union. Whatsoever is of domestic concernment, unconnected with the other members of the union, or with foreign lands, belongs exclusively to the administration of the state governments. Whatsoever directly involves the rights and interests of the federative fraternity, or of foreign powers, is of the resort of this general government. The duties of both are obvious

in the general principle, though sometimes perplexed with difficulties in the detail. To respect the rights of the state governments, is the inviolable duty of that of the union; the government of every state will feel its own obligation to respect and preserve the rights of the whole. The prejudices, every where too commonly entertained against distant strangers, are worn away, and the jealousies of jarring interests are allayed by the composition and functions of the great national councils, annually assembled from all quarters of the union at this place. Here the distinguished men from every section of our country, while meeting to deliberate upon the great interests of those by whom they are deputed, learn to estimate the talents, and do justice to the virtues of each other. The harmony of the nation is promoted, and the whole union is knit together, by the sentiments of mutual respect, the habits of social intercourse, and the ties of personal friendship, formed between the representatives of its several parts, in the performance of their service at this metropolis.

"Passing from this general review of the purpose and injunctions of the federal constitution and their results, as indicating the first traces of the path of duty in the discharge of my public trust, I turn to the administration of my immediate predecessor, as the second. It has passed away in a period of profound peace; how much to the satisfaction of our country, and to the honour of our country's name, is known to you all. The great features of its policy, in general concurrence with the will of the legislature, have been—to cherish peace, while preparing for defensive war; to yield exact justice to other nations, and maintain the rights of our own; to cherish the principles of freedom and of equal rights, wherever they were proclaimed; to discharge, with all possible promptitude, the national debt; to reduce, within the narrowest limits of efficiency, the military force; to improve the organization and discipline of the army; to provide and sustain a school of military science; to extend equal protection to all the great interests of the nation; to promote the civilization of the Indian tribes; and to proceed in the great system of internal improvements, within the limits of the constitutional power of the union. Under the pledge of these promises, made by that eminent citizen, at the time of his first induction into this office, in his career of eight years, the internal taxes have been repealed; sixty millions of the public debt have been discharged; provision has been made for the comfort and relief of the aged and indigent among the surviving warriors of the revolution; the regular armed force has been reduced, and its constitution revised

and perfected; the accountability for the expenditure of public moneys has been made more effective; the Floridas have been peaceably acquired, and our boundary has been extended to the Pacific ocean; the independence of the southern nations of this hemisphere has been recognised and recommended by example and by counsel, to the potentates of Europe; progress has been made in the defence of the country, by fortifications, and the increase of the navy towards the effectual suppression of the African traffic in slaves; in alluring the aboriginal hunters of our land to the cultivation of the soil and of the mind; in exploring the interior regions of the union; and in preparing, by scientific researches and surveys, for the further application of our national resources to the internal improvement of our country.

"In this brief outline of the promise and performance of my immediate predecessor, the line of duty, for his successor, is clearly delineated. To pursue, to their consummation, those purposes of improvement in our common condition, instituted or recommended by him, will embrace the whole sphere of my obligations. To the topic of internal improvement, emphatically urged by him at his inauguration, I recur with peculiar satisfaction. It is that from which I am convinced that the unborn millions of our posterity, who are, in future ages, to people this continent, will derive their most fervent gratitude to the founders of the union; that, in which the beneficent action of its government will be most deeply felt and acknowledged. The magnificence and splendour of their public works are among the imperishable glories of the ancient republics. The roads and aqueducts of Rome have been the admiration of all after ages, and have survived thousands of years, after all her conquests have been swallowed up in despotism, or become the spoil of barbarians. Some diversity of opinion has prevailed with regard to the powers of congress for legislation upon objects of this nature. The most respectful deference is due to doubts originating in pure patriotism, and sustained by venerated authority. But nearly twenty years have passed since the construction of the first national road was commenced. The authority for its construction was then unquestioned. To how many thousands of our countrymen has it proved a benefit? To what single individual has it ever proved an injury? Repeated liberal and candid discussions in the legislature have conciliated the sentiments, and proximated the opinions of enlightened minds, upon the question of constitutional power. I cannot but hope, that by the same process of friendly, patient, and persevering deliberation, all constitutional objections will ulti

mately be removed. The extent and limitation of the powers of the general government, in relation to this transcendently important interest, will be settled and acknowledged, to the common satisfaction of all, and every speculative scruple will be solved by a practical public blessing.

"Fellow-citizens, you are acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the recent election, which have resulted in affording me the opportunity of addressing you, at this time. You have heard the exposition of the principles which will direct me in the fulfilment of the high and solemn trust imposed upon me in this station. Less possessed of your confidence in advance, than any of my predecessors, I am deeply conscious of the prospect that I shall stand, more and oftener, in need of your indulgence. Intentions, upright and pure; a heart devoted to the welfare of our country, and the unceasing application of all the faculties allotted to me, to her service, are all the pledges that I can give, for the faithful performance of the arduous duties I am to undertake. To the guidance of the legislative councils; to the assistance of the executive and subordinate departments; to the friendly co-operation of the respective state governments; to the candid and liberal support of the people, so far as it may be deserved by honest industry and zeal, I shall look for whatever success may attend my public service: and knowing, that, except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain; with fervent supplications for his favour, to his overruling Providence I commit, with humble but fearless confidence, my own fate, and the future destinies of my country."

In August, 1826, Lafayette repaired to Washington, to take leave of the president, and his last look of the land through which he had passed as a laurelled victor, receiving the homage of nations. His was the homage of the heart; the offerings he received was the gratitude of an enlightened people. "The last three weeks which he spent in the United States, was exceedingly well appropriated; and, no doubt, after much reflection, by him—for he is a man not more remarkable for the purity of his motives, than an observance of every right rule of conduct, a deviation from which might lead to a suspicion of any of them. This induced him, after witnessing the magnificent ceremony at Boston, on the anniversary of the battle of Bunker's Hill, leisurely to return to the city of Washington, (visiting many of his personal friends in the way, and reviewing the battle field at Brandywine,) that his last moments might be given up to a brief residence in what must be metaphorically regarded as the *heart of the nation*, being the seat of

its government, where the chief agents of millions of their fellow-citizens are gathered together, to execute the laws, and distribute that moral force, for the preservation of harmony, which rightfully belongs to institutions based upon the self competency of a free people for the self-management of their own affairs; and it was here that Lafayette mentally looked over the whole republic—the twenty-four sovereignties which he had visited—and, with feelings which no honest man will envy, but such as every honourable one would desire to possess for himself, reflected on what he had seen, and indulged the fond hopes of what this nation, of which he was a distinguished builder, would attain, before the expiration of that period of time usually allotted to men now living; and his tender heart must have seemed to melt within him, at the remembrance of the scenes through which he had passed in the dark days of the revolution, contrasted with the triumphs of his journey through the 'land of the free.' Not the triumphs of the conqueror, before whom the enslaved bow to the dust, and by their own debasement endeavour to win the favour of the oppressor; but growing out of the best affections of the human mind, for kindnesses rendered, when a weak people most needed them, that they might become strong, and laugh the oppressor to the scorn and contempt that tyranny merits.

"From the city of Washington, the political heart of the nation, he made delightful excursions into Virginia, in which it happened that three out of all the presidents which we have had, yet reside as citizens—distinguished over their fellows only by the right of franking their letters, except in their private virtues—and this is all the distinction that the constitution allows!—no pension, no precedent, no other privilege than that of being enabled to correspond through the post-offices with their old friends and acquaintances, free of expense! He had before visited one of the lion-hearted of the revolution, the resolute and devoted president Adams; and the other ex-presidents were, the author of the declaration of independence; a soldier who spilled his blood in supporting it; and he to whom, perhaps, more than any man living, we are indebted for the present happy constitution of the United States. And in one of those excursions, he was accompanied by the present president of the republic, and met by the venerable chief justice of the United States, a fellow-soldier also. What meetings were these of the great and the good! We can entertain some idea of the sensations which they produced, but language would fail to give utterance to it, and we shall not attempt an impossibility.

"The last days of his visit were properly spent by Lafayette in the nation's house, on the invitation of its present possessor, the chief magistrate of the United States. Mr. Adams was, in his early youth, a favourite with the general, having much personal communication with him; and of his disposition and ability to represent the hospitality and feeling of the millions of free people over whose affairs he presides, there could not be a doubt. Lafayette was at home, in the national house, in the city of Washington, and in the heart of a family which had every inducement that can operate on the human mind to make him comfortable; this was his abode till the moment of his departure, to embark in the Brandywine, named in compliment to him, and peculiarly fitted for his accommodation—her 'giddy mast' bearing the stripes and the stars, her bosom to contain the person of our guest: a man of whom it may be said, 'take him all in all, we ne'er shall look upon his like again,' unless he shall again visit our shores: one that was the same, great and good, in prosperity and adversity—grateful for kind offices, forgiving of injuries, zealous to confer benefits—modest when as on the pinnacle of human glory, dignified and collected in the proud presence of kings. But I must not proceed—if, after Mr. Adams' display of eloquence and power, he, who commands words and they obey him, honestly confessed 'a want of language to give utterance to his feelings'—who among us may attempt it? I shall, therefore, proceed to notice some of the things which happened at the departure of Lafayette, with this simple remark, that if there is any American who can read, unmoved, Mr. Adams' valedictory address to him, or the reply of the general to that address, I would not possess that man's heart for his fortune, though he were a Croesus.

"The 7th inst. was the day appointed for his departure. The civil and military authorities, and the whole people of Washington, had prepared to honour it. The banks were closed, and all business suspended; and nothing else engaged attention, except the ceremonies prescribed for the occasion.

"At about 12 o'clock, the authorities of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, the principal officers of the general government, civil, military, and naval, some members of congress, and other respected strangers, were assembled in the president's house to take leave of Lafayette. He entered the great hall in silence, leaning on the marshal of the district, and on the arm of one of the president's sons. Mr. Adams then, with much dignity, but with evident emotion, addressed him in the following terms:—

"General Lafayette: It has been the good fortune of many of my distinguished fellow-citizens, during the course of the year now elapsed, upon your arrival at their respective places of abode, to greet you with the welcome of the nation. The less pleasing task now devolves upon me, of bidding you, in the name of the nation, adieu.

"It were no longer seasonable, and would be superfluous, to recapitulate the remarkable incidents of your early life—incidents which associated your name, fortunes, and reputation, in imperishable connexion with the independence and history of the North American union.

"The part which you performed at that important juncture was marked with characters so peculiar, that, realizing the fairest fable of antiquity, its parallel could scarcely be found in the *authentic* records of human history.

"You deliberately and perseveringly preferred toil, danger, the endurance of every hardship, and the privation of every comfort, in defence of a holy cause, to inglorious ease, and the allurements of rank, affluence, and unrestrained youth, at the most splendid and fascinating court of Europe.

"That this choice was not less wise than magnanimous, the sanction of half a century, and the gratulations of unnumbered voices, all unable to express the gratitude of the heart with which your visit to this hemisphere has been welcomed, afford ample demonstration.

"When the contest of freedom, to which you had repaired as a voluntary champion, had closed, by the complete triumph of her cause in this country of your adoption, you returned to fulfil the duties of the philanthropist and patriot in the land of your nativity. There, in a consistent and undeviating career of forty years, you have maintained, through every vicissitude of alternate success and disappointment, the same glorious cause to which the first years of your active life had been devoted, the improvement of the moral and political condition of man.

"Throughout that long succession of time, the people of the United States, for whom, and with whom, you had fought the battles of liberty, have been living in the full possession of its fruits; one of the happiest among the family of nations. Spreading in population; enlarging in territory; acting, and suffering according to the condition of their nature; and laying the foundations of the greatest, and we humbly hope, the most beneficent power that ever regulated the concerns of man upon earth.

"In that lapse of forty years, the generation of

men with whom you co-operated in the conflict of arms, has nearly passed away. Of the general officers of the American army in that war, you alone survive. Of the sages who guided our councils ; of the warriors who met the foe in the field or upon the wave, with the exception of a few, to whom unusual length of days has been allotted by Heaven, all now sleep with their fathers. A succeeding, and even a third generation, have arisen to take their places ; and their children's children, while rising up to call them blessed, have been taught by them, as well as admonished by their own constant enjoyment of freedom, to include in every benison upon their fathers, the name of him who came from afar, with them, and in their cause, to conquer or to fall.

“ The universal prevalence of these sentiments was signally manifested by a resolution of congress, representing the whole people, and all the states of this union, requesting the president of the United States to communicate to you assurances of the grateful and affectionate attachment of this government and people, and desiring that a national ship might be employed, at your convenience, for your passage to the borders of our country.

“ The invitation was transmitted to you by my venerable predecessor : himself bound to you by the strongest ties of personal friendship, himself one of those whom the highest honours of his country had rewarded for blood early shed in her cause, and for a long life of devotion to her welfare. By him the services of a national ship were placed at your disposal. Your delicacy preferred a more private conveyance, and a full year has elapsed since you landed upon our shores. It were scarcely an exaggeration to say, that it has been, to the people of the union, a year of uninterrupted festivity and enjoyment, inspired by your presence. You have traversed the twenty-four states of this great confederacy : You have been received with rapture by the survivors of your earliest companions in arms : You have been hailed as a long absent parent by their children, the men and women of the present age : And a rising generation, the hope of future time, in numbers surpassing the whole population of that day when you fought at the head and by the side of their forefathers, have vied with the scanty remnants of that hour of trial, in acclamations of joy at beholding the face of him whom they feel to be the common benefactor of all. You have heard the mingled voices of the past, the present, and the future age, joining in one universal chorus of delight at your approach : and the shouts of unbidden thou-

sands, which greeted your landing on the soil of freedom, have followed every step of your way, and still resound, like the rushing of many waters, from every corner of our land.

“ You are now about to return to the country of your birth, of your ancestors, of your posterity. The executive government of the union, stimulated by the same feeling which had prompted the congress to the designation of a national ship for your accommodation in coming hither, has destined the first service of a frigate, recently launched at this metropolis, to the less welcome, but equally distinguished trust, of conveying you home. The name of the ship has added one more memorial to distant regions and to future ages, of a stream already memorable, at once in the story of your sufferings and of our independence.

“ The ship is now prepared for your reception, and equipped for sea. From the moment of her departure, the prayers of millions will ascend to Heaven that her passage may be prosperous, and your return to the bosom of your family as propitious to your happiness, as your visit to this scene of your youthful glory has been to that of the American people.

“ Go, then, our beloved friend—return to the land of brilliant genius, of generous sentiment, of heroic valour ; to that beautiful France, the nursing mother of the twelfth Louis, and the fourth Henry ; to the native soil of Bayard and Coligni, of Turenne and Catinat, of Fenelon and D'Aguesseau. In that illustrious catalogue of names which she claims as of her children, and with honest pride holds up to the admiration of other nations, the name of Lafayette has already for centuries been enrolled. And it shall henceforth burnish into brighter fame ; for if, in after days, a Frenchman shall be called to indicate the character of his nation by that of one individual, during the age in which we live, the blood of lofty patriotism shall mantle in his cheek, the fire of conscious virtue shall sparkle in his eye, and he shall pronounce the name of Lafayette. Yet we, too, and our children, in life and after death, shall claim you for your own. You are ours by that more than patriotic self-devotion with which you flew to the aid of our fathers at the crisis of their fate. Ours by that long series of years in which you have cherished us in your regard. Ours by that unshaken sentiment of gratitude for your services which is a precious portion of our inheritance. Ours by that tie of love, stronger than death, which has linked your name, for the endless ages of time, with the name of Washington.

"At the painful moment of parting from you, we take comfort in the thought, that wherever you may be, to the last pulsation of your heart, our country will be ever present to your affections; and a cheering consolation assures us, that we are not called to sorrow most of all, that we shall see your face no more. We shall indulge the pleasing anticipation of beholding our friend again. In the meantime, speaking in the name of the whole people of the United States, and at a loss only for language to give utterance to that feeling of attachment with which the heart of the nation beats, as the heart of one man—I bid you a reluctant and affectionate farewell."

"To which General Lafayette made the following answer:—

"Amidst all my obligations to the general government, and particularly to you, sir, its respected chief magistrate, I have most thankfully to acknowledge the opportunity given me, at this solemn and painful moment, to present the people of the United States with a parting tribute of profound, inexpressible gratitude.

"To have been, in the infant and critical days of these states, adopted by them as a favourite son, to have participated in the toils and perils of our unspotted struggle for independence, freedom, and equal rights, and in the foundation of the American era of a new social order, which has already pervaded this, and must, for the dignity and happiness of mankind, successively pervade every part of the other hemisphere, to have received at every stage of the revolution, and during forty years after that period, from the people of the United States, and their representatives at home and abroad, continual marks of their confidence and kindness, has been the pride, the encouragement, the support of a long and eventful life.

"But how could I find words to acknowledge that series of welcomes, those unbounded and universal displays of public affection, which have marked each step, each hour, of a twelve-months, progress through the twenty-four states, and which, while they overwhelm my heart with grateful delight, have most satisfactorily evinced the concurrence of the people in the kind testimonies, in the immense favours bestowed on me by the several branches of their representatives, in every part and at the central seat of the confederacy.

"Yet, gratification still higher awaited me; in the wonders of creation and improvement that have met my enchanted eye, in the unparalleled and self-felt happiness of the people, in their rapid prosperity and insured security, public and private, in a prac-

tice of good order, the appendage of true freedom, and a national good sense, the final arbiter of all difficulties, I have had proudly to recognise a result of the republican principles for which we have fought, and a glorious demonstration to the most timid and prejudiced minds, of the superiority, over degrading aristocracy or despotism, of popular institutions founded on the plain rights of man, and where the local rights of every section are preserved under a constitutional bond of union. The cherishing of that union between the states, as it has been the farewell entreaty of our great paternal Washington, and will ever have the dying prayer of every American patriot, so it has become the sacred pledge of the emancipation of the world, an object in which I am happy to observe that the American people, while they give the animating example of successful free institutions, in return for an evil entailed upon them by Europe, and of which a liberal and enlightened sense is every where more and more generally felt, show themselves every day more anxiously interested.

"And now, sir, how can I do justice to my deep and lively feelings for the assurances, most peculiarly valued, of your esteem and friendship, for your so very kind references to old times, to my beloved associates, to the vicissitudes of my life, for your affecting picture of the blessings poured by the several generations of the American people on the remaining days of a delighted veteran, for your affectionate remarks on this sad hour of separation, on the country of my birth, full, I can say, of American sympathies, on the hope so necessary to me of my seeing again the country that has deigned, near half a century ago, to call me hers? I shall content myself, refraining from superfluous repetitions, at once, before you, sir, and this respected circle, to proclaim my cordial confirmation of every one of the sentiments which I have had daily opportunities publicly to utter, from the time when your venerable predecessor, my old brother in arms and friend, transmitted to me the honourable invitation of congress, to this day, when you, my dear sir, whose friendly connexion with me dates from your earliest youth, are going to consign me to the protection, across the Atlantic, of the heroic national flag, on board the splendid ship, the name of which has been not the least flattering and kind among the numberless favours conferred upon me.

"God bless you, sir, and all who surround us! God bless the American people, each of their states, and the federal government. Accept this patriotic farewell of an overflowing heart; such will be its last throb when it ceases to beat."

"As the last sentence was pronounced, the general advanced, and, while the tears poured over his venerable cheek, again took the President in his arms—he retired a few paces, but overcome by his feelings again returned, and uttering in broken accents, 'God bless you!' fell once more on the neck of Mr. Adams. It was a scene, at once solemn and moving, as the sighs and stealing tears of many, who witnessed it, bore testimony. Having recovered his self-possession, the general stretched out his hands, and was, in a moment, surrounded by the greetings of the whole assembly, who pressed upon him, each eager to seize, perhaps for the last time, that beloved hand which was opened so freely for our aid, when aid was so precious, and which grasped, with firm and undeviating hold, the steel which so bravely helped to achieve our deliverance. The expression which now beamed from the face of this exalted man was of the finest and most touching kind. The hero was lost in the father and the friend: dignity melted into subdued affection, and the friend of Washington seemed to linger with a mournful delight among the sons of his adopted country. A considerable period was then occupied in conversing with various individuals, while refreshments were presented to the company. The moment of departure at length arrived, and, having once more pressed the hand of Mr. Adams, he entered the barouche, accompanied by the secretaries of state, of the treasury, and of the navy.

"The parting being over, the carriage of the general, preceded by the cavalry, the marine corps, and Captain Edwards' rifle corps, and followed by the carriages containing the corporate authorities of the cities of the district, and numerous military and high civil officers of the government, moved forward, followed by the remaining military companies. In taking up the escort, the whole column moved through the court, in front of the president's mansion, and paid him the passing salute, as he stood in front to receive it. The whole scene—the peals of artillery, the animating sounds of numerous military bands, the presence of the vast concourse of people, and the occasion that assembled them, altogether produced emotions, not easily described, but which every American will readily conceive.

"On reaching the bank of the Potomac, near where the Mount Vernon steam vessel was in waiting, all the carriages in the procession, except the general's, wheeled off, and the citizens in them assembled on foot around that of the general. The whole military body then passed him in review, as he stood in the barouche of the president, attended

by the secretaries of state, of the treasury, and of the navy. After the review, the general proceeded to the steam vessel under a salute of artillery, surrounded by as many citizens, all eager to catch the last look, as could press on the large wharf; and, at four o'clock, this great, and good, and extraordinary man, trod, for the last time, the soil of America, followed by the blessings of every patriotic heart that lives on it.

"As the vessel moved off, and for a short time after, the deepest silence was observed by the whole of the vast multitude that lined the shore. The feelings that pervaded them was that of children bidding a final farewell to a venerated parent. The whole remained gazing after the retiring vessel, until she had passed Greenleaf's Point, where another salute repeated the valedictory sounds of respect, and these again were, not long after, echoed by the heavy guns of Fort Washington, and reminded us of the rapidity with which this benefactor and friend of our country was borne from it.

"The general was accompanied to the Brandywine by the secretary of the navy, the mayors of the three cities of the district, the commander-in-chief of the army, the generals of the militia of the district, Commodore Bainbridge, and several other gentlemen."

The transactions between the United States and the Indian tribes have occasioned considerable discussion among the philanthropists of both the new and the old world; we shall, therefore, notice the treaties which were formed somewhat particularly. In February, a treaty was concluded with the Creek nation of Indians. The commissioners on the part of the United States represented to the Creeks, that it is the policy and wish of the general government, that the several Indian tribes within the limits of any of the states of the union, should remove to territory to be designated on the west side of the Mississippi river, as well for the better protection and security of the said tribes, and their improvement in civilization, as for the purpose of enabling the United States, in this instance, to comply with a compact entered into with the state of Georgia, on the 24th of April, 1802. The chiefs of the Creek towns assented to the reasonableness of the proposition, and expressed a willingness to migrate beyond the Mississippi, those of Tokaubatchee excepted. The Creeks accordingly, by the first article of the treaty, ceded to the United States all the lands within the boundaries of the state of Georgia now occupied by them, or to

which they have title or claim, lying within certain described boundaries; and by the second it was agreed, that the United States will give in exchange for the lands hereby acquired the like quantity, acre for acre, westward of the Mississippi, on the Arkansas river. Other stipulations favourable to the equitable claims of the emigrating parties were made; particularly that a deputation may be sent to explore the territory herein offered them in exchange; and if the same be not acceptable to them, then they may select any other territory west of the Mississippi, on Red, Canadian, Arkansas, or Missouri rivers, the territory occupied by the Cherokees and Choctaws excepted; and if the territory to be selected shall be in the occupancy of other Indian tribes, then the United States will extinguish the title of such occupants for the benefit of the said emigrants.

The Kansas Indians, by treaty, ceded to the United States all their lands both within and without the limits of Missouri, excepting a reservation beyond that state on the Kansas river, about thirty miles square, including their villages. In consideration of this cession, the United States agreed to pay three thousand five hundred dollars a year for twenty years; to furnish the Kansas immediately with three hundred head of cattle, three hundred hogs, five hundred fowls, three yoke of oxen, and two carts, and with such farming utensils as the Indian superintendent may deem necessary; to provide and support a blacksmith for them; and to employ persons to aid and instruct them in their agricultural pursuits, as the president may deem expedient. Of the ceded lands, thirty-six sections on the Big Blue river were to be laid out under the direction of the president, and sold for the support of schools among the Kansas. Reservations were also made for the benefit of certain half-breeds; and other stipulations mutually satisfactory. It was also agreed, that no private revenge shall be taken by the Indians for the violation of their rights; but that they shall make their complaint to the superintendent or other agent, and receive justice in a due course of law; and it was

lastly agreed, that the Kansas nation shall never dispose of their lands without the consent of the United States, and that the United States shall always have the free right of navigation in the waters of the Kansas.

A treaty was also concluded with the Great and Little Osages, at St. Louis, Missouri. The general principles of this treaty are the same as those of the treaty with the Kansas. The Indians cede all their lands in Arkansas and elsewhere, and then reserve a defined territory, west of the Missouri line, fifty miles square; an agent to be permitted to reside on the reservation, and the United States to have the right of free navigation in all the waters on the tract. The United States pay an annuity of seven thousand dollars for twenty years; furnish forthwith six hundred head of cattle, six hundred hogs, one thousand fowls, ten yoke of oxen, six carts, with farming utensils, persons to teach the Indians agriculture, and a blacksmith, and build a commodious dwelling-house for each of the four principal chiefs, at his own village. Reservations were made for the establishment of a fund for the support of schools for the benefit of the Osage children; and provision was made for the benefit of the Harmony missionary establishment. The United States also assume certain debts due from certain chiefs of the tribes; and agree to deliver at the Osage villages, as soon as may be, four thousand dollars in merchandise, and two thousand six hundred in horses and their equipments.

In May, a general convention of peace, amity, navigation, and commerce, between the United States of America and the republic of Colombia, was signed by the president, at Washington.

The fiftieth anniversary, the jubilee, as it was termed, of American independence, was observed throughout the states with great enthusiasm, and was rendered additionally interesting by the remarkable circumstance that both Adams and Jefferson, eminent men among the fathers of their country, died on that day.*

Mr. Adams, in a message to congress, recommend-

* John Adams was born at Quincy, then part of the ancient town of Braintree, on the 19th day of October, (Old Style,) 1735. He was a descendant of the Puritans, his ancestors having early emigrated from England, and settled in Massachusetts. Discovering early a strong love of reading and of knowledge, together with marks of great strength and activity of mind, proper care was taken by his worthy father, to provide for his education. He pursued his youthful studies in Braintree, under Mr. Marsh, a teacher whose fortune it was that Josiah Quincy, Jr., as well as the subject of these remarks, should receive from him his instruction in the rudiments of classical literature. Having been admitted, in 1751, a member of Harvard College, Mr. Adams was graduated, in course, in 1755; and on the catalogue of that institution, his name, at the time of his death, was second among the living Alumni, being preceded only by that of the venerable Holyoke. With what degree of repu-

tation he left the university, is not now precisely known. We know only that he was distinguished in a class which numbered Locke and Hemenway among its members. Choosing the law for his profession, he commenced and prosecuted its studies at Worcester, under the direction of Samuel Putnam, a gentleman whom he has himself described as an acute man, an able and learned lawyer, and as in large professional practice at that time. In 1758, he was admitted to the bar, and commenced business in Braintree. He is understood to have made his first considerable effort, or to have attained his first signal success, at Plymouth, on one of those occasions which furnish the earliest opportunity for distinction to many young men of the profession, a jury trial, and a criminal cause. His business naturally grew with his reputation, and his residence in the vicinity afforded the opportunity, as his growing eminence gave the power, of entering on the larger field of practice

ed a naval academy, and urged the appropriation of money for such an establishment; but congress did not move far in the business. He also recommended

which the capital presented. In 1766, he removed his residence to Boston, still continuing his attendance on the neighbouring circuits, and not unfrequently called to remote parts of the province. In 1770, his professional firmness was brought to a test of some severity, on the application of the British officers and soldiers to undertake their defence, on the trial of the indictments found against them on account of the transactions of the memorable 5th of March. He seems to have thought, on this occasion, that a man can no more abandon the proper duties of his profession, than he can abandon other duties. The event proved, that as he judged well for his own reputation, so he judged well, also, for the interest and permanent fame of his country. The result of that trial proved, that notwithstanding the high degree of excitement then existing, in consequence of the measures of the British government, a jury of Massachusetts would not deprive the most reckless enemies, even the officers of that standing army, quartered among them, which they so perfectly abhorred, of any part of that protection which the law, in its mildest and most indulgent interpretation, afforded to persons accused of crimes.

Without pursuing Mr. Adams' professional course further, suffice it to say, that on the first establishment of the judicial tribunals under the authority of the state, in 1776, he received an offer of the high and responsible station of chief justice of the supreme court. But he was destined for another and a different career. From early life the bent of his mind was toward politics; a propensity which the state of the times, if it did not create, doubtless very much strengthened. Public subjects must have occupied the thoughts and filled up the conversation in the circles in which he then moved; and the interesting questions, at that time just arising, could not but seize on a mind, like his, ardent, sanguine, and patriotic. The letter, fortunately preserved, written by him at Worcester, so early as the 12th of October, 1755, is a proof of very comprehensive views, and uncommon depth of reflection, in a young man not yet quite twenty. In this letter he predicted the transfer of power, and the establishment of a new seat of empire in America; he predicted, also, the increase of population in the colonies; and anticipated their naval distinction, and foretold that all Europe, combined, could not subdue them. All this is said, not on a public occasion, or for effect, but in the style of sober and friendly correspondence, as the result of his own thoughts. "I sometimes retire," said he, at the close of the letter, "and laying things together, form some reflections pleasing to myself. The produce of one of these reveries you have read above." This prognostication, so early in his own life, so early in the history of the country, of independence, of vast increase of numbers, of naval force, of such augmented power as might defy all Europe, is remarkable. It is more remarkable, that its author should live to see fulfilled to the letter, what could have seemed to others, at the time, but the extravagance of youthful fancy. His earliest political feelings were thus strongly American; and from this ardent attachment to his native soil he never departed.

While still living at Quincy, and at the age of twenty-four, Mr. Adams was present, in this town, on the argument before the supreme court respecting Writs of Assistance, and heard the celebrated and patriotic speech of James Otis. Unquestionably, that was a masterly performance. No flighty declamation about liberty, no superficial discussion of popular topics, it was a learned, penetrating, convincing, constitutional argument, expressed in a strain of high and resolute patriotism. He grasped the question, then pending between England and her colonies, with the strength of a lion; and if he sometimes sported, it was only because the lion himself is sometimes playful. Its success appears to have been as great as its merits, and its impression was widely felt. Mr. Adams himself seems never to have lost the feeling it produced, and to have entertained constantly the fullest conviction of its important effects. "I do say," he observes, "in the most solemn manner, that Mr. Otis' Oration against Writs of Assistance, breathed into this nation the breath of life."

In 1765, Mr. Adams laid before the public what I suppose to be

the erection of an observatory, that the United States might not be behind the nations of Europe in their astronomical knowledge. This was also neglected.

his first printed performance, except essays for the periodical press, a Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law. The object of this work was to show that our New England ancestors, in consenting to exile themselves from their native land, were actuated, mainly, by the desire of delivering themselves from the power of the hierarchy, and from the monarchical and aristocratical political systems of the other continent; and to make this truth bear, with effect, on the politics of the times. Its tone is uncommonly bold and animated, for that period. He calls on the people, not only to defend, but to study and understand their rights and privileges; urges earnestly the necessity of diffusing general knowledge, invokes the clergy and the bar, the colleges and academies, and all others who have the ability and the means, to expose the insidious designs of arbitrary power, to resist its approaches, and to be persuaded that there is a settled design on foot to enslave all America. "Be it remembered," says the author, "that liberty must, at all hazards, be supported. We have a right to it, derived from our Maker. But if we had not, our fathers have earned it, and bought it for us, at the expense of their ease, their estate, their pleasure, and their blood. And liberty can not be preserved without a general knowledge among the people, who have a right, from the frame of their nature, to knowledge, as their great Creator, who does nothing in vain, has given them understandings, and a desire to know; but, besides this, they have a right, an indisputable, unalienable, indefeasible right, to that most dreaded and envied kind of knowledge, I mean of the character and conduct of their rulers. Rulers are no more than attorneys, agents, and trustees of the people; and if the cause, the interest, and trust, is insidiously betrayed, or wantonly trifled away, the people have a right to revoke the authority that they themselves have deputed, and to constitute other and better agents, attorneys, and trustees."

The citizens of this town conferred on Mr. Adams his first political distinction, and clothed him with his first political trust, by electing him one of their representatives, in 1770. Before this time he had become extensively known throughout the province, as well by the part he had acted in relation to public affairs, as by the exercise of his professional ability. He was among those who took the deepest interest in the controversy with England, and whether in or out of the legislature, his time and talents were alike devoted to the cause. In the years 1773 and 1774, he was chosen a counsellor, by the members of the general court, but rejected by Governor Hutchinson, in the former of those years, and by Governor Gage in the latter.

The time was now at hand, however, when the affairs of the colonies urgently demanded united councils. An open rupture with the parent state appeared inevitable, and it was but the dictate of prudence, that those who were united by a common interest and a common danger, should protect that interest and guard against that danger, by united efforts. A general congress of delegates from all the colonies, having been proposed and agreed to, the house of representatives, on the 17th of June, 1774, elected James Bowdoin, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, delegates from Massachusetts. This appointment was made at Salem, where the general court had been convened by Governor Gage, in the last hour of the existence of a house of representatives under the provincial charter. While engaged in this important business, the governor having been informed of what was passing, sent his secretary with a message dissolving the general court. The secretary finding the door locked, directed the messenger to go in and inform the speaker that the secretary was at the door with a message from the governor. The messenger returned, and informed the secretary that the orders of the house were, that the doors should be kept fast; whereupon the secretary soon after read a proclamation, dissolving the general court upon the stairs. Thus terminated, for ever, the actual exercise of the political power of England in or over Massachusetts. The four last named delegates accepted their appointments, and took their seats in congress, the first day of its meeting, September 5, 1774, in Philadelphia.

The next election was the all engrossing subject of the politicians, in every quarter of the country, and forbade any improvements in science or letters. To-

The proceedings of the first congress are well known, and have been universally admired. It is in vain that we would look for superior proofs of wisdom, talent, and patriotism. Lord Chatham said, that, for himself, he must declare, that he had studied and admired the free states of antiquity, the master states of the world, but that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, no body of men could stand in preference to this congress. It is hardly inferior praise to say, that no production of that great man himself, can be pronounced superior to several of the papers published as the proceedings of this most able, most firm, most patriotic assembly. There is, indeed, nothing superior to them in the range of political disquisition. They not only embrace, illustrate, and enforce every thing which political philosophy, the love of liberty, and the spirit of free inquiry, had antecedently produced, but they add new and striking views of their own, and apply the whole, with irresistible force, in support of the cause which had drawn them together.

Mr. Adams was a constant attendant on the deliberations of this body, and bore an active part in its important measures. He was of the committee to state the rights of the colonies, and of that also which reported the address to the king.

As it was in the continental congress, fellow-citizens, that those whose deaths have given rise to this occasion, were first brought together, and called on to unite their industry and their ability, in the service of the country, let us now turn to the other of these distinguished men, and take a brief notice of his life, up to the period when he appeared within the walls of congress.

Thomas Jefferson, descended from ancestors who had been settled in Virginia for some generations, was born near the spot on which he died, in the county of Albemarle, on the 2d of April, (Old Style,) 1743. His youthful studies were pursued in the neighbourhood of his father's residence, until he was removed to the college of William and Mary, the highest honours of which he in due time received. Having left the college with reputation, he applied himself to the study of the law, under the tuition of George Wythe, one of the highest judicial names of which that state can boast. At an early age he was elected a member of the legislature, in which he had no sooner appeared, than he distinguished himself, by knowledge, capacity, and promptitude.

Mr. Jefferson appears to have been imbued with an early love of letters and science, and to have cherished a strong disposition to pursue these objects. To the physical sciences, especially, and to ancient classic literature, he is understood to have had a warm attachment, and never entirely to have lost sight of them, in the midst of the busiest occupations. But the times were times for action, rather than for contemplation. The country was to be defended, and to be saved, before it could be enjoyed. Philosophic leisure and literary pursuits, and even the objects of professional attention, were all necessarily postponed to the urgent calls of the public service. The exigency of the country made the same demand on Mr. Jefferson that it made on others who had the ability and the disposition to serve it; and he obeyed the call; thinking and feeling, in this respect, with the great Roman orator: *Quis enim est tam cupidus in perspicenda cognoscendaque rerum natura, ut, si ei tractantia contemplantique res, cognitione dignissimas subito sit allatum periculum discriminenque patriæ, cui subvenire optularique possit, non illa omnia relinquat atque abiciat, etiam si dinumerare se stellas, aut metiri mundi magnitudinem posse arbitretur?*

Entering, with all his heart, into the cause of liberty, his ability, patriotism, and power with the pen, naturally drew upon him a large participation in the most important concerns. Wherever he was, there was found a soul devoted to the cause, power to defend and maintain it, and willingness to incur all its hazards. In 1774, he published a Summary View of the Rights of British America, a valuable production among those intended to show the dangers which threatened the liberties of the country, and to encourage the people in their defence. In June, 1775, he was elected a member of the continental congress, as successor to Peyton Randolph, who

wards the close of his administration, twenty thousand dollars were appropriated, to be paid by instalments, for statuary to fill some niches in the east

had retired on account of ill health, and took his seat in that body on the 21st of the same month.

And now, fellow-citizens, without pursuing the biography of these illustrious men further, for the present, let us turn our attention to the most prominent act of their lives, their participation in the declaration of independence.

Preparatory to the introduction of that important measure, a committee, at the head of which was Mr. Adams, had reported a resolution, which congress adopted the 10th of May, recommending, in substance, to all the colonies which had not already established governments suited to the exigencies of their affairs, to adopt such government as would, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general.

This significant vote was soon followed by the direct proposition, which Richard Henry Lee had the honour to submit to congress, by resolution, on the 7th day of June. The published journal does not expressly state it, but there is no doubt, I suppose, that this resolution was in the same words, when originally submitted by Mr. Lee, as when finally passed. Having been discussed on Saturday, the 8th, and Monday, the 10th of June, this resolution was on the last mentioned day postponed, for further consideration, to the first day of July; and, at the same time, it was voted, that a committee be appointed to prepare a declaration, to the effect of the resolution. This committee was elected by ballot, on the following day, and consisted of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston.

It is usual, when committees are elected by ballot, that their members are arranged in order, according to the number of votes which each has received; Mr. Jefferson, therefore, had received the highest, and Mr. Adams the next highest number of votes. The difference is said to have been but of a single vote. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams, standing thus at the head of the committee, were requested by the other members to act as a sub-committee, to prepare the draft; and Mr. Jefferson drew up the paper. The original draft, as brought by him from his study, and submitted to the other members of the committee, with interlinations in the hand-writing of Dr. Franklin, and others in that of Mr. Adams, was in Mr. Jefferson's possession at the time of his death. The merit of this paper is Mr. Jefferson's. Some changes were made in it, on the suggestion of other members of the committee, and others by congress, while it was under discussion. But none of them altered the tone, the frame, the arrangement, or the general character of the instrument. As a composition the declaration is Mr. Jefferson's. It is the production of his mind, and the high honour of it belongs to him, clearly and absolutely.

It has sometimes been said, as if it were a derogation from the merits of this paper, that it contains nothing new; that it only states grounds of proceeding, and presses topics of argument, which had often been stated and pressed before. But it was not the object of the declaration to produce any thing new. It was not to invent reasons for independence, but to state those which governed the congress. For great and sufficient causes, it was proposed to declare independence; and the proper business of the paper to be drawn, was to set forth those causes, and justify the authors of the measure, in any event of fortune, to the country, and to posterity. The cause of American independence, moreover, was now to be presented to the world, in such manner, if it might so be, as to engage its sympathy, to command its respect, to attract its admiration; and in an assembly of most able and distinguished men, Thomas Jefferson had the high honour of being the selected advocate of this cause. To say that he performed his great work well, would be doing him injustice. To say that he did excellently well, admirably well, would be inadequate and halting praise. Let us rather say, that he so discharged the duty assigned him, that all Americans may well rejoice, that the work of drawing the title deed of their liberties devolved on his hands.

With all its merits, there are those who have thought that there was one thing in the declaration to be regretted; and that is, the

front of the capitol, and a suitable artist engaged to repair to Italy, to commence his labours. He received his instructions from Mr. Adams, who had de-

asperity and apparent anger with which it speaks of the person of the king; the industrious ability with which it accumulates and charges upon him, all the injuries which the colonies had suffered from the mother country. Possibly some degree of injustice, now or hereafter, at home or abroad, may be done to the character of Mr. Jefferson, if this part of the declaration be not placed in its proper light. Anger or resentment, certainly, much less personal reproach and invective, could not properly find place, in a composition of such high dignity, and of such lofty and permanent character.

A single reflection on the original ground of dispute, between England and the colonies, is sufficient to remove any unfavourable impression, in this respect.

The inhabitants of all the colonies, while colonies, admitted themselves bound by their allegiance to the king; but they disclaimed altogether, the authority of parliament; holding themselves, in this respect, to resemble the condition of Scotland and Ireland, before the respective unions of those kingdoms with England, when they acknowledged allegiance to the same king, but each had its separate legislature. The tie, therefore, which our revolution was to break, did not subsist between us and the British parliament, or between us and the British government, in the aggregate; but directly between us and the king himself. The colonies had never admitted themselves subject to parliament. That was precisely the point of the original controversy. They had uniformly denied that parliament had authority to make laws for them. There was, therefore, no subjection to parliament to be thrown off. But allegiance to the king did exist, and had been uniformly acknowledged; and down to 1775 the most solemn assurances had been given that it was not intended to break that allegiance, or to throw it off. Therefore, as the direct object, and only effect of the declaration, according to the principles on which the controversy had been maintained, on our part, was to sever the tie of allegiance which bound us to the king, it was properly and necessarily founded on acts of the crown itself, as its justifying causes. Parliament is not so much as mentioned, in the whole instrument. When odious and oppressive acts are referred to, it is done by charging the king with confederating, with others, "in pretended acts of legislation;" the object being, constantly, to hold the king himself directly responsible for those measures which were the grounds of separation. Even the precedent of the English revolution was not overlooked, and, in this case, as well as in that, occasion was found to say that the king had abdicated the government. Consistency with the principles upon which resistance began, and with all the previous state papers issued by congress, required that the declaration should be bottomed on the misgovernment of the king; and therefore it was properly framed with that aim and to that end. The king was known, indeed, to have acted, as in other cases, by his ministers, and with his parliament; but as our ancestors had never admitted themselves subject either to ministers or to parliament, there were no reasons to be given for now refusing obedience to their authority. This clear and obvious necessity of founding the declaration on the misconduct of the king himself, gives to that instrument its personal application, and its character of direct and pointed accusation.

The declaration having been reported to congress, by the committee, the resolution itself was taken up and debated on the first day of July, and again on the second, on which last day it was agreed to and adopted in these words:

Resolved, That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

Having thus passed the main resolution, congress proceeded to consider the reported draft of the declaration. It was discussed on the second, and third, and fourth days of the month, in committee of the whole; and on the last of those days, being reported from that committee it received the final approbation and sanction of

signed the ornaments of the pediment on the front of the same building.

Mr. Adams lived in harmony with his cabinet, al-

congress. It was ordered, at the same time, that copies be sent to the several states, and that it be proclaimed at the head of the army. The declaration, thus published, did not bear the names of the members, for as yet it had not been signed by them. It was authenticated, like other papers of the congress, by the signatures of the president and secretary. On the 19th of July, as appears by the secret journal, congress "Resolved, that the declaration, passed on the fourth, be fairly engrossed on parchment, with the title and style of 'The unanimous declaration of the thirteen United States of America;' and that the same, when engrossed, be signed by every member of congress." And on the second day of August, following, "the declaration, being engrossed and compared at the table, was signed by the members." So that it happens, fellow-citizens, that we pay these honours to their memory, on the anniversary of that day, on which these great men actually signed their names to the declaration. The declaration was thus made, that is, it passed, and was adopted as an act of congress, on the fourth of July; it was then signed and certified by the president and secretary, like other acts. The fourth of July, therefore, is the anniversary of the declaration. But the signatures of the members present were made to it, being then engrossed on parchment, on the second day of August. Absent members afterwards signed, as they came in; and indeed it bears the names of some who were not chosen members of congress until after the fourth of July. The interest belonging to the subject will be sufficient, I hope, to justify these details.

The congress of the revolution, fellow-citizens, sat with closed doors, and no report of its debates was ever taken. The discussion, therefore, which accompanied this great measure, has never been preserved, except in memory, and by tradition. But it is, I believe, doing no injustice to others, to say, that the general opinion was, and uniformly has been, that in debate, on the side of independence, John Adams had no equal. The great author of the declaration himself has expressed that opinion uniformly and strongly. "John Adams," said he, in the hearing of him who has now the honour to address you, "John Adams was our Colossus on the floor. Not graceful, not eloquent, not always fluent, in his public addresses, he yet came out with a power, both of thought and of expression, which moved us from our seats."

For the part which he was here to perform, Mr. Adams doubtless was eminently fitted. He possessed a bold spirit, which disregarded danger, and a sanguine reliance on the goodness of the cause, and the virtues of the people, which led him to overlook all obstacles. His character, too, had been formed in troubled times. He had been rocked in the early storms of the controversy, and had acquired a decision and a hardihood, proportioned to the severity of the discipline which he had undergone.

He not only loved the American cause devoutly, but had studied and understood it. It was all familiar to him. He had tried his powers, on the questions which it involved, often, and in various ways; and had brought to their consideration whatever of argument or illustration the history of his own country, the history of England, or the stores of ancient or of legal learning, could furnish. Every grievance, enumerated in the long catalogue of the declaration, had been the subject of his discussion, and the object of his remonstrance and reprobation. From 1760, the colonies, the rights of the colonies, the liberties of the colonies, and the wrongs inflicted on the colonies, had engaged his constant attention; and it has surprised those, who have had the opportunity of observing, with what full remembrance, and with what prompt recollection, he could refer, in his extreme old age, to every act of parliament affecting the colonies, distinguishing and stating their respective titles, sections, and provisions; and to all the colonial memorials, remonstrances, and petitions, with whatever else belonged to the intimate and exact history of the times from that year to 1775. It was in his own judgment, between these years, that the American people came to a full understanding and thorough knowledge of their rights, and to a fixed resolution of maintaining them; and bearing himself an active part in all important transactions, the

though they were made of different materials from himself. He struggled hard to prove that a president could act without party; but his success did not

controversy with England being then, in effect, the business of his life, facts, dates, and particulars, made an impression which was never effaced. He was prepared, therefore, by education and discipline, as well as by natural talent and natural temperament, for the part which he was now to act.

The eloquence of Mr. Adams resembled his general character, and formed, indeed, a part of it. It was bold, manly, and energetic; and such the crisis required. When public bodies are to be addressed on momentous occasions, when great interests are at stake, and strong passions excited, nothing is valuable, in speech, further than it is connected with high intellectual and moral endowments. Clearness, force, and earnestness, are the qualities which produce conviction. True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It can not be brought from far. Labour and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way, but they can not compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire after it—they can not reach it. It comes, if it come at all, like the out-breaking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force. The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments, and studied contrivances of speech, shock and disgust men, when their own lives, and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country, hang on the decision of the hour. Then words have lost their power, rhetoric is vain, and all elaborate oratory contemptible. Even genius itself then feels rebuked and subdued, as in the presence of higher qualities. Then, patriotism is eloquent; then, self-devotion is eloquent. The clear conception, outrunning the deductions of logic, the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit, speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature, and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object—this, this is eloquence; or rather, it is something greater and higher than all eloquence; it is action, noble, sublime, godlike action.

In July, 1776, the controversy had passed the stage of argument. An appeal had been made to force, and opposing armies were in the field. Congress, then, was to decide whether the tie which had so long bound us to the parent state, was to be severed at once, and severed for ever. All the colonies had signified their resolution to abide by this decision, and the people looked for it with the most intense anxiety. And surely, fellow-citizens, never were men called to a more important political deliberation. If we contemplate it from the point where they then stood, no question could be more full of interest; if we look at it now, and judge of its importance by its effects, it appears in still greater magnitude.

Let us, then, bring before us the assembly, which was about to decide a question thus big with the fate of empire. Let us open their doors, and look in upon their deliberations. Let us survey the anxious and care-worn countenances, let us hear the firm-toned voices, of this band of patriots.

Hancock presides over the solemn sitting; and one of those not yet prepared to pronounce for absolute independence, is on the floor, and is urging his reasons for dissenting from the declaration.

"Let us pause! This step, once taken, can not be retraced. This resolution, once passed, will cut off all hope of reconciliation. If success attend the arms of England, we shall then be no longer colonies, with charters, and with privileges; these will all be forfeited by this act; and we shall be in the condition of other conquered people, at the mercy of the conquerors. For ourselves, we may be ready to run the hazard; but are we ready to carry the country to that length? Is success so probable as to justify it? Where is the military, where the naval power, by which we are to resist the whole strength of the arm of England, for she will exert that strength to the utmost? Can we rely on the constancy and perseverance of the people? or will they not act, as the people of other countries have acted, and wearied with a long war, submit, in the end, to a worse oppression? While we stand on our old ground, and insist on redress of grievances, we know we are right,

warrant the conclusion that such a course could ever be wisely pursued. Many were mortified, and not a few disappointed, to see those who had made no effort

and are not answerable for consequences. Nothing, then, can be imputable to us. But if we now change our object, carry our pretensions further, and set up for absolute independence, we shall loose the sympathy of mankind. We shall no longer be defending what we possess, but struggling for something which we never did possess, and which we have solemnly and uniformly disclaimed all intention of pursuing, from the very outset of the troubles. Abandoning thus our old ground, of resistance only to arbitrary acts of oppression, the nations will believe the whole to have been mere pretence, and they will look on us, not as injured, but as ambitious, subjects. I shudder, before this responsibility. It will be on us, if relinquishing the ground we have stood on so long, and stood on so safely, we now proclaim independence, and carry on the war for that object while these cities burn, these pleasant fields whiten and bleach with the bones of their owners, and these streams run blood. It will be upon us, it will be upon us, if failing to maintain this unseasonable and ill-judged declaration, a sterner despotism, maintained by military power, shall be established over our posterity, when we ourselves, given up by an exhausted, a harassed, a misled people, shall have expiated our rashness, and atoned for our presumption, on the scaffold."

It was for Mr. Adams to reply to arguments like these. We know his opinions, and we know his character. He would commence with his accustomed directness and earnestness.

"Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my hand, and my heart, to this vote. It is true, indeed, that in the beginning, we aimed not at independence. But there's a Divinity which shapes our ends. The injustice of England has driven us to arms; and, blinded to her own interest for our good, she has obstinately persisted, till independence is now within our grasp. We have but to reach forth to it, and it is ours. Why then should we defer the declaration? Is any man so weak as now to hope for a reconciliation with England, which shall leave either safety to the country and its liberties, or safety to his own life, and his own honour? Are not you, sir, who sit in that chair, is not he, our venerable colleague near you, are you not both already the proscribed and predestined objects of punishment and of vengeance? Cut off from all hope of royal clemency, what are you, what can you be, while the power of England remains, but outlaws? If we postpone independence, do we mean to carry on, or to give up, the war? Do we mean to submit to the measures of parliament, Boston port-bill, and all? Do we mean to submit, and consent that we ourselves shall be ground to powder, and our country and its rights trodden down in the dust? I know we do not mean to submit. We never shall submit. Do we intend to violate that most solemn obligation ever entered into by men, that plighting, before God, of our sacred honour to Washington, when putting him forth to incur the dangers of war, as well as the political hazards of the times, we promised to adhere to him, in every extremity, with our fortunes and our lives? I know there is not a man here, who would not rather see a general conflagration sweep over the land, or an earthquake sink it, than one jot or tittle of that plighted faith fall to the ground. For myself, having, twelve months ago, in this place, moved you, that George Washington be appointed commander of the forces, raised or to be raised, for defence of American liberty, may my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I hesitate or waver in the support I give him. The war, then, must go on. We must fight it through. And if the war must go on, why put off longer the declaration of independence? That measure will strengthen us. It will give us character abroad. The nations will then treat with us, which they never can do while we acknowledge ourselves subjects, in arms against our sovereign. Nay, I maintain that England herself, will sooner treat for peace with us on the footing of independence, than consent, by repealing her acts, to acknowledge that her whole conduct towards us has been a course of injustice and oppression. Her pride will be less wounded, by submitting to that course of things which now predestinates our independence, than by yielding the points in controversy to her rebellious subjects. The former

to bring in the administration, receive the rewards which belonged to his political friends. Mr. Adams was unquestionably the most learned of all the chief

she would regard as the result of fortune; the latter she would feel as her own deep disgrace. Why then, why then, sir, do we not, as soon as possible, change this from a civil to a national war? And since we must fight it through, why not put ourselves in a state to enjoy all the benefits of victory, if we gain the victory?

"If we fail, it can be no worse for us. But we shall not fail. The cause will raise up armies; the cause will create navies. The people, the people, if we are true to them, will carry us, and will carry themselves, gloriously, through this struggle. I care not how fickle other people have been found. I know the people of these colonies, and I know that resistance to British aggression is deep and settled in their hearts, and can not be eradicated. Every colony, indeed, has expressed its willingness to follow, if we but take the lead. Sir, the declaration will inspire the people with increased courage. Instead of a long and bloody war for restoration of privileges, for redress of grievances, for chartered immunities, held under a British king, set before them the glorious object of entire independence, and it will breathe into them anew the breath of life. Read this declaration at the head of the army; every sword will be drawn from its scabbard, and the solemn vow uttered, to maintain it, or to perish on the bed of honour. Publish it from the pulpit; religion will approve it, and the love of religious liberty will cling round it, resolved to stand with it, or fall with it. Send it to the public halls; proclaim it there; let them hear it, who heard the first roar of the enemy's cannon; let them see it, who saw their brothers and their sons fall on the field of Bunker Hill, and in the streets of Lexington and Concord, and the very walls will cry out in its support.

"Sir, I know the uncertainty of human affairs, but I see, I see clearly, through this day's business. You and I, indeed, may rue it. We may not live to the time, when this declaration shall be made good. We may die; die, colonists; die, slaves; die, it may be, ignominiously and on the scaffold. Be it so. Be it so. If it be the pleasure of Heaven that my country shall require the poor offering of my life, the victim shall be ready, at the appointed hour of sacrifice, come when that hour may. But while I do live, let me have a country, or at least the hope of a country, and that a free country.

"But whatever may be our fate, be assured, be assured, that this declaration will stand. It may cost treasure, and it may cost blood; but it will stand, and it will richly compensate for both. Through the thick gloom of the present, I see the brightness of the future, as the sun in heaven. We shall make this a glorious, an immortal day. When we are in our graves, our children will honour it. They will celebrate it with thanksgiving, with festivity, with bonfires and illuminations. On its annual return they will shed tears, copious, gushing tears, not of subjection and slavery, not of agony and distress, but of exultation, of gratitude, and of joy. Sir, before God, I believe the hour has come. My judgment approves this measure, and my whole heart is in it. All that I have, and all that I am, and all that I hope, in this life, I am now ready here to stake upon it; and I leave off, as I begun, that live or die, survive or perish, I am for the declaration. It is my living sentiment, and, by the blessing of God, it shall be my dying sentiment; independence now; and independence for ever."

And so that day shall be honoured, illustrious prophet and patriot! so that day shall be honoured, and as often as it returns, thy renown shall come along with it, and the glory of thy life, like the day of thy death, shall not fail from the remembrance of men.

It would be unjust, fellow-citizens, on this occasion, while we express our veneration for him who is the immediate subject of these remarks, were we to omit a most respectful, affectionate, and grateful mention of those other great men, his colleagues, who stood with him, and with the same spirit, the same devotion, took part in the interesting transaction. Hancock, the proscribed Hancock, exiled from his home by a military governor, cut off, by proclamation, from the mercy of the crown, heaven reserved for him the distinguished honour of putting this great question to the vote, and of writing his own name first, and most conspicuously, on that

magistrates the nation has had. He received all foreign ambassadors without an interpreter, and satisfied all that he was acquainted with their mother

parchment which spoke defiance to the power of the crown of England. There, too, is the name of that other proscribed patriot, Samuel Adams; a man who hungered and thirsted for the independence of his country; who thought the declaration halted and lingered, being himself not only ready, but eager for it, long before it was proposed; a man of the deepest sagacity, the clearest foresight, and the profoundest judgment in men. And there is Gerry, himself among the earliest and the foremost of the patriots, found, when the battle of Lexington summoned them to common councils, by the side of Warren; a man who lived to serve his country at home and abroad, and to die in the second place in the government. There, too, is the inflexible, the upright, the Spartan character, Robert Treat Paine. He, also, lived to serve his country through the struggle, and then withdrew from her councils, only that he might give his labours and his life to his native state, in another relation. These names, fellow-citizens, are the treasures of the commonwealth; and they are treasures which grow brighter by time.

It is now necessary to resume, and to finish with great brevity, the notice of the lives of those, whose virtues and services we have met to commemorate.

Mr. Adams remained in congress from its first meeting, till November, 1777, when he was appointed minister to France. He proceeded on that service, in the February following, embarking in the Boston frigate, on the shore of his native town, at the foot of Mount Wollaston. The year following, he was appointed commissioner to treat of peace with England. Returning to the United States, he was a delegate from Braintree in the convention for framing the constitution of this commonwealth, in 1780. At the latter end of the same year, he again went abroad, in the diplomatic service of the country, and was employed at various courts, and occupied with various negotiations, until 1788. The particulars of these interesting and important services this occasion does not allow time to relate. In 1782, he concluded our first treaty with Holland. His negotiations with that republic, his efforts to persuade the states-general to recognize our independence, his incessant and indefatigable exertions to represent the American cause favourably, on the continent, and to counteract the designs of its enemies, open and secret; and his successful undertaking to obtain loans, on the credit of a nation yet new and unknown, are among his most arduous, most useful, most honourable services. It was his fortune to bear a part in the negotiation for peace with England; and in something more than six years from the declaration which he had so strenuously supported, he had the satisfaction to see the minister plenipotentiary of the crown subscribe to the instrument which declared, that his "Britannic Majesty acknowledged the United States to be free, sovereign, and independent." In these important transactions, Mr. Adams' conduct received the marked approbation of congress, and of the country.

While abroad, in 1787, he published his *Defence of the American Constitutions*; a work of merit and ability, though composed with haste, on the spur of a particular occasion, in the midst of other occupations, and under circumstances not admitting of careful revision. The immediate object of the work was to counteract the weight of opinions advanced by several popular European writers of that day, M. Turgot, the Abbe de Mably, and Dr. Price, at a time when the people of the United States were employed in forming and revising their systems of government.

Returning to the United States in 1788, he found the new government about going into operation, and was himself elected the first vice-president, a situation which he filled with reputation for eight years, at the expiration of which he was raised to the presidential chair, as immediate successor to the immortal Washington. In this high station he was succeeded by Mr. Jefferson, after a memorable controversy, between their respective friends, in 1801; and from that period his manner of life has been known to all who hear me. He has lived, for five and twenty years, with every enjoyment that could render old age happy. Not inattentive to the occurrences of the times, political cares have yet not materially, or

tongue. His learning and his openness of disposition did nothing to ensure his second election. The tide of party was not to be stemmed by learning and

for any long time, disturbed his repose. In 1820, he acted as elector of president and vice-president, and in the same year we saw him, then at the age of eighty-five, a member of the convention of this commonwealth, called to revise the constitution. Forty years before, he had been one of those who formed that constitution; and he had now the pleasure of witnessing that there was little which the people desired to change. Possessing all his faculties to the end of his long life, with an unabated love of reading and contemplation, in the centre of interesting circles of friendship and affection, he was blessed, in his retirement, with whatever of repose and felicity the condition of man allows. He had, also, other enjoyments. He saw around him that prosperity and general happiness, which had been the object of his public cares and labours. No man ever beheld more clearly, and for a longer time, the great and beneficial effects of the services rendered by himself to his country. That liberty which he so early defended, that independence of which he was so able an advocate and supporter, he saw, we trust, firmly and securely established. The population of the country thickened around him faster, and extended wider, than his own sanguine predictions had anticipated; and the wealth, respectability, and power of the nation, sprang up to a magnitude, which it is quite impossible he could have expected to witness, in his day. He lived, also, to behold those principles of civil freedom, which had been developed, established, and practically applied in America, attract attention, command respect, and awaken imitation, in other regions of the globe: and well might, and well did he, exclaim, "Where will the consequences of the American revolution end?"

If any thing yet remain to fill this cup of happiness, let it be added, that he lived to see a great and intelligent people bestow the highest honour in their gift, where he had bestowed his own kindest parental affections, and lodged his fondest hopes. Thus honoured in life, thus happy at death, he saw the jubilee, and he died; and with the last prayers which trembled on his lips, was the fervent supplication for his country, "independence for ever."

Mr. Jefferson, having been occupied in the years 1778 and 1779, in the important service of revising the laws of Virginia, was elected governor of that state, as successor to Patrick Henry, and held the situation when the state was invaded by the British arms. In 1781, he published his Notes on Virginia, a work which attracted attention in Europe as well as America, dispelled many misconceptions respecting this continent, and gave its author a place among men distinguished for science. In November, 1783, he again took his seat in the continental congress, but in the May following was appointed minister plenipotentiary, to act abroad, in the negotiation of commercial treaties, with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams. He proceeded to France, in execution of this mission, embarking at Boston; and that was the only occasion on which he ever visited this place. In 1785, he was appointed minister to France, the duties of which situation he continued to perform, until October, 1789, when he obtained leave to retire, just on the eve of that tremendous revolution which has so much agitated the world, in our times. Mr. Jefferson's discharge of his diplomatic duties was marked by great ability, diligence, and patriotism; and while he resided at Paris, in one of the most interesting periods, his character for intelligence, his love of knowledge, and of the society of learned men, distinguished him in the highest circles of the French capital. No court in Europe had, at that time, in Paris, a representative commanding or enjoying higher regard for political knowledge or for general attainment, than the minister of this then infant republic. Immediately on his return to his native country, at the organization of the government under the present constitution, his talents and experience recommended him to President Washington, for the first office in his gift. He was placed at the head of the department of state. In this situation, also, he manifested conspicuous ability. His correspondence with the ministers of other powers residing here, and his instructions to our own diplomatic agents abroad, are among our ablest state papers. A thorough knowledge of the laws and usages of nations, perfect acquaintance with the immediate subject before him, great felicity,

enlarged views. General Jackson was elected by a large majority.

In the year 1828, congress made provision, by law,

and still greater facility, in writing, show themselves in whatever effort his official situation called on him to make. It is believed by competent judges, that the diplomatic intercourse of the government of the United States, from the first meeting of the continental congress, in 1774, to the present time, taken together, would not suffer, in respect to the talent with which it has been conducted, by comparison with any thing which other and older states can produce; and to the attainment of this respectability and distinction, Mr. Jefferson has contributed his full part.

On the retirement of General Washington from the presidency, and the election of Mr. Adams to that office, in 1797, he was chosen vice-president. While presiding, in this capacity, over the deliberations of the senate, he compiled and published a Manual of Parliamentary Practice, a work of more labour and more merit, than is indicated by its size. It is now received as the general standard by which proceedings are regulated, not only in both houses of congress, but in most of the other legislative bodies in the country. In 1801, he was elected president, in opposition to Mr. Adams, and re-elected in 1805, by a vote approaching towards unanimity.

From the time of his final retirement from public life, in 1807, Mr. Jefferson lived as became a wise man. Surrounded by affectionate friends, his ardour in the pursuit of knowledge undiminished, with uncommon health, and unbroken spirits, he was able to enjoy largely the rational pleasures of life, and to partake in that public prosperity, which he had so much contributed to produce. His kindness and hospitality, the charm of his conversation, the ease of his manners, the extent of his acquirements, and especially the full store of revolutionary incidents, which he possessed, and which he knew when and how to dispense, rendered his abode in a high degree attractive to his admiring countrymen, while his high public and scientific character drew towards him every intelligent and educated traveller from abroad. Both Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson had the pleasure of knowing that the respect, which they so largely received, was not paid to their official stations. They were not men made great by office; but great men, on whom the country, for its own benefit, had conferred office. There was that in them, which office did not give, and which the relinquishment of office did not, and could not take away. In their retirement, in the midst of their fellow-citizens, themselves private citizens, they enjoyed as high regard and esteem, as when filling the most important places of public trust.

There remained to Mr. Jefferson yet one other work of patriotism and beneficence, the establishment of a university in his native state. To this object he devoted years of incessant and anxious attention, and by the enlightened liberality of the legislature of Virginia, and the co-operation of other able and zealous friends, he lived to see it accomplished. May all success attend this infant seminary; and may those who enjoy its advantages, as often as their eyes shall rest on the neighbouring height, recollect what they owe to their disinterested and indefatigable benefactor; and may letters honour him who thus laboured in the cause of letters.

Thus useful, and thus respected, passed the old age of Thomas Jefferson. But time was on its ever-ceaseless wing, and was now bringing the last hour of this illustrious man. He saw its approach, with undisturbed serenity. He counted the moments, as they passed, and beheld that his last sands were falling. That day, too, was at hand, which he had helped to make immortal. One wish, one hope—if it were not presumptuous—beat in his fainting breast. Could it be so—might it please God—he would desire, once more, to see the sun—once more to look abroad on the scene around him, on the great day of liberty. Heaven, in its mercy, fulfilled that prayer. He saw that sun—he enjoyed its sacred light—he thanked God for this mercy, and bowed his aged head to the grave. "*Felix, non vita tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis.*"

The last public labour of Mr. Jefferson naturally suggests the expression of the high praise which is due, both to him and to Mr. Adams, for their uniform and zealous attachment to learning, and to the cause of general knowledge. Of the advantages of learning, indeed, and of literary accomplishments, their own characters were

for certain officers of the revolutionary army. The debt of justice had been long delayed. Thousands had descended to the grave in poverty, with com-

striking recommendations and illustrations. They were scholars, ripe and good scholars; widely acquainted with ancient, as well as modern literature, and not altogether uninstructed in the deeper sciences. Their acquirements, doubtless, were different, and so were the particular objects of their literary pursuits; as their tastes and characters, in these respects, differed like those of other men. Being, also, men of busy lives, with great objects, requiring action, constantly before them, their attainments in letters did not become showy, or obtrusive. Yet, I would hazard the opinion, that if we could now ascertain all the causes which gave them eminence and distinction, in the midst of the great men with whom they acted, we should find, not among the least, their early acquisition in literature, the resources which it furnished, the promptitude and facility which it communicated, and the wide field it opened, for analogy and illustration; giving them, thus, on every subject, a larger view, and a broader range, as well for discussion as for the government of their own conduct.

Literature sometimes, and pretensions to it much oftener, disgusts, by appearing to hang loosely on the character, like something foreign or extraneous, not a part, but an ill-adjusted appendage; or by seeming to overload and weigh it down, by its unsightly bulk, like the productions of bad taste in architecture, where there is massy and cumbrous ornament, without strength or solidity of column. This has exposed learning, and especially classical learning, to reproach. Men have seen that it might exist, without mental superiority, without vigour, without good taste, and without utility. But, in such cases, classical learning has only not inspired natural talent; or, at most, it has but made original feebleness of intellect, and natural bluntness of perception, something more conspicuous. The question, after all, if it be a question, is, whether literature, ancient as well as modern, does not assist a good understanding, improve natural good taste, add polished armour to native strength, and render its possessor not only more capable of deriving private happiness from contemplation and reflection, but more accomplished, also, for action, in the affairs of life, and especially for public action? Those whose memories we now honour, were learned men; but their learning was kept in its proper place, and made subservient to the uses and objects of life. They were scholars not common, nor superficial; but their scholarship was so in keeping with their character, so blended and inwrought, that careless observers, or bad judges, not seeing an ostentatious display of it, might infer that it did not exist; forgetting, or not knowing, that classical learning, in men who act in conspicuous public stations, perform duties which exercise the faculty of writing, or address popular, deliberative, or judicial bodies, is often felt, where it is little seen, and sometimes felt more effectually, because it is not seen at all.

But the cause of knowledge, in a more enlarged sense, the cause of general knowledge and of popular education, had no warmer friends, nor more powerful advocates, than Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson. On this foundation, they knew, the whole republican system rested; and this great and all-important truth they strove to impress, by all the means in their power. In the early publication, already referred to, Mr. Adams expresses the strong and just sentiment, that the education of the poor is more important, even to the rich themselves, than all their own riches. On this great truth, indeed, is founded that unrivalled, that invaluable political and moral institution, our own blessing, and the glory of our fathers, the New England system of free schools.

As the promotion of knowledge had been the object of their regard through life, so these great men made it the subject of their testamentary bounty. Mr. Jefferson is understood to have bequeathed his library to the university, and that of Mr. Adams is bestowed on the inhabitants of Quincy.

Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson, fellow-citizens, were successively presidents of the United States. The comparative merits of their respective administrations for a long time agitated and divided public opinion. They were rivals, each supported by numerous and powerful portions of the people, for the highest office. This

plaints on their lips against the rulers of the land. All the wise, patriotic, and eloquent of both houses of congress, were on the side of the veteran soldiers.

contest, partly the cause, and partly the consequence, of the long existence of two great political parties in the country, is now part of the history of our government. We may naturally regret, that any thing should have occurred to create difference and discord, between those who had acted harmoniously and efficiently in the great concerns of the revolution. But this is not the time, nor this the occasion, for entering into the grounds of that difference, or for attempting to discuss the merits of the questions which it involves. As practical questions, they were canvassed, when the measures which they regarded were acted on and adopted; and as belonging to history, the time has not come for their consideration.

It is, perhaps, not wonderful, that when the constitution of the United States went first into operation, different opinions should be entertained, as to the extent of the powers conferred by it. Here was a natural source of diversity of sentiment. It is still less wonderful, that that event, about contemporary with our government, under the present constitution, which so entirely shocked all Europe, and disturbed our relations with her leading powers, should be thought, by different men, to have different bearings on our own prosperity; and that the early measures adopted by our government, in consequence of this new state of things, should be seen in opposite lights. It is for the future historian, when what now remains of prejudice and misconception shall have passed away, to state these different opinions, and pronounce impartial judgment. In the meantime, all good men rejoice, and well may rejoice, that the sharpest differences sprung out of measures, which, whether right or wrong, have ceased with the exigencies that gave them birth, and have left no permanent effect, either on the constitution, or on the general prosperity of the country. This remark, I am aware, may be supposed to have its exception, in one measure, the alteration of the constitution as to the mode of choosing president; but it is true, in its general application. Thus the course of policy pursued towards France, in 1798, on the one hand, and the measures of commercial restriction, commenced in 1807, on the other, both subjects of warm and severe opposition, have passed away, and left nothing behind them. They were temporary, and whether wise or unwise, their consequences were limited to their respective occasions. It is equally clear, at the same time, and it is equally gratifying, that those measures of both administrations, which were of durable importance, and which drew after them interesting and long remaining consequences, have received general approbation. Such was the organization, or rather the creation, of the navy, in the administration of Mr. Adams; such the acquisition of Louisiana, in that of Mr. Jefferson. The country, it may safely be added, is not likely to be willing either to approve, or to reprobate, indiscriminately, and in the aggregate, all the measures of either, or of any administration. The dictate of reason and of justice is, that, holding each one his own sentiments on the points in difference, we imitate the great men themselves, in the forbearance and moderation which they have cherished, and in the mutual respect and kindness which they have been so much inclined to feel and to reciprocate.

No men, fellow-citizens, ever served their country with more entire exemption from every imputation of selfish and mercenary motive, than those to whose memory we are paying these proofs of respect. A suspicion of any disposition to enrich themselves, or to profit by their public employments, never rested on either. No sordid motive approached them. The inheritance which they have left to their children, is of their character and their fame. Fellow-citizens, I will detain you no longer by this faint and feeble tribute to the memory of the illustrious dead. Even in other hands, adequate justice could not be performed, within the limits of this occasion. Their highest, their best praise, is your deep conviction of their merits, your affectionate gratitude for their labours and services. It is not my voice, it is this cessation of ordinary pursuits, this arresting of all attention, these solemn ceremonies, and this crowded house, which speak their eulogy. Their fame, indeed, is safe. That is now treasured up, beyond the reach of accident. Although no sculptured marble should rise to their memory, nor

Strong arguments were used in their cause. The chairman of the committee which reported the bill, made the following forcible remarks:—

"Mr. President, (said he,) it has become my duty, sir, as Chairman of the Committee who reported this bill, to explain the origin and character of it. I regret that this duty has not devolved upon some abler representative of the interests of the petitioners; but I regret it the less as my colleagues on the committee possess every quality of both the head and heart to advance those interests, and will no doubt, hereafter, be seconded by an indulgent attention on the part of the senate.

"Who, then, sir, are the venerable men that knock at your door? and for what do they ask? They are not suppliants for mere favour or charity, though we all know that nothing but the proud spirit which helped to sustain them through the distresses of our revolution, has withheld most of them from reliance for daily bread on the alms provided by the present pension act. No, sir, they come as petitioners for their rights. They come as the remnant of that gallant band, who enlisted your continental army, who disciplined its ranks, who planned its enterprises, and led the way to victory and independence. Confiding in the plighted faith of Congress, given in the

engraved stone bear record of their deeds, yet will their remembrance be as lasting as the land they honoured. Marble columns may, indeed, moulder into dust, time may erase all impress from the crumbling stone, but their fame remains; for with AMERICAN LIBERTY it rose, and with AMERICAN LIBERTY ONLY can it perish. It was the last swelling peal of yonder choir, "THEIR BODIES ARE BURIED IN PEACE, BUT THEIR NAME LIVETH EVERMORE." I catch that solemn song, I echo that lofty strain of funeral triumph, "THEIR NAME LIVETH EVERMORE."

And now, fellow-citizens, let us not retire from this occasion, without a deep and solemn conviction of the duties which have devolved upon us. This lovely land, this glorious liberty, these benign institutions, the dear purchase of our fathers, are ours; ours to enjoy, ours to preserve, ours to transmit. Generations past, and generations to come, hold us responsible for this sacred trust. Our fathers, from behind, admonish us, with their anxious paternal voices, posterity calls out to us, from the bosom of the future, the world turns hither its solicitous eyes—all, all conjure us to act wisely, and faithfully, in the relation which we sustain. We can never, indeed, pay the debt which is upon us; but by virtue, by morality, by religion, by the cultivation of every good principle and every good habit, we may hope to enjoy the blessing, through our day, and to leave it unimpaired to our children. Let us feel deeply how much of what we are and of what we possess, we owe to this liberty, and these institutions of government. Nature has, indeed, given us a soil, which yields bounteously to the hands of industry; the mighty and fruitful ocean is before us, and the skies over our heads shed health and vigour. But what are lands, and seas, and skies, to civilized man, without society, without knowledge, without morals, without religious culture; and how can these be enjoyed, in all their extent, and all their excellence, but under the protection of wise institutions and a free government? Fellow-citizens, there is not one of us, there is not one of us here present, who does not, at this moment, and at every moment, experience, in his own condition, and in the condition of those most near and dear to him, the influence and the benefits of this liberty, and these institutions. Let us then acknowledge the blessing, let us feel it deeply and pow-

form of a solemn compact, they adhered to your cause through evil report and good report, till the great drama closed; and they now ask only that the faith so plighted may be redeemed. Amid the wrecks from time and disease, during almost half a century, short of two hundred and fifty now survive, out of two thousand four hundred and eighty, who existed at the close of the war. Even this small number is falling fast around us, as the leaves of autumn; and this very morning a gentleman before me has communicated the information, that another of the most faithful among them has just passed 'that bourne whence no traveller returns.' It behoves us, then, if we now conclude, in our prosperity and greatness, to extend relief, either from charity, gratitude, or justice, to do it quickly.

"My great anxiety is, in the outset, to prevent any misapprehension of the true grounds on which the appropriation is founded. Throughout the whole inquiry, there is no disposition to censure the motives or policy of the old Congress. They adopted such measures as the exigencies and necessities of the times forced upon them; and now, when those exigencies have ceased, it is just, as well as generous, to give such relief as the nature of the case may demand.

erfully, let us cherish a strong affection for it, and resolve to maintain and perpetuate it. The blood of our fathers, let it not have been shed in vain; the great hope of posterity, let it not be blasted.

The striking attitude, too, in which we stand to the world around us, a topic to which, I fear, I advert too often, and dwell on too long, can not be altogether omitted here. Neither individuals nor nations can perform their part well, until they understand and feel its importance, and comprehend and justly appreciate all the duties belonging to it. It is not to inflate national vanity, nor to swell a light and empty feeling of self-importance; but it is that we may judge justly of our situation, and of our own duties, that I earnestly urge this consideration of our position, and our character, among the nations of the earth. It can not be denied, but by those who would dispute against the sun, that with America, and in America, a new era commences in human affairs. This era is distinguished by free representative governments, by entire religious liberty, by improved systems of national intercourse, by a newly awakened and an unconquerable spirit of free inquiry, and by a diffusion of knowledge through the community, such as has been before altogether unknown and unheard of. America, America, our country, fellow-citizens, our own dear and native land, is inseparably connected, fast bound up, in fortune and by fate, with these great interests. If they fall, we fall with them; if they stand, it will be because we have upheld them. Let us contemplate, then, this connexion, which binds the prosperity of others to our own; and let us manfully discharge all the duties which it imposes. If we cherish the virtues and the principles of our fathers, Heaven will assist us to carry on the work of human liberty and human happiness. Auspicious omens cheer us. Great examples are before us. Our own firmament now shines brightly upon our path. Washington is in the clear upper sky. Those other stars have now joined the American constellation; they circle round their centre, and the heavens beam with new light. Beneath this illumination, let us walk the course of life, and at its close devoutly commend our beloved country, the common parent of us all, to the Divine Benignity.—*Webster's Eulogy on Adams and Jefferson, delivered at Boston, August 2, 1826.*

"A very great obstacle to the success of this measure, heretofore, has been a prevalent opinion, that these petitioners are seeking compensation merely for losses sustained on the depreciation of continental money and certificates received for their monthly wages; whereas, from their first memorial in A. D. 1810, to the present session, they have invariably rested on the non-performance, by Congress, of a distinct and independent contract. All the losses on their monthly wages, they bore in common, and are willing to forego in common with many in the walks of civil life, and with the brave soldiers under their command. This is the plain and decisive reason why none but officers are embraced in the present bill. The contract on which they rely, was made with the officers alone; and gallant and unfortunate as were the soldiers, the officers have endured, and will continue to endure, without repining, still severer sufferings from the worthless money and certificates received for their wages; because those losses were perhaps too large, and too general in all departments of life, ever to warrant the expectation, or practicability, of complete remuneration. I have said severer sufferings on this account by the officers; because the money received for wages before A. D. 1780, worth only one dollar in the hundred, was, to the officers, the only means to purchase camp equipage and clothing, that were furnished to the soldiers out of the public arsenals; and because the soldier often received besides liberal bounties both at home and from Congress.

"Let it then be distinctly understood, that notwithstanding this disparity against the officers, no such losses or depreciations form any part of the foundation for this bill. A moment's attention to the history of that period, will show the true ground of the appropriation. After this unequal pressure had continued nearly three years—after the officers had sustained their spirits during that trying period under such disadvantages, by the force of those principles that led them at first to join in the pledge to the cause, of 'their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour;' after their private resources had become nearly exhausted in supplying those wants their country was unable rather than unwilling to satisfy, there arose a state of things which led to certain proceedings by congress in relation to half pay.

"The prospect had nearly vanished, that any honourable accommodation could be effected with the parent country. The contest seemed likely to become more severe, and to be protracted for many years; and it was obvious that many of the officers, thus impoverished and disheartened, must actually

resign in order to provide themselves with decent clothing, and to maintain their families, and secure any subsistence for advanced life, or that they must receive some assurance of future indemnity, if they continued in service, and abandoned every thing else to sink or swim with the military destinies of their country.

"It was then that the resolve of May 15th, 1778, granting half-pay, for only seven years, to all who continued in service till the close of the war, was passed.

"This short period of half-pay was dictated, rather by the wants of congress to provide a longer one, than from an impression that it was, in truth, sufficient, or in accordance with any similar system in the armies of Europe. Hence, a committee, May 24th, 1779, reported a resolution, allowing half-pay for life to the same class of officers, and justly grounded it on the great risks they were called to encounter, on their great sufferings and sacrifices of youth, ease, health, and fortune, in the cause of their country. But the want of resources in congress, induced them to postpone this subject, and on the 17th of August, 1779, to urge upon the respective states the expediency of adopting such a resolution, and of pledging for its fulfilment their state resources. The power of the states over those resources, was much more effective than that of the confederation over the states. But such were the general gloom and despondency of the times, that not a single state, except Pennsylvania, complied with the recommendation. The currency continued to depreciate more and more, daily; the officers, in many instances, were utterly unable, by their whole pay, to procure decent apparel: treason had penetrated the camp in the person of Arnold: Charleston had been surrendered: Lincoln captured: Gates defeated at Camden: the Southern states overrun by Cornwallis: our soldiery had become discouraged; and the great military leader of the revolution had become convinced, and had urged, with his usual energy, upon congress, that the adoption of this resolution was almost the only possible method of retaining the army together. Under such appalling circumstances, congress passed, on the 24th of October, A. D. 1780, the resolution, which I will now take the liberty to read:

"Resolved, That the officers who shall continue in the service to the end of the war, shall also be entitled to half-pay during life; to commence from the time of their reduction.' (1 U. S. Laws, 688.)

"This, with one or two subsequent resolutions, explaining and modifying its provisions as to particular persons, constitutes the great foundation of the

bill under consideration. The promise was most solemnly and deliberately made: the consideration for it was ample, and most honourably performed by the officers: and yet, on the part of congress, its stipulations have, in my opinion, never, to this day, been equitably fulfilled. As to the binding effect of the compact on congress, nobody can pretend to doubt. I shall, therefore, not waste a single moment in the discussion of that point. But I admit that the officers were first bound to perform the condition faithfully, of serving to the close of the war, however long or disastrous. Did they do it? History and tradition must convince all, that through defeat as well as victory, they clung to our fortunes to the uttermost moment of the struggle. They were actuated by a spirit and intelligence, the surest guarantees of such fidelity. Most of them had investigated, and well understood, the principles in dispute, and to defend them, had flown to the field of battle on the first alarm of war, with all the ardour of a Scottish gathering, at the summons of the fiery cross. And it is not poetry, that one of my own relatives, an officer, long since no more, when the alarm was given at Lexington, left for the tented field, the corpse of his father unburied;

'One look he cast upon the bier,
Dashed from his eye the gathering tear,'

and hastened to devote his own life to the salvation of his country. In the same duty—in performing their part of the compact, to serve faithfully to the close of the war, these petitioners endured the frosts of winter, often half sheltered, badly fed, badly clothed, and badly paid. God forbid that I should exaggerate. The naked truth is stronger than any colouring of fancy. We have the authority of their commander, that they were, at times, in such a condition as to be unable and ashamed to receive their friends; but never, I believe, loath to face their enemies. Their paths were sometimes marked by their blood—their courage and constancy tried by frequent alarms, by ambuscade, and the pitched battle; but they never faltered: and when, towards the close of the war, neglect on the part of congress, as to their monthly wages, might have justified, under most circumstances, disquiet and distrust; and when at Newburg they were tempted with the insidious taunt, that if, relinquishing their arms and retiring home with the promises made to them unfulfilled, they would 'go, starve, and be forgotten;' yet they disbanded in peace, and expressed their 'unshaken confidence in the justice of congress.'

"Washington, himself, declared in substance, that by means of this resolve the officers were inspired to

make renewed exertions; to feel a security for themselves and families, which enabled them to devote every faculty to the common cause; and that thus was an army kept together, which otherwise must have dissolved, and we probably have been compelled to pass again under the yoke of colonial servitude.

"For all this fidelity to the performance of their part of the compact, the officers have been duly thanked by many congresses, and applauded by the world. They have occupied a conspicuous niche in toasts, odes, and orations, and some of them have animated the canvass and breathed in marble.

"But has the promise to them of half-pay ever been either literally or substantially fulfilled? That, sir, is the important question. I answer not literally, by any pretence, from any quarter. No half-pay, as such, has ever, for any length of time, been either paid or provided for one of the petitioners. Almost as little, sir, can there be a pretence that it has been substantially fulfilled. No kind of fulfilment has been attempted, except in the commutation act, passed March 22d, 1783.

"That act grew out of objections, in some of the states, to the system of half-pay as a system, because not strictly republican in theory, and because every thing of a pension character had become odious by its abuse in some governments, in the maintenance of hirelings who had performed secret and disreputable service.

"Some of the officers being anxious to remove any formal objection, petitioned congress for a commutation or change in the mode of indemnifying and rewarding them. No opposition had been made to the amount or value of the half-pay, and therefore, as appears in the commutation act itself, the officers expected, if a change took place, a full 'equivalent' in value to the half-pay for life.

"But instead of such an equivalent, congress gave, by that act, what was far short of an equivalent, whether we regard the particular ages at that time of these petitioners, or their average age with the other officers, or the period they have actually since lived. Congress gave only five years' full pay to the youngest in the line, and just as much to the eldest; treating the officer of twenty-five, as not likely to live any longer than him of seventy; and subjecting the former to take for his half-pay, which he was entitled to for his whole life, of probably thirty-five years, the same small sum bestowed on him not likely to live ten or fourteen years.

"If we look to the average age of all the officers at that time, the commutation was still inadequate. That age was probably not over thirty; none have pretend-

ed to consider it over thirty-five; and on all observations, in similar climates, and all calculations of annuity tables, such persons' lives would be likely to extend beyond thirty years, and thus their half-pay for life be, on an average, worth the gross sum, *in presenti*, of at least seven years' full pay. Any gentleman can test the general accuracy of these results, by a reference to Price's Annuity Tables, and to Milne on Annuities. In England, Sweden, and France, it will be seen that a person of thirty years of age is ascertained to be likely to live thirty-four more; and of thirty-five years of age, to live about twenty-eight more. An annuity for thirty-four years is worth a fraction more than fourteen times its annual amount, if paid in a gross sum in advance; and one, for twenty-eight years, only a fraction less than fourteen times its annual amount. So that seven years' full pay is as near a fair commutation for the half-pay for life, taking their average ages, as can well be calculated, or as is necessary for the present inquiry.

"Again: If we advert to the real facts, as since developed, these petitioners, had the commutation act not passed, or not been at all binding, would now receive twenty-two, instead of five years' full pay, as they have survived, since the close of the war, over forty-four years.

"Congress, as if conscious that the pressure of the times had driven them to propose a substitute for the half-pay for life, not, in any view, sufficient or equivalent, as regarded the younger officers, who alone now survive and ask for redress, provided in the commutation act, not that each officer might accept or reject it at pleasure, but that it should take effect, if accepted within certain periods, not exceeding six months, by majorities in the several lines of the army. The most influential officers in any line, are of course the elder and superior ones. To these, as a general rule, five years full-pay was a fair equivalent; and by their exertions the commutation was accepted by majorities in most of the lines, and no provision ever afterwards made for such officers, as were either absent or present, and dissenting.

"No evidence can now be found, however, of any acceptance, even by majorities, in any of the lines, till after the expiration of the six months prescribed. But a report of the secretary of war, dated October 31, 1783, (8 Journals of Congress, 478,) enumerates certain lines and individuals, that had then signified their acceptance. It would be difficult, as might be expected, to find among the individuals named, one who still survives. Those, then, the youngest and now surviving, must have felt deeply the inequality

proposed; and if most of them had not been absent on furlough, by a resolve of congress, after peace was expected, probably even majorities in the lines would never have been obtained. The certificates were made out for all, without application, and left with the agents; no other provision was made for those entitled to half-pay, and it remained with the younger officers to receive those certificates or nothing.

"But it is most manifest, that congress had no legal right to take away from a single officer his vested half-pay for life, without giving him a full equivalent; or, to say the least, what the officer should freely and distinctly assent to, as a full equivalent. It would be contrary to the elementary principles of legislation and jurisprudence: and a majority of the lines could no more bind the minority on this subject of private rights of property, than they could bind congress, or the states, on questions of politics. This point need not be argued to men, who, like those around me, have watched the discussions and decisions in this country the last quarter of a century. But no such individual assent was asked here: it was indeed declared to be useless for any minority of individuals to dissent; the commutation not having been, in any view, a full equivalent, individual assent cannot fairly be presumed. The subsequent taking of the certificates was merely taking all that was provided, and all they could get, without any pretence that they took it as a full and fair equivalent. And hence it follows, that, on the lowest computation, two years more full pay are necessary to make any thing like a substantial fulfilment of the compact on the part of congress. In truth, twenty years more would be less than the petitioners could rightfully claim now, if the commutation act had never passed; or if the position was clearly established that the commutation act, as to them, was, under the circumstances, entirely null and void. To say that such a transaction, resorted to under the pressure of the times, and finding no apology except in the security and necessities of that pressure, should not be relieved against when the pressure is over, and our means have become ample, is to make a mockery of justice, and to profane every principle of good faith.

"But consider a little farther the history of these proceedings, on the supposition that the five years full-pay was an ample equivalent to all. Was it either paid or secured to them in such manner as to become any thing like a substantial fulfilment of the promise? Though the act allowed congress to give the officers money or securities, and though these last might be in the form prescribed for other creditors, yet the act contemplated giving them money or

money's worth, else it doubly violated the former engagement to give them half-pay for life. The very nature of half-pay, or of any commutation for it, implies that it should be actually paid, or so secured as to raise the money whenever it becomes due. They were here intended as means for immediate maintenance or business to those who, by peace, would be thrown out of their accustomed employment and support. This is too plain for further illustration; and, in conformity with these views, congress forthwith effected a loan in Europe, and paid in money all the foreign officers entitled to the commutation. But how were the petitioners treated? They did not obtain a dollar in money, and even their certificates were not delivered till six or nine months after their right to half-pay accrued; and when received, so far from being secured by pledges or requisitions rendering them valuable as money, the officers could not obtain for them in the market over one fifth of their nominal amount. The receipts given for these certificates truly omitted to state that they were in full payment, of either the commutation or the half-pay. By such means these petitioners, to supply the then existing wants of themselves and families, which was the legitimate object of both the half-pay and its commutation, in fact realized only one, instead of five years' full-pay; or only two years' half-pay instead of half-pay for life.

"If this was a substantial fulfilment of the promise to them, I think it would be difficult to define what would have been a defective, delusive, and unsubstantial fulfilment. But it has been suggested, that the petitioners might all have retained their certificates till afterwards funded, and in that event have escaped loss. Can gentlemen, however, forget that the very design of half-pay was to furnish food and raiment, and not a fund to be deposited in bank for posterity? And that, though the use of a portion of it, if all had been paid at once, might have been postponed to a future period, yet their necessities utterly forbade most of them from not resorting, forthwith, to a single year's pay, which was the entire value of the whole certificate. It is another part of the distressing history of this case, that if, on the contrary, every officer had retained his certificate till funded, his loss on it would have been very near one third of its amount. But on this point I shall not dwell, as its particulars are more recent and familiar. It will suffice to call to your minds, that the provision made for the payment of these certificates in A. D. 1790, was not by money, nor virtually to their full amount, but by opening a loan, payable in those certificates, and a scrip of stock given for them on these

terms: one third of the principal was to draw no interest whatever, for ten years; and all the interest then due, was to draw thereafter only three per cent. Without going into any calculations of the value of different kinds of stock, under different circumstances, it is obvious that such a payment or security was not worth so much by nearly a third, as the money would have been worth, or as scrip would have been worth for the whole then due on six per cent. interest.

"It is true that this loan was, in form, voluntary; but it is equally true, that, as no other provision was made for payment, no alternative remained but to accept the terms. Hence, if the officer sold his certificate from necessity, he obtained only one fifth of the amount therein promised: or, if he retained it, he obtained only about two thirds of that amount.

"What renders this circumstance still more striking, we ourselves have in this way saved, and reduced our national debt below what it would have been, many millions of dollars—from eighteen to fifteen, I believe; and yet, now, in our prosperity, hesitate to restore what was taken in part from these very men, and when not from them, taken from others on account of their speculations on these very men, and their associates in arms. It was at the time of the funding thought just, and attempted by some of our ablest statesmen, to provide some retribution to the original holders of certificates for the losses that had been sustained on them—to provide in some way a partial restoration. But the inherent difficulty of the subject, and the low state of our resources, prevented us from completing any such arrangement, though we were not prevented from saving to the government, out of these very certificates, and similar ones, ten times the amount now proposed for these petitioners.

"On this state of facts, then, I hold these conclusions: that what is honest, and moral, and honourable, between debtor and creditor in private life, is so in public life. That a creditor of the public should be treated with at least equal, if not greater kindness, than the creditor of an individual. That when the embarrassments of a debtor give rise to a mode of payment altogether inadequate to what is justly due, and this kind of payment is forced upon the creditor, by the necessities of either party, the debtor ought, when relieved from his embarrassments or necessities, to make ample restitution. That it is the dictate of every moral and honourable feeling to supply the deficiency; and especially, should the debtor do this where the inadequacy was more than four fifths of the whole debt; where the debtor, by a part of the arrangement, saved millions to contribute to

his present prosperity, and where the debt itself was, as in the present case, the price of blood lavished for the creditor, the wages of those sufferings and toils which secured our present liberties, and fill the brightest page of glory in our country's history. The great military leader of the revolution has given his sanction to this measure, in the strongest terms, when calling to mind the lion hearts, and eagle eyes, that had surrounded and sustained him in all his arduous trials, and reflecting that they, not soldiers by profession, nor adventurers, but citizens, with tender ties of kindred and friendship, and with cheering prospects in civil life, had abandoned all to follow him, and to sink or swim with the sacred cause in which he had enlisted, he invoked towards them the justice of his country, and expressed the fullest confidence, that 'a country rescued by their arms, will never leave unpaid the debt of gratitude.'

"It is not to be forgotten, that a measure like this would remove a stain from our history. Its moral influence on our population, in future wars, for wars we must expect, again and again: its consonance with those religious, as well as moral principles of perfect justice, which, in a republic, are the anchor and salvation of all that is valuable; its freedom, I trust, from political prejudice and party feeling, all strengthen the other reasons for its speedy adoption.

"Nor have the imputations against it as a local measure, been at all well founded. What is right or just in regard to contracts, is right without regard to the residence of individuals, whether in the east, the west, or the south. But independent of that consideration, these venerable worthies, though once much more numerous at the north than elsewhere, have since followed the enterprises of their children, and pushed their own broken fortunes to every section of the union. It is impossible to obtain perfect accuracy as to their numbers and residence. But by correspondence and verbal inquiries it is ascertained, that four or five survive in New Hampshire; from thirty to thirty-five in Massachusetts and Maine; five or six in Rhode Island; five in Vermont; sixteen in Connecticut; twenty in New York; twelve in New Jersey; eighteen in Pennsylvania; three in Delaware; twelve in Maryland; thirty-three to thirty-eight in Virginia and Kentucky; ten to twelve in Ohio; twelve or fifteen in the Carolinas; and five or six in Georgia. As by the annuity tables, something like two hundred and fifty ought now to be alive, the computations have been made on a medium of two hundred and thirty, between the number ascertained and the conjectural number.

"The question, then, is of a general public nature,

and presents the single point, whether, in the late language of an eloquent statesman of New York, these veterans shall any longer remain 'living monuments of the neglect of their country.'

"All the foreign officers, whose claims rested on the same resolve, were, as I have before stated, promptly paid in specie; and their illustrious leader, Lafayette, by whose side these petitioners faced equal toils and dangers, has been since loaded with both money and applause. Even the tories, who deserted the American cause, and adhered to one so much less holy and pure, have been fully and faithfully rewarded by England: and it now remains with the senate to decide, not whether the sum proposed shall be bestowed in mere charity—however charity may bless both him that gives and him that takes; nor in mere gratitude—however sensible the petitioners may be to the influence of either; but whether, let these considerations operate as they may, the officers should be remunerated for their losses, on those broad principles of eternal justice which are the cement of society, and which, without a wound to their delicacy and honest pride, will, in that event, prove the solace and staff of their declining years.

"I shall detain the senate no longer, except to offer a few remarks on the computations, on which the sum of one million one hundred thousand dollars is proposed as the proper one for filling the blank. Various estimates, on various hypotheses, are annexed to the report in this case, and others will doubtless occur to different gentlemen. But if any just one amounts to about the sum proposed, no captious objection will, I trust, be offered on account of any trifling difference. It is impossible, in such cases, to attain perfect accuracy; but the estimates are correct enough, probably, for the present purpose.

"The committee have proposed a sum in gross rather than a half-pay or annuity, because more appropriate to the circumstances of the case, and because more acceptable, for the reasons that originally gave rise to the commutation.

"On the ground that these officers were, in 1783, justly entitled to two years more full-pay, as a fair equivalent for half-pay during life; and there being two hundred and thirty of them of the rank supposed in the report, their monthly pay would be about thirty dollars each. This, for two years, would be seven hundred and twenty dollars each; or one hundred and sixty-five thousand six hundred dollars due to these petitioners at the close of the war, over and above what they then received certificates for. The interest on that, for forty-four years, would be four hundred and thirty-seven thousand one hundred and

eighty-four dollars, which, added to the principal, make six hundred and two thousand seven hundred and eighty-four dollars.

"If to that be added what they lost on their certificates by depreciation, which at four fifths was three hundred and thirty-one thousand two hundred dollars, and the sum without any interest, on the depreciation, amounts to nine hundred and thirty-three thousand nine hundred and eighty-four dollars; or, with interest, to more than a million and a half; or, if the depreciation be considered seven eighths, as it really was, the sum would be still larger. On the other hand, if nothing be allowed for depreciation on the certificates, but one third be considered as lost in funding, that one third, in A. D. 1791, would be about two hundred and four thousand two hundred and forty dollars, and interest since would swell it to six hundred and forty-five thousand four hundred and thirty-four dollars, which added to the two years' pay not received, and interest on that pay, makes the whole one million two hundred and forty-eight thousand two hundred and eighteen dollars.

"Another view of the case, which seems to me the most technical, and which steers clear of any difficulty about the loss, either by depreciation or funding, will lead to about the same result as to the amount. It is this. On the ground that seven years' full-pay was the smallest sum which, in A. D. 1783, could be deemed a fair equivalent for the half-pay for life, then the petitioners got certificates for only five sevenths of their half-pay. Or, in other words, five sevenths of their half-pay was extinguished and paid. The other two sevenths, then, has annually accrued since, and will continue to accrue while the petitioners survive. This two sevenths being fifty-one dollars and forty-two cents per year, to each officer, or eleven thousand eight hundred and twenty-six dollars to these officers, would amount at this time to five hundred and twenty thousand three hundred and forty-four dollars; and the interest accruing on it during only thirty-five years, would make it exceed the one million one hundred thousand dollars proposed. The amount is fairly reached by this view of the case, without a single cent for either depreciation or loss in funding, and thus does not indirectly touch a single fact or principle upon which a similar allowance could be made to any body besides these officers. Gallant, and meritorious, and suffering, as were the soldiers, and none could be more so; worthy and affectionate as may have been the surviving widows, and distinguished as may have been many of the officers' heirs, for filial and generous devotion to smooth their declining years; they all stand

on their own cases and merits. None of them have been referred to the committee who reported this bill, and they can all be provided for otherwise, this session, or hereafter, if thought proper. Let the present appropriation be tried first on its own grounds, and then by subsequent amendments of this bill, or by new bills, let an appropriation for other classes of persons be also tried on its own grounds. All I ask and entreat is, that if, either in strict law or in justice, whether grounded upon the original defective commutation, the depreciation of the certificates, or the loss in funding, any member is convinced that the sum proposed to these officers is a fair one, that he will first consider the case of the officers, and support this motion. If any think a different sum more proper, I hope they will propose that sum in due time; and thus let the sense of the senate be fully expressed upon one case at a time, and upon the only case now duly before us. In this manner, only, can any thing ever be accomplished.

"The amount of the sum now proposed, cannot be objected to on the grounds that doubtless caused the losses and sufferings which we are now seeking to redress. The country during the revolution, and at its close, would hardly have been unwilling to bestow twice the amount, had its resources permitted. But, now, such have been our rapid advances in wealth and greatness, by means of the rights and liberties the valour of these men contributed so largely to secure; that the very public land they defended, if not won, yields every year to our treasury more than the whole appropriation. One twentieth of our present annual revenue exceeds it. A fraction of the cost of the public buildings—the expense of two or three ships of the line—one tenth of what has been saved to our national debt in the funding system—a tax of ten cents per head on our population, only a single twelvemonth,—either of them would remove all this reproach.

"But, whatever might be the cost, I would say, in all practicable cases, be just and fear not. Let no illiberal or evasive feeling blast the hopes of these venerable patriots. Much longer delay will do this as effectually as a hard hearted refusal; since the remains of them are almost daily going down to the city of silence. Either drive them, then, at once from your doors, with taunts, and in despair,—or sanction the claim. So far as regards my single self, before I would another year endure the stigma, of either injustice or ingratitude to men like these, I would vote to stop every species of splendid missions! I would cease to talk of Alleghany canals: I would let the capitol crumble to atoms for want of appro-

priations, and introduce retrenchment from the palace to the humblest door-keeper.

"It has formerly been said, that if these officers are relieved, so must be those of the late war. But, deserving as were these last, the cause in which they fought required much inferior sacrifices—they were not contending under the stigma of traitors, liable to the halter—they were liberally and promptly paid; and whatever small depreciation may have existed in the treasury notes taken for their monthly pay, it was infinitely less than the losses sustained by these petitioners on their monthly pay, and for which they neither ask nor expect relief.

"One other consideration, and I will at this time trouble the senate no longer. The long lapse of time since the claim originated has been objected formerly to its success. But what honest individual shelters himself under a statute of limitation; if conscious that his promise has not been substantially fulfilled? Under such circumstances, it is no defence, either in the court of conscience or in a court of honour; and congress have often shown their liberality in waiving it, where expressly provided to bar an application.

"Here no express bar has ever been provided. Before their first application, the officers waited till A. D. 1810, when old age and infirmity rendered them more needy, and when many years of prosperity had rendered their country more able. However numerous, and technical, and evasive, may have been the objections since interposed, let it not be forgotten, that in performing their portion of the compact, however neglected as to food or wages, they never were heard to plead excuses or evasions, however appalling the danger, whether roused by a midnight alarm or invited to join a forlorn hope.

"Like others, too, it may be imputed to them in derogation, that they were 'military chieftains.' But if, as such for a time, they did, like others, nobly help 'to fill the measure of their country's glory;' so, like others of that class, they have often distinguished themselves in forums, cabinets, and halls of legislation.

"Whatever 'honour and gratitude' they have yet received, is deeply engraven on their hearts; but they now also need—and they ask, only because they need, the additional rewards of substantial justice.

"It remains, sir, for us, whose rights they defended and saved, to say whether they shall longer ask that justice in vain."

On the 4th of March, 1829, General Andrew Jackson took the oath of office. His course as a military commander had been wonderfully successful, and in all republics, the military chief-

tain has been held in the highest consideration. He was not bred a statesman, nor had he been considered as a leader in senates; but he was energetic, prompt, and fearless. He was initiated in war on the borders with the Indian tribes, and his name was a terror throughout the nations then hostile or friendly to the United States. His successful defence of New Orleans had excited the admiration and awakened the gratitude of the American people. His inaugural speech was short, and full of promises in the way of reform. "Fellow-citizens, (said he,) about to undertake the arduous duties that I have been appointed to perform, by the choice of a free people, I avail myself of this customary and solemn occasion, to express the gratitude which their confidence inspires, and to acknowledge the accountability which my situation enjoins. While the magnitude of their interests convinces me that no thanks can be adequate to the honour they have conferred, it admonishes me that the best return I can make, is the zealous dedication of my humble abilities to their service and their good.

"As the instrument of the federal constitution, it will devolve on me, for a stated period, to execute the laws of the United States; to superintend their foreign and their confederate relations; to manage their revenue; to command their forces; and, by communications to the legislature, to watch over and to promote their interests generally. And the principles of action by which I shall endeavour to accomplish this circle of duties, it is now proper for me briefly to explain.

In administering the laws of congress, I shall keep steadily in view the limitations as well as the extent of the executive power, trusting thereby to discharge the functions of my office without transcending its authority. With foreign nations it will be my study to preserve peace, and to cultivate friendship on fair and honourable terms; and in the adjustment of any difference that may exist or arise, to exhibit the forbearance becoming a powerful nation, rather than the sensibility belonging to a gallant people.

"In such measures as I may be called on to pursue, in regard to the rights of the separate states, I hope to be animated by a proper respect for those sovereign members of our union; taking care not to confound the powers they have reserved to themselves, with those they have granted to the confederacy.

"The management of the public revenue—that searching operation in all governments—is among the most delicate and important trusts in ours; and

it will, of course, demand no inconsiderable share of my official solicitude. Under every aspect in which it can be considered, it would appear that advantage must result from the observance of a strict and faithful economy. This I shall aim at the more anxiously, both because it will facilitate the extinguishment of the national debt—the unnecessary duration of which is incompatible with real independence—and because it will counteract that tendency to public and private profligacy which a profuse expenditure of money by the government, is but too apt to engender. Powerful auxiliaries to the attainment of this desirable end, are to be found in the regulations provided by the wisdom of congress, for the specific appropriation of public money, and the prompt accountability of public officers.

With regard to a proper selection of the subjects of impost, with a view to revenue, it would seem to me, that the spirit of equity, caution, and compromise, in which the constitution was formed, requires that the great interests of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, should be equally favoured; and that, perhaps, the only exception to this rule should consist in the peculiar encouragement of any products of either of them that may be found essential to our national independence.

“Internal improvement, and the diffusion of knowledge, so far as they can be promoted by the constitutional acts of the federal government, are of high importance.

“Considering standing armies as dangerous to free governments, in time of peace, I shall not seek to enlarge our present establishment, nor disregard that salutary lesson of political experience, which teaches that the military should be held subordinate to the civil power. The gradual increase of our navy, whose flag has displayed, in distant climes, our skill in navigation and our fame in arms; the preservation of our forts, arsenals, and dock yards; and the introduction of progressive improvements in the discipline and science of both branches of our military service, are so plainly prescribed by prudence, that I should be excused for omitting their mention sooner than for enlarging on their importance. But the bulwark of our defence is the national militia, which, in the present state of our intelligence and population, must render us invincible. As long as our government is administered for the good of the people, and is regulated by their will; as long as it secures to us the rights of person and of property, liberty of conscience and of the press, it will be worth defending: and so long as it is worth defending, a patriotic militia will cover it with an

impenetrable *agis*. Partial injuries and occasional mortifications we may be subjected to, but a million of armed freemen, possessed of the means of war, can never be conquered by a foreign foe. To any just system, therefore, calculated to strengthen this natural safe-guard of the country, I shall cheerfully lend all the aid in my power.

“It will be my sincere and constant desire to observe towards the Indian tribes within our limits, a just and liberal policy; and to give that humane and considerate attention to their rights and their wants which are consistent with the habits of our government, and the feelings of our people.

“The recent demonstration of public sentiment inscribes, on the list of executive duties, in characters too legible to be overlooked, the task of reform; which will require, particularly, the correction of those abuses, that have brought the patronage of the federal government into conflict with the freedom of elections, and the counteraction of those causes which have disturbed the rightful course of appointment, and have placed, or continued, power in unfaithful or incompetent hands.

“In the performance of a task thus generally delineated, I shall endeavour to select men whose diligence and talents will ensure, in their respective stations, able and faithful co-operation—depending, for the advancement of the public service, more on the integrity and zeal of the public officers, than on their numbers.

“A diffidence, perhaps too just, in my own qualifications, will teach me to look with reverence to the examples of public virtue left by my illustrious predecessors, and with veneration to the lights that flow from the mind that founded, and the mind that reformed, our system. The same diffidence induces me to hope for instruction and aid from the co-ordinate branches of the government, and for the indulgence and support of my fellow-citizens generally. And a firm reliance on the goodness of that Power whose providence mercifully protected our national infancy, and has since upheld our liberties in various vicissitudes, encourages me to offer up my ardent supplications that He will continue to make our beloved country the object of his divine care and gracious benediction.”

General Jackson at once filled up his cabinet with men devoted to his cause. Martin Van Buren, of the state of New York, was appointed secretary of state. He was a self-made man, and had secured the votes of his native state for governor, which office he held when he received his appointment. Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, was appointed

secretary of the treasury. He had been a member of the house of representatives in the national legislature, and was thought a straight-forward, plain man. John H. Eaton was made secretary of war. He had been a senator from Tennessee, and was the personal friend of General Jackson. John Branch was appointed to fill the office of secretary of the navy. The qualifications he had for this office were not known to the nation at large, but they presumed the executive was fully aware of them, before he had elevated him to that office. John M^cPherson Berrien was made attorney-general. This appointment gave general satisfaction. He was at the time of his appointment a senator from Georgia, and celebrated for his acquirements, eloquence, and discrimination. He had shown his talents as well in the high judicial councils of the nation, as in the senate of the United States. John M^cLean, who had held the office of

post-master general, was transferred to the bench of the supreme court of the United States, and William T. Barry, of Kentucky, was put into the office which Mr. M^cLean had filled with so much reputation, that not a man of note in the country wished him removed. A general sweep was made of men in office not favourable to the administration. This was justified upon political grounds, as a course of true policy, and in full accordance with the genius of the government.

The relations of the United States with foreign countries, were in a prosperous situation. Some little misunderstanding existed with the British government, in regard to the West India trade, which was arranged by the plenipotentiary to the court of London, Mr. Louis M^cLane; but this was of no great importance, although thought so at the time.

In 1832, the cholera* raged in the United States,

* The year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, will be memorable in the annals of North America, from the prevalence of a terrible epidemic. The disease which prevailed at this period was called the Asiatic Cholera, or Cholera Asphyxia. It commenced its ravages in the year 1817, in Asia, and after having spread death and desolation over that portion of the globe for nearly fourteen years, it invaded Europe, traversed a portion of that continent, and, without any signs of contagious transition, it eventually appeared on our own continent.

This dreadful scourge of humanity has, from its origin to the present period, mocked all scientific research, all medical philosophy, and all remedial treatment. It has stalked through the land like a destroying angel, regardless of all impediments, and literally gone forth, "conquering and to conquer."

The history of its origin, progress, and treatment, in Asia, has been the theme of many learned physicians. It would be tedious and unprofitable for our present purpose, to enter the wide field of investigation, relative to the various and inconsistent accounts which have appeared on the subject.

We are indebted to "a discourse" of Professor J. M. Smith, of New York, for the best digest of its history and progress in India, and to Dr. Edward Warren, of Boston, for its history and progress in America, in the first year of its visitation.

From the Indian physicians we learn, that the disease first suddenly appeared in the beginning of August, 1817, in Zilla-Jessore, a town about one hundred miles northeast of Calcutta. The disease soon spread to the adjacent villages, and thence extended in various directions through the country of Bengal. It continued in that city for several months, raging with violence from January till the end of May, 1818. The deaths during this period were rarely under 200 a week. The epidemic had now extended from Silhet to Cuttack, and from the mouth of the Ganges to the confluence of this river with the Jumna.

Retiring, for the most part, from Bengal, the disease concentrated its force in the interior provinces, and chiefly in the districts bordering on the Ganges and Jumna.

In Benares, the famous seat of Brahminical learning, 15,000 were destroyed in two months; and at Alahabad, 40 or 50 perished daily. Pursuing its march, it soon reached Goorackpoor, in which district it numbered 30,000 victims in a month. It then proceeded successively to Lucknow, Cawnpore, Delhi, Agra, and other districts along the course of the Ganges.

From the northern parts of Hindostan Proper, the disease took a direction through the Decan, committing the most frightful ravages in Husseinabad, Aurungabad, Poornah, and other districts. On the 6th of August, it appeared in Bombay, having consumed about one year in traversing the Indian Delta, from Calcutta. In this

journey, it advanced about fifteen or eighteen miles a day, and tarried from two to six weeks in a place.

The peculiarities of the disease had now been fully developed. Its mode of falling upon a place, and its career in different districts, were singularly capricious. "Sometimes," says the report of the Calcutta medical board, "the disease would make a complete circle round a village, and, leaving it untouched, pass on, as if it were wholly to depart from the district. Then, after a lapse of weeks, or even months, it would suddenly return, and, scarcely reappearing in the parts which had already undergone its ravages, would nearly depopulate the spot that had so recently congratulated itself on its escape. Sometimes, after running a long course on one side of the Ganges, it would, as if arrested by some unknown agent, at once stop, and taking a rapid sweep across the river, lay all waste on the opposite bank."

As yet the cholera had been, for the most part, confined to continental India. In the following year, 1819, it took a wider range, encircling the islands of the Indian Ocean. In Mauritius, it broke out on the 15th of September, and in Bourbon early in December. About the same time it invaded Siam and the adjacent regions. Forty thousand perished in Bankoe. Cochin-China and Tonquin suffered in 1820.

At the close of the year 1820, it commenced its ravages in China, became terrible in Canton, and thence arrived in Peking, in 1821. In this last city, the mortality was so great, that it required the assistance of government for the sepulture of the dead. In China, Mongolia, and other quarters of Central and Southern Asia, and the Philippine islands, it continued to recur for several successive years. In 1822, it reappeared in Java, destroying 100,000 persons. In its northern progress, it reached the confines of Siberia in 1826.

The most westerly point to which the cholera had extended in 1818, was Bombay. In July, 1821, it appeared in Muscat, and other parts of Arabia. The number that sunk under the disease in this new theatre of its action, was not less than 60,000. Death frequently followed in a few minutes after the attack.

Among the many places in the countries bordering on the Persian Gulf, which severely suffered, were Shiraz and Bassora; in the former, 16,000 perished, and in the latter, 18,000, of whom, we are told, upwards of 14,000 died in two weeks.

Pursuing the course of the large rivers, it advanced up the Tigris to Bagdad and Mosul, and up the Euphrates to Syria, reaching Aleppo in 1822. In the Persian empire, few places of note escaped the disease.

In June, 1823, it attacked Antioch; at the same time it ravaged Diaberkur. In August, it invaded Bakus, on the Caspian Sea, and arrived, in September, in the Russian city of Astrachan. At this

and gave great alarm to the whole population; but the number of deaths was not great.

point of approach to Europe, the cholera made a pause of several years. It preserved its existence, however, in the countries it had overrun; and especially lingered in Persia, where it recovered its original force in 1829, and in the following year continued to spread through various provinces around the Caspian Sea.

While the cholera was thus raging in the Persian provinces, it again appeared at Astrachan, at the mouth of the Volga. Seven years had elapsed since its first visitation; the second was in the beginning of July; and in the course of its prevalence, 17,000 perished in eight days. It has been estimated, that at this period, 1830, 6,000,000 of people had fallen victims to the cholera in Asia.

It now urged its way along the banks of the Volga, crossed the Asiatic frontier, and spread itself over the greater part of Russia, in Europe; and after following the Don, the Dnieper, and the southern tributaries of the Volga, it arrived at Moscow on the 15th of September, 1830, about two months and a half after its second appearance in Astrachan. On the 26th of June, it entered the imperial city of St. Petersburg; where, at one period, between 500 and 600 new cases occurred daily, and by the 15th of August, 4,000 persons fell victims, out of about 8,000 cases. During the career of this summer, the cholera had passed over most of the countries of Northern and Central Europe. From Archangel, on the White Sea, and St. Petersburg, Cronstadt, Riga, and Dantzic, on the Baltic, it had reached south to Odessa, on the Black Sea.

From its appearance in Jassore, in 1817, down to the year 1830, when it first showed itself in the Russian province of Orenburgh, it must be observed, that its ravages were not continued in one unbroken course; but, in those places where its occurrence was not simultaneous, years often intervened between its decline in one district, and its reappearance in another.

Since the year 1830, this singular epidemic has traversed Europe in one line, inclining to a northwesterly course; and in spite of quarantine regulations, cordons of troops, and the most assiduous vigilance, it has devastated all those nations lying in its route, has found its way to England and to France, and, at length, reached even the shores of the American continent.

The month of June, 1832, witnessed the first appearance of cholera in North America. This was at Quebec, in Canada; and it appeared almost simultaneously at Montreal. The first place in which the disease manifested itself in Quebec, was a boarding-house in Champlain street, a low, filthy, unventilated portion of the town. The first patient was an emigrant, landed from the steam boat *Voyageur*, which plied between Montreal and Quebec. It appears, that on the third of June, the brig *Carricks* arrived at Grosse Island, the quarantine ground, thirty-nine miles below Quebec, having on board one hundred and thirty-three passengers. Thirty-nine died during the passage, of a disease, the symptoms of which, it was said, corresponded with those of malignant cholera. This arrival produced considerable excitement both at Quebec and Montreal. Medical commissioners were directed to visit Grosse Island, on the 7th of June, who examined the passengers, all of whom had been detained at quarantine. They reported, as the result of their examination, that the passengers were all in perfect health; that the disease had occurred soon after the vessel sailed; and that the last death had been on the 9th of May, twenty-five days before her arrival at Grosse Island; since which time, the surviving passengers had enjoyed good health. The *Carricks* had been thoroughly cleansed, and set sail on the 7th of June, all on board being well.

At this moment, whilst the board of health were issuing their proclamation to prove the impossibility of the importation of the disease by the *Carricks*, the cholera had already broken out in Quebec.

The steam boat *Voyageur* left Quebec on the evening of the 7th of June, received passengers, it is said, from different emigrant vessels on the river; and the weather becoming stormy, was obliged to return to Quebec, where she landed about two hundred passengers, most of whom found lodgings in the neighbourhood of Champlain street. She then proceeded to Montreal; but one emigrant passenger died on board, before her arrival at that city. On the

The boundary line, a subject of dispute, has not lately been agitated.

9th, in the afternoon, a second case occurred. On the same evening, four others were seized with the malady, and sent to the hospital, where these died. The disease spread in almost every direction, and there were seventy deaths between the evening of the 8th, and eleven o'clock in the morning of the 11th. The cases continued to increase till about the 18th, when they began to diminish. At one period, the number was estimated at from 250 to 300 in twenty-four hours.

The population of Quebec, in the summer of 1831, was 27,562. The number of deaths from cholera, from the 9th of June till the 2d of September, is estimated at 2,218. The greatest number during one day, was 143, on the 15th of June.

At Montreal, on the 10th of June, an emigrant from the steam boat *Voyageur* was seized with the disease after an evening of dissipation, and died the next day. The same night, several natives, who held no intercourse with the port, or with each other, were taken ill.

As late as the 12th of June, the existence of the disease was denied; and was not recognised by the board of health until the 13th, when was made their first report. They stated the number of cases for the last twenty-four hours, at 94, and the deaths at 23. On the 15th, they reported 1,204 cases, and 230 deaths, as being, as nearly as could be ascertained, the whole number from the commencement of the disease. The next report estimates the cases for the twenty-four hours at 431, and the deaths at 82; and for the next succeeding twenty-four hours, 475 new cases, and 102 deaths.

There occurred at Montreal, from the 9th of June till the 1st of September, 4,835 cases; and the deaths, during the same period, were 1,843. The greatest number of cases reported for twenty-four hours, was 474, on the 17th of June; and the greatest number of burials, for the same period, was 149, on the 19th of June.

The cholera now extended its ravages to the large towns situated on the St. Lawrence, and the streams which flow into it. It soon appeared at Kamarouska, about 80 miles from Quebec. Previous to the 15th of June, fourteen deaths had taken place at La Prairie, which is nine miles above Montreal; and on the 17th, it showed itself at St. Johns. It soon reached Buffalo. Lachine, Caughnawaga, Coteau de Lac, Chateaugnay, Cornwall, St. Regis, Prescott, Ogdensburgh, Brookville, Kingston, York, Chambly, Plattsburgh, and Trois Rivières, were all visited in their turn. The disease followed the course of the large rivers.

Whatever may be the causes of cholera, and the laws by which its course is governed, it is certainly remarkable, that its march should be so irregular as it has been found to be; not spreading regularly over an extent of country, but occurring in towns and cities at distances from each other, without affecting intervening districts till a subsequent period. Thus, the first case reported in New York occurred on the 1st of July, some days before it appeared at Albany, 150 miles nearer to Montreal.

In the city of New York, the existence of the disease was first officially recognised by the board of health on the 4th of July; though it had, in fact, occurred sooner, namely, on the 28th or 29th of June. The greatest number of cases in this city took place on the 21st of July, when there were 311 cases, and 100 deaths. On the day following, there were 239 cases, and 115 deaths. On the 25th, 153 deaths are reported. The whole number of deaths from the 4th of July till the 1st of October, was 3,407.

In the city of Albany, the cholera made its first appearance on or about the 3d of July. It increased and extended itself very gradually, the number of cases varying from day to day, without a regular increase. The whole number of deaths from the 3d of July till the 22d of September, was 229.

At Philadelphia, which was the next place of attack, it was first recognised by the board of health on the 16th of July. No new cases, however, occurred till the 24th. On the 28th, six cases and five deaths took place. From this time the disease advanced very rapidly, and while its fury was abating in New York, it began to show itself in its most formidable shape in Philadelphia. Upon the 6th of August, the greatest number of cases occurred; there were reported 176 cases, with 71 deaths. The whole number of deaths

The people of South Carolina had, before this time, broached some doctrines in regard to state rights, not

acknowledged by the great body of the union. The question was most ably argued in congress, particu-

by cholera, in that city, was 948. Taking the 28th of July as the date at which it commenced its regular course, it required only nine days for it to arrive at its height; nearly the same period as in Quebec and Montreal, and about half the period it required in New York.

At Baltimore, the disease commenced on the 22d of August, from which time, till the 24th of September, the number of deaths was about 600.

In the city of Washington, it first showed itself about the 28th of August, from which time, till the 24th of September, there were reported 177 deaths.

It prevailed also at Norfolk, in Virginia, and traversed various portions of the southern states, where it made great havoc amongst the black, or slave population, who fell ready and easy victims to its influence. Cincinnati and New Orleans suffered severely.

From the north, the disease extended itself along the borders of the great lakes. It soon reached Detroit, where it produced considerable mortality among the troops.

The six eastern states, together with the British provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, almost entirely escaped its influence. Only a few solitary cases occurred in the port towns of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, but not sufficient to give the character of an epidemic; as the cases might, more or less, be traced to individuals seeking refuge from the infected cities. In a word, all these places might be pronounced as having been exempt from the epidemic cholera.

During this season, the disease broke out in Havana, and carried off an immense population, principally slaves.

We have now given an epitome of the history and progress of malignant cholera, from its first appearance in Asia till the period of its ravages in Canada and the United States, at the close of the year 1832. To this history we are induced to add some medicotopographical reflections, suggested by our own observations on this singular malady.

The prominent characteristic of this malady will not justify the name by which it is distinguished, of *CHOLERA*. The definition of that term implies a morbid bilious secretion, exciting irritation, and griping pains in the intestines, with their concomitant symptoms, vomiting, and purging of coloured, fetid ejections. In the disease under consideration, there is at least a deficiency, if not in all cases a total want, of bile. Its symptoms are summarily these: First, trifling diarrhœa, varying in duration from several days down to a few hours only; then nausea, vomiting, and increase of diarrhœa. Second, a slight blueness of the hands and face, sometimes accompanied by distressing sensation of the chest, followed by vomiting and diarrhœa—dejections being watery, flaky, and light coloured, having almost invariably the appearance of rice water, and unmingled with fetid excrements. Third, cramps in the limbs, blueness extending over the whole trunk, countenance cadaverous, skin and perspiration cold; as also are the breath and tongue; the voice broken to a whisper, and a burning thirst. These constituted the severer cases, which terminated in death from three to twelve hours. Numerous were the cases where there was neither vomiting, purging, nor spasms, and yet they hurried rapidly to a fatal termination.

It is remarked by all writers, foreign and domestic, on this disease, that it always appeared in cities and towns lying on, or in, the immediate vicinity of lakes or rivers; that in its progress from district to district, its course was marked over alluvial soil; and, we believe, in no instance on high ground, where the formation was either primary or secondary. Hence, whatever may be its cause, or the nature of the *miasm* by which it is engendered, it is only to be found in alluvial formations. In the United States, and in the British American provinces, this has been exemplified beyond a doubt. The disease has, we believe, invariably occurred on alluvial soils, and followed the course of rivers or large streams; not, as has been imagined, by transportation through infected emigrants, or by those who had been exposed in previously infected places; but because such locations only became susceptible to its infecting influence.

Without endeavouring to be minutely particular in our proofs that the disease belongs wholly to alluvial situations, we need only to remark, first, its limitations in Canada, and in the middle, southern, and western states, to lakes, rivers, and streams; and, secondly, to the almost total exemption of our six eastern states, as well as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, because nearly all that portion of America is of primary and secondary formation. We therefore have reason to believe, that the *miasm* of this disease, as well as that of yellow fever and plague, can not exist or propagate in districts of primary or secondary formations.

As to the *miasm*, or deadly poison, which invades the system, and is the primary cause of sickness and of death in this, as well as in other infectious diseases, it has ever been, and probably ever will be, inscrutable by the ingenuity of man. We know that it exists, only from its effects on our systems; but the material constituting its ærial substance, must for ever remain a mystery.

We may theorize, hypothesize, and analogize, but we can never arrive with certainty at the goal of discovery. We would, however, by no means, discourage the inquirer, who may, by analogy, approach the truth, though unable to establish the fact. It is possible even that he may thus strike on the very cause itself; yet its proof must ever remain doubtful. Whatever it be, and however palpable to our senses, yet it would be in vain to contend against it. All that man can do, is to avoid its baleful influence, by a removal from within its atmosphere. He can not prevent or counteract the coming storm, or the dreadful sirocco; he can only seek refuge from the irresistible power of the one, or the malign influence of the other.

The most plausible, if not the most reasonable hypothesis, and the best supported by analogical arguments, is that of the learned professor, Doctor Mojon, of Italy, whose philosophic mind prompted him, at the hazard of his life, to visit Paris, and attend the hospitals during the epidemic, for the sole purpose of investigating the nature and character of the disease. This hypothesis does not embrace, distinctly, either the ærial, aquatic, or tellurian theory; but comprehends what may have an affinity with either, or may be the result of a combination of all. It is the doctrine of *animaculæ*. If we were to adopt for ourselves any one hypothesis as preferable to, or more rational than another, it would be the animalcular. This idea is not so novel, nor so widely speculative, as many seem to imagine. There lies now before us a catalogue of twenty-four names of both ancient and modern authors of historical reputation, quoted as advocates of the doctrine that animalculæ are productive of both contagious and infectious diseases. Amongst these are Varro, Lucretius, Columella, Vitruvius, Kircher, Fabre, Linnæus, Hautmann, Plenitz, Dessault, Acerbi, Hahnemann, La Motte, Neal, &c. Its discussion, however, would be out of place here, and we must refer the inquisitive reader to Dr. Mojon's treatise on cholera, for the rationale of his doctrine.

However remote from our research may be the first cause of the malady, we may approach at least to a consideration of its effects, as manifested by its premonitory and subsequent symptoms.

Speculations on the effects of unknown causes, are at all times but an exercise of ingenuity in our profession. However, when we can not agree upon the effects themselves, and make even these bend to adopted or preconceived systems or opinions, we are constantly exposed to dangerous inferences, and to fatal results.

To investigate the nature of this disease, and to learn the first effects the *miasm* has produced on the constitution, we should select, for *post mortem* examination, such subjects as were temperate in their habits, and apparently in good health when first attacked by the malady. The most correct and numerous of those examinations have been made in the hospitals at Paris, by physicians devoted to the sciences, and in whose accuracy there need be no doubt.

In such cases, the *brain* will be found sound, or little altered; the *lungs* sound; the *heart*, and first portion of the blood vessels, filled with black, liquid blood; *stomach* containing a quantity of gray coloured fluid; *bladder* empty and contracted; *liver* sound, and free from blood; *gall bladder* containing the usual quantity of bile, of a dark colour; *abdominal viscera* sound; no signs of inflammation. ~~not~~

larly by Colonel Hayne, a senator from South Carolina, on the one side, and by Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, on the other."

derangement of the internal organs, either of the abdominal viscera, of the stomach, or of the brain. The veins are, however, overloaded with a dark coloured blood, in some parts approaching ink in its appearance. In some cases, the heart, as well as the smaller arteries, are found surcharged with blood, presenting the same colour as that found in the veins.

From all that we have been able to learn, there appears to be a general, if not a unanimous conviction, that there is in this disease a torpid state of the biliary organs, which render them insufficient to furnish the common quantity or quality of bile for the purpose of assimilating the digested mass of food into its elementary portions. This fact has led us to form a hypothesis on the cause of the deterioration of the blood, so remarkably characteristic of this disease.

Our present opinion, we frankly confess, does not, in every respect, accord with that which we adopted in the early period of the epidemic, respecting the existence of an acrid secretion from the biliary ducts, producing the phenomena consequent to an attack. But, for our hypothesis.

CHYME, we know to be the ingested mass of food which passes from the stomach into the duodenum, or first intestine, and from which the *chyle* is prepared in the small intestines by the admixture of the bile.

CHYLE is the milk-like liquor observable some hours after eating, in the *lacteal* vessels, and in the thoracic duct. It is separated, by digestion, from the chyme, and is that fluid substance from which the blood is formed. The lacteal vessels are most numerous in the duodenum, whence, after chylification, the residual mass, with the bile, is propelled into the large intestines, and become alvine.

The *chyle* enters into the blood in so pure and unmixed a state, that it is occasionally seen swimming on it if a vein be opened some hours after eating. In the thoracic duct it is mixed with albuminous and gelatinous lymph. Its use is to supply the matter from which the blood and other fluids of the body are prepared, and from which fluids the solid parts are formed.

From the nature and uses of chyme and of chyle, we are led to believe that *that* cause, which will, or does, weaken, or suspend the wonted force and secretory power of that great vascular reservoir of blood, the *liver*, also leads to a diminution in quantity, if not to a change in quality, of that important secretion called bile.

It must appear evident, from what we have stated above, that the presence of *chyle* is essential to the process of sanguification, or the formation of the blood, and consequently to the sustenance of its vitality and purity, and to the support of the animal functions. Deprive the blood of chyle but for a short time, and a change, or a want of healthy action, must necessarily ensue; but, cut off its source for a few hours, and an utter deterioration of the blood follows, and death becomes inevitable.

Among the causes that will produce this state of the biliary organs, and their consequent effects, there are some of which we are ignorant, but a few are well known. Among the former is that peculiar constitutional aptitude in the prevailing condition of the human system which has rendered it liable to *this* epidemic, as it does to all other epidemics. Among the latter or *known* causes, are fear, apprehension, anxiety. Their effects on the nervous and vascular systems, are too familiar to the common observer to require any physiological comments. The brain, the bowels, the heart, and the secretory vessels, bear daily witness to their influence, and submit to it in many instances, with startling celerity.

Paleness, or a recess of blood from the surface; a general sense of debility, almost to prostration; tremor; a languid circulation and feeble action of the heart: are all, the instantaneous results of fear. We need not carry the effects of enervating causes any farther to prove the strong analogy which such a state of the system bears to the effects of that other and unknown cause, whatever it may be, which induces the premonitory symptoms of cholera. We shall, at all events, endeavour to prove that the effects are the same in the progressive stages of the disease.

CHYME, it appears, cannot part with its chyle without the inter-

The attention of the people was attracted by this discussion, and an immense majority of them were decidedly against the doctrines avowed by Carolina.

vention of a suitable quantity of bile to aid its separation. Bile being deficient in consequence of the torpidity of the biliary organs, it results, that little or no chyle is furnished to the blood. Chyme, unmixed with bile, is naturally of a grayish or light colour, and would pass off by stool or ejection without any other change than its admixture with the common secretions of the intestinal canal, or with the watery fluids taken into the stomach. *On this principle, then, we account for the colourless or rice-water discharges from the stomach and bowels.*

If, therefore, it is a fact, (and we believe it is now universally admitted,) that there is a deficiency of bile in this disease, and a consequent failure of chylification, we cannot be at a loss to account for the deterioration of the blood. By abstracting chyle, you deprive it of its pabulum. It becomes diseased, dissolved, decomposed, disoxygenated, corrupted. The feeble action of the arterial system denotes its lost power over the heart, and analysis has proved its degeneracy.

It seems to be generally admitted among practitioners of medicine, that in this disease, when the discharges have assumed a dark or coloured appearance, their patient may be considered safe. We believe it; for they evince, that some natural or artificial power has roused the liver and gall bladder from their sluggish and dormant state.

The sudden and rapid progress of this malady forbids us to hope much from the "*vis medicatrix nature*," or power of nature. The frequent suddenness of its attack, the rapid disorganization and dissolution of the blood, the consequent deathlike prostration, and the livid hue of the surface and extremities, call for the most prompt and energetic means at our command. The only remedial agent that appears to us as inductive to such a result, is *vomits*. These not only produce a salutary revulsion throughout the whole vascular system, but, from their mechanical effect on the liver by means of the oppressive constrictions of the abdominal muscles, cause it to disgorge its contents, and relieve its congestion. Hence, as we have repeatedly observed, immediately after the operation of an emetic in the forming, or in the full state of *collapse*, as it is termed, a change of colour and of material is induced in the discharges from the bowels, a cessation of spontaneous vomiting, purging, and cramps, and the cure is accomplished by the exhibition of one or more doses of calomel.

* As this question was so fully discussed and explained in the speeches of these gentlemen, we are induced to insert them, it being impossible to give an abridgment that would present a clear view of the subject.

When I took occasion, (said Mr. Hayne,) two days ago, to throw out some ideas with respect to the policy of the government, in relation to the public lands, nothing certainly could have been further from my thoughts, than that I should be compelled again to throw myself upon the indulgence of the senate. Little did I expect to be called upon to meet such an argument as was yesterday urged by the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Webster.) Sir, I questioned no man's opinions; I impeached no man's motives; I charged no party, or state, or section of country, with hostility to any other, but ventured, I thought, in a becoming spirit, to put forth my own sentiments in relation to a great national question of public policy. Such was my course. The gentleman from Missouri, (Mr. Benton,) it is true, had charged upon the eastern states an early and continued hostility towards the west, and referred to a number of historical facts and documents in support of that charge. Now, sir, how have these different arguments been met? The honourable gentleman from Massachusetts, after deliberating a whole night upon his course, comes into this chamber to vindicate New England; and instead of making up his issue with the gentleman from Missouri, on the charges which *he had preferred*, chooses to consider me as the author of those charges, and losing sight entirely of that gentleman, selects me as his adversary, and pours out all the vitals of his mighty wrath upon my devoted head. Nor is he willing to stop here. He goes on to assail the institutions and policy of the south, and calls in question the principles and conduct of the state which

Although the state of South Carolina assumed an attitude of defiance, President Jackson at once took a most decided course. He was supported by the great

I have the honour to represent. When I find a gentleman of mature age and experience—of acknowledged talents and profound sagacity—pursuing a course like this, declining the contest offered from the west, and making war upon the unoffending south, I must believe, I am bound to believe, he has some object in view that he has not ventured to disclose. Mr. President, why is this? Has the gentleman discovered, in former controversies with the gentleman from Missouri, that he is overmatched by that senator? And does he hope for an easy victory over a more feeble adversary? Has the gentleman's distempered fancy been disturbed by gloomy forebodings of "new alliances to be formed," at which he hinted? Has the ghost of the murdered *coalition* come back, like the ghost of Banquo, to "sear the eye-balls of the gentleman," and will it not 'down at his bidding'? Are dark visions of broken hopes, and honours lost for ever, still floating before his heated imagination? Sir, if it be his object to thrust me between the gentleman from Missouri and himself, in order to rescue the east from the contest it has provoked with the west, he shall not be gratified. Sir, I will not be dragged into the defence of my friend from Missouri. The south shall not be forced into a conflict not its own. The gentleman from Missouri is able to fight his own battles. The gallant west needs no aid from the south, to repel any attack which may be made on them from any quarter. Let the gentleman from Massachusetts controvert the facts and arguments of the gentleman from Missouri, if he can; and if he win the victory, let him wear its honours: I shall not deprive him of his laurels.

The gentleman from Massachusetts, in reply to my remarks on the injurious operation of our land system on the prosperity of the west, pronounced an extravagant eulogium on the paternal care which the government had extended towards the west, to which he attributed all that was great and excellent in the present condition of the new states. The language of the gentleman, on this topic, fell upon my ears like the almost forgotten tones of the tory leaders of the British parliament, at the commencement of the American revolution. They, too, discovered, that the colonies had grown great under the fostering care of the mother country; and I must confess, while listening to the gentleman, I thought the appropriate reply to his argument, was to be found in the remark of a celebrated orator, made on that occasion: "They had grown great in spite of your protection."

The gentleman, in commenting on the policy of the government, in relation to the new states, has introduced to our notice a certain Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, to whom he attributes the celebrated ordinance of '87, by which he tells us, "*slavery* was for ever excluded from the new states north of the Ohio." After eulogizing the wisdom of this provision, in terms of the most extravagant praise, he breaks forth in admiration of the greatness of Nathan Dane; and great, indeed, he must be, if it be true, as stated by the senator from Massachusetts, that "he was greater than Solon and Lycurgus, Minos, Numa Pompilius, and all the legislators and philosophers of the world," ancient and modern. Sir, to such high authority, it is certainly my duty, in a becoming spirit of humility, to submit. And yet, the gentleman will pardon me, when I say, that it is a little unfortunate for the fame of this great legislator, that the gentleman from Missouri should have proved, that he was not the author of the ordinance of '87, on which the senator from Massachusetts has reared so glorious a monument to his name. Sir, I doubt not the senator will feel some compassion for our ignorance, when I tell him, that so little are we acquainted with the modern great men of New England, that until he informed us yesterday that we possessed a Solon and a Lycurgus, in the person of Nathan Dane, he was only known to the south as a member of a celebrated assembly, called and known by the name of "the Hartford Convention." In the proceedings of that assembly, which I hold in my hand, (at page 19,) will be found, in a few lines, the history of Nathan Dane; and a little further on, there is conclusive evidence of that ardent devotion to the interests of the new states, which it seems has given him a just claim to the

body of the people. He issued a proclamation which we shall insert, fraught with all the sound doctrines of the old school. This manly, bold, and

title of "father of the west." By the second resolution of the "Hartford Convention," it is declared, "that it is expedient to attempt to make provision for restraining congress in the exercise of an unlimited power to make new states, and admitting them into the union." So much for Nathan Dane, of Beverly, Massachusetts.

In commenting upon my views in relation to the public lands, the gentleman insists, that it being one of the conditions of the grants that these lands should be applied to "the common benefit of all the states, they must always remain a fund for revenue;" and adds, "they must be treated as so much treasure." Sir, the gentleman could hardly find language strong enough, to convey his disapprobation of the policy which I had ventured to recommend to the favourable consideration of the country. And what, sir, was that policy, and what is the difference between that gentleman and myself, on this subject? I threw out the idea, that the public lands ought not to be reserved for ever as "a great fund for revenue;" that they ought not to be "treated as a great treasure;" but that the course of our policy should rather be directed towards the creation of new states, and building up great and flourishing communities.

Now, sir, will it be believed by those who now hear me, and who listened to the gentleman's denunciation of my doctrines yesterday, that a book then lay open before him—nay, that he held it in his hand, and read from it certain passages of his own speech, delivered to the house of representatives in 1825, in which speech he himself contended for the very doctrines I had advocated, and almost in the same terms. Here is the speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster, contained in the first volume of Gales and Seaton's Register of Debates, (p. 251,) delivered in the house of representatives on the 18th of January, 1825, in a debate on the *Cumberland road*—the very debate from which the senator read yesterday. I shall read from this celebrated speech two passages, from which it will appear, that, both as to the *past* and the *future policy* of the government, in relation to the public lands, the gentleman from Massachusetts maintained, in 1825, substantially the same opinions which I have advanced; but, which he now strongly reprobates. I said, sir, that the system of *credit sales*, by which the west had been kept constantly in debt to the United States, and by which their wealth was drained off, to be expended elsewhere, had operated injuriously on their prosperity. On this point, the gentleman from Massachusetts, in January, 1825, expressed himself thus: "There could be no doubt, if gentlemen looked at the money received into the treasury from the sale of the public lands to the west, and then looked to the whole amount expended by government, (even including the whole amount of what was laid out for the army,) the latter must be allowed to be very inconsiderable, and there must be a constant drain of money from the west to pay for the public lands. It might, indeed, be said, that this was no more than the refluxence of capital which had previously gone over the mountains. Be it so. Still its practical effect was to produce inconvenience, if not distress, by absorbing the money of the people."

I contended, that the public lands ought not to be treated merely as "a fund for revenue;" that they ought not to be hoarded "as a great treasure." On this point, the senator expressed himself thus: "Government, I believe, has received eighteen or twenty millions of dollars from the public lands, and it is with the greatest satisfaction I advert to the change which has been introduced in the mode of paying for them; yet I can never think the national domain is to be regarded as any great source of revenue. The great object of the government in respect to these lands, was not so much the money derived from their sale, as it was the getting them settled. What I mean to say is, I do not think they ought to hug that domain as a GREAT TREASURE, which is to enrich the exchequer."

Now, Mr. President, it will be seen that the very doctrines which the gentleman so indignantly abandons, were urged by him in 1825; and if I had actually borrowed my sentiments from those which he then avowed, I could not have followed more closely in his footsteps. Sir, it is only since the gentleman quoted this book, yesterday, that my attention has been turned to the sentiments he

decided course, made him tenfold more popular than before.

"Whereas, a convention assembled in the state of

expressed in 1825; and, if I had remembered them, I might possibly have been deterred from uttering sentiments here, which it might well be supposed I had borrowed from that gentleman.

In 1825, the gentleman told the world, that the public lands "ought not to be treated as a treasure." He now tells us, that "they must be treated as so much treasure." What the deliberate opinion of the gentleman on this subject may be, belongs not to me to determine; but, I do not think he can, with the shadow of justice or propriety, impugn my sentiments, while his own recorded opinions are identical with my own. When the gentleman refers to the conditions of the grants under which the United States have acquired these lands, and insists that, as they are declared to be "for the common benefit of all the states," they can only be treated as so much treasure, I think he has applied a rule of construction too narrow for the case. If, in the deeds of cession, it has been declared that the grants were intended for "the common benefit of all the states," it is clear, from other provisions, that they were not intended merely as *so much property*; for, it is expressly declared, that the object of the grants is the erection of new states; and the United States, in accepting the trust, bind themselves to facilitate the foundation of these states, to be admitted into the union with all the rights and privileges of the original states. This, sir, was the great end to which all parties looked, and it is by the fulfilment of this high trust, that "the common benefit of all the states" is to be best promoted. Sir, let me tell the gentleman, that in the part of the country in which I live, we do not measure political benefits by the *money standard*. We consider as more valuable than gold, liberty, principle, and justice. But, sir, if we are bound to act on the narrow principles contended for by the gentleman, I am wholly at a loss to conceive how he can reconcile his principles with his own practice. The lands are, it seems, to be treated "as so much treasure," and must be applied to the "common benefit of all the states." Now, if this be so, whence does he derive the right to appropriate them for partial and local objects? How can the gentleman consent to vote away immense bodies of these lands, for canals in Indiana and Illinois, to the Louisville and Portland canal, to Kenyon college, in Ohio, to schools for the deaf and dumb, and other objects of a similar description? If grants of this character can fairly be considered as made "for the common benefit of all the states," it can only be, because all the states are interested in the welfare of each—a principle which, carried to the full extent, destroys all distinction between local and national objects; and is certainly *broad enough* to embrace the principles for which I have ventured to contend. Sir, the true difference between us, I take to be this: the gentleman wishes to treat the public lands as a great treasure, just as so much money in the treasury, to be applied to all objects, constitutional and unconstitutional, to which the public money is now constantly applied. I consider it as a sacred trust, which we ought to fulfil, on the principles for which I have contended.

The senator from Massachusetts has thought proper to present, in strong contrast, the friendly feelings of the east towards the west, with sentiments of an opposite character displayed by the south in relation to appropriations for *internal improvement*. Now, sir, let it be recollected, that the south have made no professions; I have certainly made none in their behalf, of regard for the west. It has been reserved to the gentleman from Massachusetts, while he vaunts his own personal devotion to western interests, to claim for the entire section of country to which he belongs, an ardent friendship for the west, as manifested by their support of the system of internal improvement, while he casts in our teeth the reproach, that the south has manifested hostility to western interests, in opposing appropriations for such objects. That gentleman, at the same time, acknowledged that the south entertains *constitutional scruples* on this subject. Are we then, sir, to understand, that the gentleman considers it a just subject of reproach, that we respect our oaths, by which we are bound "to preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States?" Would the gentleman have as manifest our love to the west, by trampling under foot our con-

South Carolina, have passed an ordinance, by which they declare, "That the several acts and parts of acts of the congress of the United States, purporting to

stitutional scruples? Does he not perceive, that if the south is to be *reproached* with unkindness to the west, in voting against appropriations, which the gentleman admits they could not vote for without doing violence to their constitutional opinions, that he exposes himself to the question, whether, if he was in our situation, he could vote for these appropriations, regardless of his scruples? No, sir, I will not do the gentleman so great injustice. He has fallen into this error from not having duly weighed the force and effect of the reproach which he was endeavouring to cast upon the south. In relation to the other point, the friendship manifested by New England towards the west, in their support of the system of internal improvement, the gentleman will pardon me for saying, that I think he is equally unfortunate in having introduced that topic. As that gentleman has forced it upon us, however, I can not suffer it to pass unnoticed. When the gentleman tells us, that the appropriations for internal improvement in the west, would, in almost every instance, have failed, but for New England votes, he has forgotten to tell us the *when*, the *how*, and the *wherefore*, this new-born zeal for the west sprung up in the bosom of New England. If we look back only a few years, we will find, in both houses of congress, a uniform and steady opposition, on the part of the members from the eastern states, generally, to all appropriations of this character. At the time I became a member of this house, and for some time afterwards, a decided majority of the New England senators were opposed to the very measures which the senator from Massachusetts tells us they now cordially support. Sir, the journals are before me, and an examination of them will satisfy every gentleman of that fact.

It must be well known to every one whose experience dates back as far as 1825, that up to a *certain period*, New England was generally opposed to appropriations for internal improvements in the west. The gentleman from Massachusetts may be himself an exception; but if he went for the system before 1825, it is certain that his colleagues did not go with him. In the session of 1824 and '25, however, (a memorable era in the history of this country,) a wonderful change took place in New England, in relation to western interests. Sir, an extraordinary union of sympathies and of interests was then effected, which brought the east and the west into close alliance. The book from which I have before read, contains the first public announcement of that happy reconciliation of conflicting interests, personal and political, which brought the east and west together, and locked in a fraternal embrace the two great orators of the east and the west. Sir, it was on the 18th of January, 1825, while the result of the presidential election, in the house of representatives, was still doubtful, while the whole country was looking with intense anxiety to that legislative hall, where the mighty drama was so soon to be acted, that we saw the leaders of two great parties in the house and in the nation, "taking sweet counsel together," and in a celebrated debate on the *Cumberland road*, fighting side by side for *western interests*. It was on that memorable occasion that the senator from Massachusetts *held out the white flag to the west*, and uttered those liberal sentiments, which he yesterday so indignantly repudiated. Then it was, that that happy union, between the members of the celebrated *coalition*, was consummated, whose immediate issue was a president from *one quarter of the union*, with the succession (as it was supposed) *secured to another*. The "American system," before a rude, disjointed, and misshapen mass, now assumed form and consistency: then it was, that it became "the settled policy of the government," that this system should be so administered as to create a reciprocity of interests, and a reciprocal distribution of government favours, east and west, (the tariff and internal improvements,) while the south—yes, sir, the impracticable south—was to be "out of your protection." The gentleman may boast as much as he pleases of the friendship of New England for the west, as displayed in their support of internal improvement; but, when he next introduces that topic, I trust that he will tell us *when* that friendship commenced, *how* it was brought about, and *why* it was established. Before I leave this topic, I must be permitted to say, that the true character

be laws for the imposing of duties and imposts on the importation of foreign commodities, and now having actual operation and effect within the United States,

of the policy now pursued by the gentleman from Massachusetts and his friends, in relation to appropriations of land and money, for the benefit of the west, is, in my estimation, very similar to that pursued by Jacob of old towards his brother Esau—"it robs them of their birthright for a mess of pottage."

The gentleman from Massachusetts, in alluding to a remark of mine, that, before any disposition could be made of the public lands, the *national debt* (for which they stand pledged) must be first paid, took occasion to intimate, "that the *extraordinary fervour* which seems to exist in a *certain quarter*, [meaning the south, sir,] for the payment of the debt, arises from a disposition to *weaken the ties which bind the people to the union*." While the gentleman deals us this blow, he professes an ardent desire to see the debt speedily extinguished. He must excuse me, however, for feeling some distrust on that subject, until I find this disposition manifested by something stronger than professions. I shall look for acts, decided and unequivocal acts; for the performance of which an opportunity will very soon (if I am not greatly mistaken) be afforded. Sir, if I were at liberty to judge of the course which that gentleman would pursue, from the principles which he has laid down in relation to this matter, I should be bound to conclude, that he will be found acting with those with whom it is a darling object to prevent the payment of the public debt. He tells us he is desirous of paying the debt, "because we are under an *obligation* to discharge it." Now, sir, suppose it should happen that the public creditors, with whom we have contracted the obligation, should release us from it, so far as to declare their willingness to wait for payment for fifty years to come, provided only, the interest shall be punctually discharged. The gentleman from Massachusetts will then be released from the obligation which now makes him desirous of paying the debt; and, let me tell the gentleman, the holders of the stock will not only release us from this obligation, but they will implore, nay, they will even *pay us* not to pay them. But, adds the gentleman, "so far as the debt may have an effect in binding the creditors to the country, and thereby serving as a link to hold the states together, he would be glad that it should exist for ever." Surely, then, sir, on the gentleman's own principles, he must be opposed to the payment of the debt.

Sir, let me tell that gentleman, that the south repudiates the idea that a *pecuniary dependence* on the federal government is one of the legitimate means of holding the states together. A monied interest in the government is essentially a *base interest*; and just so far as it operates to bind the feelings of those who are subjected to it, to the government; just so far as it operates in creating sympathies and interests that would not otherwise exist, is it opposed to all the principles of free government, and at war with virtue and patriotism. Sir, the link which binds the public creditors, *as such*, to their country, binds them equally to all governments, whether arbitrary or free. In a free government, this principle of abject dependance, if extended through all the ramifications of society, must be fatal to liberty. Already have we made alarming strides in that direction. The entire class of manufacturers, the holders of stocks, with their hundreds of millions of capital, are held to the government by the strong link of *pecuniary interests*; millions of people—entire sections of country, interested, or believing themselves to be so, in the public lands, and the public treasure, are bound to the government by the expectation of *pecuniary favours*. If this system is carried much further, no man can fail to see, that every generous motive of attachment to the country will be destroyed, and in its place will spring up those low, grovelling, base, and selfish feelings, which bind men to the footstool of a despot, by bonds as strong and as enduring as those which attach them to free institutions. Sir, I would lay the foundation of this government in the affections of the people; I would teach them to cling to it, by dispensing equal justice, and, above all, by securing the "blessings of liberty" to "themselves, and to their posterity."

The honourable gentleman from Massachusetts has gone out of his way, to pass a high eulogium on the state of Ohio. In the most impassioned tones of eloquence, he described her majestic march

and more especially two acts for the same purposes, passed on the 29th of May, 1828, and on the 14th of July, 1832, are 'unauthorized by the Constitution of

to greatness. He told us, that having already left all the other states far behind, she was now passing by Virginia and Pennsylvania, and about to take her station by the side of New York. To all this, sir, I was disposed most cordially to respond. When, however, the gentleman proceeded to contrast the state of Ohio with Kentucky, to the disadvantage of the latter, I listened to him with regret; and when he proceeded further to attribute the great, and, as he supposed, acknowledged superiority of the former in population, wealth, and general prosperity, to the policy of Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, which had secured to the people of Ohio (by the ordinance of '87) a *population of freemen*, I will confess, that my feelings suffered a revulsion, which I am now unable to describe, in any language sufficiently respectful towards the gentleman from Massachusetts. In contrasting the state of Ohio with Kentucky, for the purpose of pointing out the *superiority of the former*, and of attributing that superiority to the *existence of slavery* in the one state, and its absence in the other, I thought I could discern the *very spirit of the Missouri question* intruded into this debate, for objects best known to the gentleman himself. Did that gentleman, sir, when he formed the determination to cross the southern border, in order to invade the state of South Carolina, deem it prudent or necessary to enlist under his banners the *prejudices of the world*, which, like *Swiss troops*, may be engaged in any cause, and are prepared to serve under any leader? Did he desire to avail himself of those remorseless allies, the *passions of mankind*, of which it may be more truly said, than of the savage tribes of the wilderness, "that their known rule of warfare is an indiscriminate slaughter of all ages, sexes, and conditions?" Or was it supposed, sir, that in a premeditated and unprovoked attack upon the south, it was advisable to begin by a gentle admonition of our *supposed weakness*, in order to prevent us from making that firm and manly resistance due to our own character, and our dearest interests? Was the *significant hint* of the *weakness of slave-holding states*, when contrasted with the *superior strength of free states*, like the glare of the weapon half drawn from its scabbard, intended to enforce the lessons of prudence and of patriotism, which the gentleman had resolved, out of his abundant generosity, gratuitously to bestow upon us? Mr. President, the impression which has gone abroad, of the *weakness of the south*, as connected with the *slave question*, exposes us to such constant attacks, has done us so much injury, and is calculated to produce such infinite mischiefs, that I embrace the occasion presented by the remarks of the gentleman of Massachusetts, to declare, that we are ready to meet the question promptly, and fearlessly. It is one from which we are not disposed to shrink, in whatever form, or under whatever circumstances it may be pressed upon us. We are ready to make up the issue with the gentleman, as to the influence of slavery on individual and national character—on the prosperity and greatness, either of the United States, or of particular states. Sir, when arraigned before the bar of public opinion, on this charge of slavery, we can stand up with conscious rectitude, plead not guilty, and put ourselves upon God and our country. Sir, we will not consent to look at slavery in the abstract. We will not stop to inquire whether the black man, as some philosophers have contended, is of an inferior race, nor whether his colour and condition are the effects of a curse inflicted for the offences of his ancestors? We deal in no *abstractions*. We will not look back to inquire, whether our fathers were guiltless in introducing slaves into this country? If an inquiry should ever be instituted in these matters, however, it will be found that the profits of the slave trade were not confined to the south. Southern ships and southern sailors were not the instruments of bringing slaves to the shores of America, nor did our merchants reap the profits of that "accursed traffic." But, sir, we will pass over all this. If slavery, as it now exists in this country, be an evil, we of the present day found it *ready made to our hands*. Finding our lot cast among a people, whom God had manifestly committed to our care, we did not sit down to speculate on abstract questions of theoretical liberty. We met it as a practical question of *obligation and duty*. We resolved to make the best of the situa-

the United States, and violate the true meaning and intent thereof, and are null and void, and no law, nor binding on the citizens of that state or its officers :

tion in which Providence had placed us, and to fulfil the high trust which had devolved upon us as the owners of slaves, in the only way in which such a trust could be fulfilled, without spreading misery and ruin throughout the land. We found that we had to deal with a people whose physical, moral, and intellectual habits and character, totally disqualified them from the enjoyment of the blessings of freedom. We could not send them back to the shores from whence their fathers had been taken; their numbers forbade the thought, even if we did not know that their condition here is infinitely preferable to what it possibly could be among the barren sands and savage tribes of Africa; and it was wholly irreconcilable with all our notions of humanity to tear asunder the tender ties which they had formed among us, to gratify the feelings of a false philanthropy. What a commentary on the wisdom, justice, and humanity of the southern slave owner is presented by the example of certain benevolent associations and charitable individuals *elsewhere*. Shedding weak tears over sufferings which had existence only in their own sickly imaginations, these "friends of humanity" set themselves systematically to work to seduce the slaves of the south from their masters. By means of missionaries and political tracts, the scheme was in a great measure successful. Thousands of these deluded victims of fanaticism were seduced into the enjoyment of freedom in our northern cities. And what has been the consequence? Go to these cities now, and ask the question. Visit the dark and narrow lanes, and obscure recesses which have been assigned by common consent as the abodes of those outcasts of the world—the free people of colour. Sir, there does not exist, on the face of the whole earth, a population so poor, so wretched, so vile, so loathsome, so utterly destitute of all the comforts, conveniences, and decencies of life, as the unfortunate blacks of Philadelphia, and New York, and Boston. Liberty has been to them the greatest of calamities, the heaviest of curses. Sir, I have had some opportunities of making comparisons between the condition of the free negroes of the north, and the slaves of the south, and the comparison has left not only an indelible impression of the superior advantages of the latter, but has gone far to reconcile me to slavery itself. Never have I felt so forcibly that touching description, "the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the son of man hath not where to lay his head," as when I have seen this unhappy race, naked and houseless, almost starving in the streets, and abandoned by all the world. Sir, I have seen in the neighbourhood of one of the most moral, religious, and refined cities of the north, a family of free blacks, driven to the caves of the rock, and there obtaining a precarious subsistence from charity and plunder.

When the gentleman from Massachusetts adopts and reiterates the old charge of weakness as resulting from slavery, I must be permitted to call for the proof of those blighting effects which he ascribes to its influence. I suspect, that when the subject is closely examined, it will be found that there is not much force even in the plausible objection of the want of physical power in slave-holding states. The power of a country is compounded of its population and its wealth, and, in modern times, where, from the very form and structure of society, by far the greater portion of the people must, even during the continuance of the most desolating wars, be employed in the cultivation of the soil and other peaceful pursuits, it may be well doubted, whether slave-holding states, by reason of the superior value of their productions, are not able to maintain a number of troops in the field, fully equal to what could be supported by states with a larger white population, but not possessed of equal resources.

It is a popular error to suppose that in any possible state of things, the people of a country could ever be called out *en masse*, or that a half, or a third, or even a fifth part of the physical force of any country, could ever be brought into the field. The difficulty is not to procure men, but to provide the means of maintaining them; and in this view of the subject, it may be asked, whether the southern states are not a source of *strength and power*, and not of *weakness* to the country? whether they have not contributed, and are not now contributing, largely to the wealth and prosperity of every state

and by the said Ordinance, it is further declared to be unlawful for any of the constituted authorities of the state, or of the United States, to enforce the pay-

in this union? From a statement which I hold in my hand, it appears that in ten years—from 1818 to 1827, inclusive—the whole amount of the domestic exports of the United States was \$521,811,045. Of which three articles, (*the product of slave labour*), viz. cotton, rice, and tobacco, amounted to \$339,203,232—equal to about two thirds of the whole. It is not true, as has been supposed, that the advantages of this labour are confined almost exclusively to the southern states. Sir, I am thoroughly convinced, that at this time, *the states north of the Potomac, actually derive greater profits from the labour of our slaves, than we do ourselves*. It appears from our public documents, that in seven years, from 1821 to 1827, inclusive, the six southern states exported \$190,337,281, and imported only \$55,646,301. Now the difference between these two sums, (near \$140,000,000,) passed through the hands of the northern merchants, and enabled them to carry on their commercial operations with all the world. Such part of these goods as found its way back to our hands, came charged with the duties, as well as the profits of the merchant, the ship owner, and a host of others, who found employment in carrying on these immense exchanges; and for such part as was consumed at the north, we received in exchange *northern manufactures*, charged with an increased price, to cover all the taxes which the northern consumer had been compelled to pay on the imported article. It will be seen, therefore, at a glance, how much slave labour has contributed to the wealth and prosperity of the United States, and how largely our northern brethren have participated in the profits of that labour. Sir, on this subject I will quote an authority, which will, I doubt not, be considered by the senator from Massachusetts as entitled to high respect. It is from the great father of the "American system," *honest Matthew Carey*—no great friend, it is true, at this time, to southern rights and southern interests, but not the worst authority on that account, *on the point in question*.

Speaking of the *relative importance to the union* of the SOUTHERN and EASTERN STATES, Matthew Carey, in the sixth edition of his *Olive Branch*, (page 278,) after exhibiting a number of statistical tables to show the decided superiority of the former, thus proceeds:

"But I am tired of this investigation—I sicken for the honour of the human species. What idea must the world form of the arrogance of the pretensions on the one side, [the east,] and of the folly and weakness of the rest of the union, to have so long suffered them to pass without exposure and detection. The naked fact is, that the demagogues in the eastern states, not satisfied with *deriving all the benefits from the southern section of the union, that they would from so many wealthy colonies*—with making princely fortunes by the carriage and exportation of its bulky and valuable productions, and *supplying it with their own manufactures*, and the productions of Europe and the East and West Indies, to an enormous amount, and at an immense profit, have uniformly treated it with outrage, insult, and injury. And regardless of their vital interests, the eastern states were lately *courting their own destruction*, by allowing a few restless, turbulent men, to lead them blindfolded to a separation which was pregnant with their certain ruin. Whenever that event takes place, they sink into insignificance. If a separation were desirable to any part of the union, it would be to the middle and southern states, particularly to the latter, who have been so long harassed with the complaints, the restlessness, the turbulence, and the ingratitude of the eastern states, that their patience has been tried almost beyond endurance. '*Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked*;' and he will be severely punished for his kicking, in the event of a dissolution of the union."

Sir, I wish it to be distinctly understood, that I do not adopt these sentiments as my own. I quote them to show that very different sentiments have prevailed in former times, as to the weakness of the slave-holding states, from those which now seem to have become fashionable in certain quarters. I know it has been supposed by certain ill-informed persons, that the south exists only by the countenance and protection of the north. Sir, this is the idlest of all idle and ridiculous fancies, that ever entered into the mind of man. In every state of this union, except one, the free white population actually preponderates; while in the British West India islands,

ment of the duties imposed by the said acts within the same state, and that it is the duty of the legislature to pass such laws as may be necessary to give full effect to the said ordinance.

(where the average white population is *less than ten per cent. of the whole*;) the slaves are kept in entire subjection; it is preposterous to suppose that the southern states could ever find the smallest difficulty in this respect. On this subject, as in all others, we ask nothing of our northern brethren but to "let us alone." Leave us to the undisturbed management of our domestic concerns, and the direction of our own industry, and we will ask no more. Sir, all our difficulties on this subject have arisen from interference from abroad, which has disturbed, and may again disturb, our domestic tranquillity, just so far as to bring down punishment upon the heads of the unfortunate victims of a fanatical and mistaken humanity.

There is a spirit, which, like the father of evil, is constantly "walking to and fro about the earth, seeking whom it may devour;" it is the spirit of FALSE PHILANTHROPY. The persons whom it possesses, do not indeed throw themselves into the flames, but they are employed in lighting up the torches of discord throughout the community. Their first principle of action is to leave their own affairs, and neglect their own duties, to regulate the affairs and the duties of others. Theirs is the task to feed the hungry, and clothe the naked, of other lands, while they thrust the naked, famished, and shivering beggar, from their own doors; to instruct the heathen, while their own children want the bread of life. When this spirit infuses itself into the bosom of a statesman, (if one so possessed can be called a statesman,) it converts him at once into a visionary enthusiast. Then it is, that he indulges in golden dreams of national greatness and prosperity. He discovers that "liberty is power;" and not content with vast schemes of improvement at home, which it would bankrupt the treasury of the world to execute, he flies to foreign lands, to fulfil obligations to "the human race," by inculcating the principles of "political and religious liberty," and promoting the "general welfare" of the whole human race. It is a spirit which has long been busy with the *slaves of the south*, and is even now displaying itself in vain efforts, to drive the government from its wise policy in relation to the *Indians*. It is this spirit which has filled the land with thousands of wild and visionary projects, which can have no effect but to waste the energies and dissipate the resources of the country. It is the spirit of which the aspiring politician dexterously avails himself, when, by inscribing on his banner the magical words, LIBERTY and PHILANTHROPY, he draws to his support that entire class of persons who are ready to bow down at the very names of their idols.

But, sir, whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the effect of slavery on national wealth and prosperity, if we may trust to experience, there can be no doubt, that it has never yet produced any injurious effect on *individual or national character*. Look through the whole history of the country, from the commencement of the revolution down to the present hour; where are there to be found brighter examples of intellectual and moral greatness, than have been exhibited by the sons of the south? From the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, down to the DISTINGUISHED CHIEFTAIN, who has been elevated by a grateful people to the highest office in their gift, the interval is filled up by a long line of orators, of statesmen, and of heroes, justly entitled to rank among the ornaments of their country, and the benefactors of mankind. Look at "the old dominion," great and magnanimous Virginia, "whose jewels are her sons." Is there any state in this union which has contributed so much to the honour and welfare of the country? Sir, I will yield the whole question—I will acknowledge the fatal effects of slavery upon character, if any one can say, that for noble disinterestedness, ardent love of country, exalted virtue, and a pure and holy devotion to liberty, the people of the southern states have ever been surpassed by any in the world. I know, sir, that this devotion to liberty has sometimes been supposed to be at war with our institutions; but it is, in some degree, the result of those very institutions. Burke, the most philosophical of statesmen, as he was the most accomplished of orators, well understood the operation of this principle, in elevating the sentiments and exalting the principles of the people in slave-

"And whereas, by the said ordinance it is further ordained, that in no case of law or equity, decided in the courts of the said state, wherein shall be drawn in question the validity of the said ordinance,

holding states. I will conclude my remarks on this branch of the subject, by reading a few passages from his speech, "on moving his resolutions for conciliation with the colonies, the 22d of March, 1775."

"There is a circumstance attending the southern colonies, which makes the spirit of liberty still more high and haughty than in those to the northward. It is, that in Virginia and the Carolinas they have a *vast multitude of slaves*. Where this is the case, in any part of the world, those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there, as in countries where it is a common blessing, and as broad and general as the air, that it may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks among them like something more noble and liberal. I do not mean, sir, to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has, at least, as much of pride as virtue in it; but I can not alter the nature of man. The fact is so, and these people of the southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty, than those to the northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestors; such, in our days, were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves, who are not slaves themselves. In such a people, the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible."

In the course of my former remarks, Mr. President, I took occasion to deprecate, as one of the greatest of evils, the *consolidation of this government*. The gentleman takes alarm at the sound. "*Consolidation*," like the "*tariff*," grates upon his ear. He tells us, "we have heard much, of late, about consolidation—that it is the rallying word for all who are endeavouring to *weaken the union*, by adding to the power of the states." But consolidation, says the gentleman, was the very object for which the union was formed; and in support of that opinion, he read a passage from the address of the president of the convention to congress, (which he assumes to be authority on his side of the question.) But, sir, the gentleman is mistaken. The object of the framers of the constitution, as disclosed in that address, was not the *consolidation of the government*, but, "the consolidation of the union." It was not to draw power from the states, in order to transfer it to a great national government, but, in the language of the constitution itself, "to form a *more perfect union*;" and by what means? by "establishing justice," "promoting domestic tranquillity," and "securing the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." This is the true reading of the constitution. But according to the gentleman's reading, the object of the constitution was to *consolidate the government*, and the means would seem to be, the promotion of *injustice*, causing domestic discord, and depriving the states and the people "of the blessings of liberty" for ever. The gentleman boasts of belonging to the party of NATIONAL REPUBLICANS! National republicans!—a new name, sir, for a very old thing. The national republicans of the present day were the *federalists* of '98, who became *federal republicans* during the war of 1812, and were *manufactured* into *national republicans* somewhere about the year 1825. As a party, (by whatever name distinguished,) they have always been animated by the same principles, and have kept steadily in view a common object—the *consolidation of the government*.

Sir, the party to which I am proud of having belonged from the very commencement of my political life to the present day, were the *democrats* of '98; *anarchists*, *anti-federalists*, *revolutionists*, I think they were sometimes called. They assumed the name of *democratic republicans* in 1812, and have retained their name and their principles up to the present hour. True to their political faith, they have always, as a party, been in favour of *limitations of power*; they have insisted that all powers not delegated to the federal government are reserved, and have been constantly struggling, as they are now struggling, to preserve the rights of the states, and to prevent them

or of the acts of the legislature that may be passed to give it effect, or of the said laws of the United States, no appeal shall be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States, nor shall any copy of the

from being drawn into the vortex, and swallowed up by one great consolidated government. Sir, any one acquainted with the history of parties in this country, will recognise in the points now in dispute between the senator from Massachusetts and myself, the very grounds which have, from the beginning, divided the two great parties in this country, and which (call these parties by what name you will, and amalgamate them as you may) will divide them for ever. The true distinction between those parties is laid down in a celebrated manifesto issued by the convention of the federalists of Massachusetts, assembled in Boston, in February, 1824, on the occasion of organizing a party opposition to the re-election of Governor Eastis. The gentleman will recognise this as "the Canonical Book of political scripture," and it instructs us, that "when the American colonies redeemed themselves from British bondage, and became so many independent nations, they proposed to form a national union," [not a federal union, sir, but a national union.] "Those who were in favour of a union of the states in this form, became known by the name of federalists; those who wanted no union of the states, or disliked the proposed form of union, became known by the name of anti-federalists. By means which need not be enumerated, the anti-federalists became, after the expiration of twelve years, our national rulers; and, for a period of sixteen years, until the close of Mr. Madison's administration of 1817, continued to exercise the exclusive direction of our public affairs." Here, sir, is the true history of the origin, rise, and progress of the party of national republicans, who date back to the very origin of the government, and who, then as now, chose to consider the constitution as having created not a federal, but a national union, who regarded "consolidation" as no evil, and who, doubtless, consider it "a consummation devoutly to be wished," to build up a great "central government,"—"one and indivisible." Sir, there have existed in every age and every country, two distinct orders of men, the *lovers of freedom*, and the devoted advocates of power. The same great leading principles, modified only by peculiarities of manners, habits, and institutions, divided parties in the ancient republics, animated the *whigs* and *tories* of Great Britain, distinguished in our own times, the *liberals* and *ultras* of France, and may be traced even in the bloody struggles of unhappy Spain. Sir, when the gallant *Riego*, who devoted himself, and all that he possessed, to the liberties of his country, was dragged to the scaffold, followed by the tears and lamentations of every lover of freedom throughout the world, he perished amidst the deafening cries of "long live the absolute king." The people whom I represent, Mr. President, are the descendants of those who brought with them, to this country, as the most precious of their possessions, "an ardent love of liberty," and while that shall be preserved, they will always be found manfully struggling against the consolidation of the government, AS THE WORST OF EVILS.

The senator from Massachusetts, in alluding to the tariff, becomes quite facetious. He tells us, that "he hears of nothing but *tariff, tariff, tariff*, and if a word could be found to rhyme with it, he presumes it would be celebrated in verse, and set to music." Sir, perhaps the gentleman, in *mockery of our complaints*, may be himself disposed to sing the praises of the tariff in doggerel verse, to the tune of "Old Hundred." I am not at all surprised, however, at the aversion of the gentleman to the very name of *tariff*. I doubt not that it must always bring up some very unpleasant recollections to his mind. If I am not greatly mistaken, the senator from Massachusetts was a leading actor at a great meeting got up in Boston, in 1820, against the tariff. It has generally been supposed, that he drew up the resolutions adopted by that meeting, denouncing the tariff system, as unequal, oppressive, and unjust, and, if I am not much mistaken, denying its constitutionality. Certain it is, that the gentleman made a speech on that occasion, in support of those resolutions, denouncing the system in no very measured terms, and, if my memory serves me, calling its constitutionality in question. I regret that I have not been able to lay my hands on those proceed-

record be permitted or allowed for that purpose, and that any person attempting to take such appeal shall be punished as for a contempt of court:

"And, finally, the said ordinance declares, that

ings, but I have seen them, and I can not be mistaken in their character. At that time, sir, the senator from Massachusetts entertained the very sentiments, in relation to the tariff, which the south now entertains. We next find the senator from Massachusetts expressing his opinion on the tariff as a member of the house of representatives from the city of Boston, in 1824. On that occasion, sir, the gentleman assumed a position which commanded the respect and admiration of his country. He stood forth, the powerful and fearless champion of *free trade*. He met in that conflict the advocates of restriction and monopoly, and they "fled from before his face." With a profound sagacity, a fulness of knowledge, and a richness of illustration, that has never been surpassed, he maintained and established the principles of commercial freedom on a foundation never to be shaken. Great indeed was the victory achieved by the gentleman on that occasion; most striking the contrast between the clear, forcible, and convincing arguments by which he carried away the understandings of his hearers, and the narrow views and wretched sophistry of another distinguished orator, who may be truly said to have "held up his farthing candle to the sun." Sir, the senator from Massachusetts, on that, the proudest day of his life, like a mighty giant, bore away upon his shoulders the pillars of the temple of error and delusion, escaping himself unburnt, and leaving his adversaries overwhelmed in its ruins. Then it was that he erected to free trade a beautiful and enduring monument, and "inscribed the marble with his name." Mr. President, it is with pain and regret that I now go forward to the next great era in the political life of that gentleman, when he was found on this floor, supporting, advocating, and finally voting for the tariff of 1828—that "bill of abominations." By that act, sir, the senator from Massachusetts has destroyed the labours of his whole life, and given a wound to the cause of free trade, never to be healed. Sir, when I recollect the position which that gentleman once occupied, and that which he now holds in public estimation, in relation to this subject, it is not at all surprising that the tariff should be hateful to his ears. Sir, if I had erected to my own fame so proud a monument as that which the gentleman built up in 1824, and I could have been tempted to destroy it with my own hands, I should hate the voice that should ring "the accursed tariff" in my ears. I doubt not the gentleman feels very much in relation to the tariff as a certain knight did to "instinct," and with him would be disposed to exclaim,

"Ah, no more of that Hal, an thou lov'st me."

But, Mr. President, to be serious, what are we, of the south, to think of what we have heard this day? The senator from Massachusetts tells us, that the tariff is not an eastern measure, and treats it as if the east had no interest in it. The senator from Missouri insists it is not a western measure, and that it has done no good to the west. The south comes in, and in the most earnest manner represents to you, that this measure, which we are told "is of no value to the east or the west," is "utterly destructive of our interests." We represent to you, that it has spread ruin and devastation through the land, and prostrated our hopes in the dust. We solemnly declare, that we believe the system to be wholly unconstitutional, and a violation of the compact between the states and the union, and our brethren turn a deaf ear to our complaints, and refuse to relieve us from a system "which not enriches them, but makes us poor indeed." Good God! Mr. President, has it come to this? Do gentlemen hold the feelings and wishes of their brethren at so cheap a rate, that they refuse to gratify them at so small a price? Do gentlemen value so lightly the peace and harmony of the country, that they will not yield a measure of this description to the affectionate entreaties and earnest remonstrances of their friends? Do gentlemen estimate the value of the union at so low a price, that they will not even make one effort to bind the states together with the cords of affection? And has it come to this? Is this the spirit in which this government is to be adminis-

the people of South Carolina will maintain the said ordinance at every hazard; and that they will consider the passage of any act by congress abolishing

tered? If so, let me tell gentlemen, the seeds of dissolution are already sown, and our children will reap the bitter fruit.

The honourable gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Webster,) while he exonerates me personally from the charge, intimates that there is a party in the country who are looking to disunion. Sir, if the gentleman had stopped there, the accusation would "have passed by me as the idle wind, which I regard not." But, when he goes on to give to his accusation a local habitation and a name, by quoting the expression of a distinguished citizen of South Carolina, (Dr. Cooper,) "that it was time for the south to calculate the value of the union," and, in the language of the bitterest sarcasm, adds, "surely, then, the union can not last longer than July, 1831," it is impossible to mistake, either the allusion or the object of the gentleman. Now, Mr. President, I call upon every one who hears me to bear witness, that this controversy is not of my seeking. The senate will do me the justice to remember, that at the time this unprovoked and uncalled for attack was made upon the south, not one word had been uttered by me in disparagement of New England, nor had I made the most distant allusion, either to the senator from Massachusetts, or the state he represents. But, sir, that gentleman has thought proper, for purposes best known to himself, to strike the south through me, the most unworthy of her servants. He has crossed the border, he has invaded the state of South Carolina, is making war upon her citizens; and endeavouring to overthrow her principles and her institutions. Sir, when the gentleman provokes me to such a conflict, I meet him at the threshold. I will struggle while I have life, for our altars and our fire-sides, and if God gives me strength, I will drive back the invader discomfited. Nor shall I stop there. If the gentleman provokes the war, he shall have war. Sir, I will not stop at the border, I will carry the war into the enemies' territory, and not consent to lay down my arms, until I shall have obtained "indemnity for the past, and security for the future." It is with unfeigned reluctance, Mr. President, that I enter upon the performance of this part of my duty. I shrink almost instinctively from a course, however necessary, which may have a tendency to excite sectional feelings, and sectional jealousies. But, sir, the task has been forced upon me, and I proceed right onward to the performance of my duty; be the consequences what they may, the responsibility is with those who have imposed upon me this necessity. The senator from Massachusetts has thought proper to cast the first stone, and if he shall find, according to a homely adage, "that he lives in a glass house," on his head be the consequences. The gentleman has made a great flourish about his fidelity to Massachusetts. I shall make no professions of zeal for the interests and honour of South Carolina—of that my constituents shall judge. If there be one state in this union, Mr. President, (and I say it not in a boastful spirit,) that may challenge comparison with any other, for a uniform, zealous, ardent, and *uncalculating devotion* to the union, that state is South Carolina. Sir, from the very commencement of the revolution, up to this hour, there is no sacrifice, however great, she has not cheerfully made; no service she has ever hesitated to perform. She has adhered to you in your prosperity, but in your adversity, she has clung to you with more than filial affection. No matter what was the condition of her domestic affairs, though deprived of her resources, divided by parties, or surrounded by difficulties, the call of the country has been to her as the voice of God. Domestic discord ceased at the sound; every man became at once reconciled to his brethren, and the sons of Carolina were all seen crowding together on the temple, bringing their gifts to the altar of their common country. What, sir, was the conduct of the south during the revolution? Sir, I honour New England for her conduct in that glorious struggle. But great as is the praise which belongs to her, I think at least equal honour is due to the south. They espoused the quarrel of their brethren, with a generous zeal, which did not suffer them to stop to calculate their interest in the dispute. Favourites of the mother country, possessed of neither ships nor seamen to create commercial rivalry, they might have found in their situation a guarantee, that their trade would be for ever fostered

or closing the ports of the said state, or otherwise obstructing the free ingress or egress of vessels to and from the said ports, or any other act of the federal

and protected by Great Britain. But, trampling on all considerations either of interest or of safety, they rushed into the conflict, and, fighting for principle, periled all in the sacred cause of freedom. Never was there exhibited in the history of the world, higher examples of noble daring, dreadful suffering, and heroic endurance, than by the whigs of Carolina, during the revolution. The whole state, from the mountains to the sea, was overrun by an overwhelming force of the enemy. The fruits of industry perished on the spot where they were produced, or were consumed by the foe. The "plains of Carolina" drank up the most precious blood of her citizens! Black and smoking ruins marked the places which had been the habitations of her children! Driven from their homes, into the gloomy and almost impenetrable swamps, even there the spirit of liberty survived, and South Carolina (sustained by the example of her Sumpters and her Marions) proved, by her conduct, that though her soil might be overrun, the spirit of her people was invincible.

But, sir, our country was soon called upon to engage in another revolutionary struggle, and that too was a struggle for principle. I mean the political revolution which dates back to '98, and which, if it had not been successfully achieved, would have left us none of the fruits of the revolution of '76. The revolution of '98 restored the constitution, rescued the liberty of the citizen from the grasp of those who were aiming at its life, and, in the emphatic language of Mr. Jefferson, "saved the constitution at its last gasp." And by whom was it achieved? By the south, sir, aided only by the democracy of the north and west.

I come now to the war of 1812, a war which I well remember was called, in derision, (while its event was doubtful,) the southern war, and sometimes the Carolina war; but which is now universally acknowledged to have done more for the honour and prosperity of the country, than all other events in our history put together. What, sir, were the objects of that war? "Free trade and sailors rights!" It was for the protection of northern shipping, and New England seamen, that the country flew to arms. What interest had the south in that contest? If they had sat down coldly to calculate the value of their interests involved in it, they would have found that they had every thing to lose, and nothing to gain. But, sir, with that generous devotion to country so characteristic of the south, they only asked, if the rights of any portion of their fellow-citizens had been invaded; and when told that northern ships and New England seamen had been arrested on the common highway of nations, they felt that the honour of their country was assailed; and acting on that exalted sentiment, "which feels a stain like a wound," they resolved to seek, in open war, for a redress of those injuries, which it did not become freemen to endure. Sir, the whole south, animated as by a common impulse, cordially united in declaring and promoting that war. South Carolina sent to your councils, as the advocates and supporters of that war, the noblest of her sons. How they fulfilled that trust, let a grateful country tell. Not a measure was adopted, not a battle fought, not a victory won, which contributed, in any degree, to the success of that war, to which southern councils and southern valour did not largely contribute. Sir, since South Carolina is assailed, I must be suffered to speak it to her praise, that at the very moment when, in one quarter, we heard it solemnly proclaimed, "that it did not become a religious and moral people to rejoice at the victories of our army or our navy," her legislature unanimously

"Resolved, That we will cordially support the government in the vigorous prosecution of the war, until a peace can be obtained on honourable terms; and we will cheerfully submit to every privation that may be required of us, by our government, for the accomplishment of this object."

South Carolina redeemed that pledge. She threw open her treasury to the government. She put at the absolute disposal of the officers of the United States all that she possessed—her men, her money, and her arms. She appropriated half a million of dollars, on her own account, in defence of her maritime frontier; or, ordered a brigade of state troops to be raised; and, when left to pro-

government to coerce the state, shut up her ports, destroy or harass her commerce, or to enforce the said acts otherwise than through the civil tribunals

fect herself by her own means, never suffered the enemy to touch her soil, without being instantly driven off or captured.

Such, sir, was the conduct of the south—such the conduct of my own state, in that dark hour “which tried men’s souls.”

When I look back and contemplate the spectacle exhibited at that time, in another quarter of the union; when I think of the conduct of certain portions of New England, and remember the part which was acted on that memorable occasion by the political associates of the gentleman from Massachusetts; nay, when I follow that gentleman into the councils of the nation, and listen to his voice during the darkest period of the war, I am indeed astonished that he should venture to touch upon the topics which he has introduced into this debate. South Carolina reproached by Massachusetts! And from whom does the accusation come? Not from the democracy of New England; for they have been in times past, as they are now, the friends and allies of the south. No, sir, the accusation comes from that party whose acts, during the most trying and eventful period of our national history, were of such a character, that their own legislature, but a few years ago, actually blotted them out from their records, as a stain upon the honour of the country. But how can they ever be blotted out from the recollection of any one who had a heart to feel, a mind to comprehend, and a memory to retain, the events of that day! Sir, I shall not attempt to write the history of the party in New England, to which I have alluded—the war party in peace, and the peace party in war. That task I shall leave to some future biographer of Nathan Dane, and I doubt not it will be found quite easy to prove, that the peace party of Massachusetts were the only defenders of their country, during the war, and actually achieved all our victories, by land and sea. In the mean time, sir, and until that history shall be written, I propose, with the feeble and glimmering lights which I possess, to review the conduct of this party, in connexion with the war, and the events which immediately preceded it.

It will be recollected, sir, that our great cause of quarrel with Great Britain, were her depredations on northern commerce, and the impressment of New England seamen. From every quarter we were called upon for protection. Importunate as the west is now represented to be, on another subject, the importunity of the east, on that occasion, was far greater. I hold in my hands the evidence of the fact. Here are petitions, memorials, and remonstrances, from all parts of New England, setting forth the injustice, the oppressions, the depredations, the insults, the outrages, committed by Great Britain against the unoffending commerce and seamen of New England, and calling upon congress for redress. Sir, I can not stop to read these memorials. In that from Boston, after stating the alarming and extensive condemnation of our vessels by Great Britain, which threatened “to sweep our commerce from the face of the ocean,” and “to involve our merchants in bankruptcy,” they called upon the government “to assert our rights, and to adopt such measures as will support the dignity and honour of the United States.”

From Salem, we heard a language still more decisive; they call explicitly for “an appeal to arms,” and pledge their lives and property in support of any measures which congress might adopt. From Newburyport, an appeal was made “to the firmness and justice of the government to obtain compensation and protection.” It was here, I think, that when the war was declared, it was resolved “to resist our own government, even unto blood!” (Olive Branch, p. 101.)

In other quarters, the common language of that day was, that our commerce and our seamen were entitled to protection, and that it was the duty of the government to afford it at every hazard. The conduct of Great Britain, we were then told, was “an outrage upon our national independence.” These clamours, which commenced as early as January, 1806, were continued up to 1812. In a message from the governor of one of the New England states, as late as the 10th of October, 1811, this language is held: “a manly and decisive course has become indispensable: a course to satisfy foreign nations, that while we desire peace, we have the means and

of the country, as inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union; and that the people of the said state will thenceforth hold

the spirit to repel aggression. We are false to ourselves, when our commerce or our territory is invaded with impunity.”

About this time, however, a remarkable change was observable in the tone and temper of those who had been endeavouring to force the country into a war. The language of complaint was changed into that of insult, and calls for protection converted into reproaches: “smoke, smoke,” (says one writer,) “my life on it, our executive has no more idea of declaring war, than my grandmother.” “The committee of ways and means,” (says another,) “have come out with their Pandora’s box of taxes, and yet nobody dreams of war.” “Congress do not mean to declare war; they dare not.” But why multiply examples? An honourable member of the other house, from the city of Boston, (Mr. Quincy,) in a speech delivered on the 3d of April, 1812, says, “Neither promises, nor threats, nor asseverations, nor oaths, will make me believe that you will go to war. The navigation states are sacrificed, and the spirit and character of the country prostrated by fear and avarice.” “You can not,” said the same gentleman, on another occasion, “be kicked into a war.”

Well, sir, the war at length came, and what did we behold? The very men who had been for six years clamorous for war, and for whose protection it was waged, became at once equally clamorous against it. They had received a miraculous visitation; a new light suddenly beamed upon their minds; the scales fell from their eyes, and it was discovered that the war was declared from “subserviency to France;” and that congress and the executive “had sold themselves to Napoleon;” that Great Britain had, in fact, “done us no essential injury;” that she “was the bulwark of our religion;” that where “she took one of our ships, she protected twenty;” and that if Great Britain had impressed a few of our seamen, it was because “she could not distinguish them from her own.” And so far did this spirit extend, that a committee of the Massachusetts legislature actually fell to calculation, and discovered, to their infinite satisfaction, but to the astonishment of all the world beside, that only eleven Massachusetts sailors had ever been impressed. Never shall I forget the appeals that had been made to the sympathies of the north, in behalf of the “thousands of impressed Americans,” who had been torn from their families and friends, and “immured in the floating dungeons of Britain.” The most touching pictures were drawn of the hard condition of the American sailor, “treated like a slave,” forced to fight the battles of his enemy, “lashed to the mast to be shot at like a dog.” But, sir, the very moment we had taken up arms in their defence, it was discovered that all these were mere “fictions of the brain,” and that the whole number in the state of Massachusetts was but eleven; and that even these had been “taken by mistake.” Wonderful discovery! The secretary of state had collected authentic lists of no less than six thousand impressed Americans. Lord Castlereagh himself acknowledged sixteen hundred. Calculations on the basis of the number found on board of the *Guerriere*, the *Macedonian*, the *Java*, and other British ships, (captured by the skill and gallantry of those heroes, whose achievements are the treasured monuments of their country’s glory,) fixed the number at seven thousand; and yet, it seems, Massachusetts had lost but eleven! Eleven Massachusetts sailors taken by mistake! A cause of war indeed! Their ships, too, the capture of which had threatened “universal bankruptcy,” it was discovered that Great Britain was their friend and protector; “where she had taken one, she had protected twenty.” Then was the discovery made, that subserviency to France, hostility to commerce, “a determination on the part of the south and the west to break down the eastern states;” and especially, (as reported by a committee of the Massachusetts legislature,) “to force the sons of commerce to populate the wilderness,” were the true causes of the war. (Olive Branch, pages 134, 291.)

But let us look a little further into the conduct of the peace party of New England, at that important crisis. Whatever difference of opinion might have existed as to the causes of the war, the country had a right to expect, that when once involved in the contest, all America would have cordially united in its support. Sir, the war

themselves absolved from all further obligation to maintain or preserve their political connexion with the people of the other states, and will forthwith

effected, in its progress, a union of all parties at the south. But not so in New England; there, great efforts were made to stir up the minds of the people to oppose it. Nothing was left undone to embarrass the financial operations of the government, to prevent the enlistment of troops, to keep back the men and money of New England from the service of the union, to force the president from his seat. Yes, sir, "the island of Elba! or a halter!" were the alternatives they presented to the excellent and venerable James Madison. Sir, the war was further opposed, by openly carrying on illicit trade with the enemy; by permitting that enemy to establish herself on the very soil of Massachusetts; and by opening a free trade between Great Britain and America, with a separate custom-house. Yes, sir, those who can not endure the thought that we should insist on a free trade in time of profound peace, could, without scruple, claim and exercise the right of carrying on a free trade with the enemy in a time of war; and, finally, by getting up the renowned "Hartford convention," and preparing the way for an open resistance to the government, and a separation of the states. Sir, if I am asked for the proof of those things, I fearlessly appeal to contemporary history, to the public documents of the country, to the recorded opinion and acts of public assemblies, to the declaration and acknowledgments, since made, of the executive and legislature of Massachusetts herself.

Sir, the time has not been allowed me to trace this subject through, even if I had been disposed to do so. But I can not refrain from referring to one or two documents, which have fallen in my way since this debate began. I read, sir, from the Olive Branch of Matthew Carey, in which are collected "the actings and doings" of the peace party of New England, during the continuance of the embargo and the war. I know the senator from Massachusetts will respect the high authority of his political friend and fellow-labourer in the great cause of "domestic industry."

In page 301 of this work, is a detailed account of the measures adopted in Massachusetts during the war, for the express purpose of embarrassing the financial operations of the government, by preventing loans, and thereby driving our rulers from their seats, and forcing the country into a dishonourable peace. It appears that the Boston banks commenced an operation, by which a run was to be made upon all the banks to the south; at the same time stopping their own discounts, the effect of which was to produce a sudden and most alarming diminution of the circulating medium, and universal distress over the whole country, a distress which they failed not to attribute to the "unholy war."

To such an extent was this system carried, that it appears from a statement of the condition of the Boston banks, made up in January, 1814, that with nearly \$5,000,000 of specie in their vaults, they had but \$2,000,000 of bills in circulation. It is added by Carey, that at this very time an extensive trade was carried on in British government bills, for which specie was sent to Canada, for the payment of the British troops, then laying waste our northern frontier, and this too at the very moment when New England ships, sailing under British licenses, (a trade declared to be lawful by the courts both of Great Britain and Massachusetts,) were supplying with provisions those very armies destined for the invasion of our own shores. Sir, the author of the Olive Branch, with a holy indignation, denounces these acts as "treasonable!" "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." I shall not follow his example. But I will ask, with what justice or propriety can the south be accused of disloyalty from that quarter? If we had any evidence that the senator from Massachusetts had admonished his brethren then, he might, with a better grace, assume the office of admonishing us now.

When I look at the measures adopted in Boston at that day, to deprive the government of the necessary means for carrying on the war, and think of the success and the consequences of these measures, I feel my pride as an American humbled in the dust. Hear, sir, the language of that day; I read from pages 301 and 302 of the Olive Branch: "Let no man who wishes to continue the war, by active means, by vote, or lending money, dare to prostrate himself at the altar on the fast day." "Will federalists subscribe to the

proceed to organize a separate government, and do all other acts and things which sovereign and independent states may of right do:

loan? Will they lend money to our national rulers? It is impossible. First, because of the principal; and, secondly, because of the principal and interest." "Do not prevent the abusers of their trust from becoming bankrupt. Do not prevent them from becoming odious to the public, and being replaced by better men." "Any federalist who lends money to government, must go and shake hands with James Madison, and claim fellowship with Felix Grundy. (I beg pardon of my honourable friend from Tennessee; but he is in good company. I had thought it was 'James Madison, Felix Grundy, and the devil.') Let him no more call himself a federalist, and a friend to his country—he will be called by others infamous," &c.

Sir, the spirit of the people sunk under these appeals. Such was the effect produced by them on the public mind, that the very agents of the government (as appears from their public advertisements, now before me) could not obtain loans, without a pledge that "the names of the subscribers should not be known." Here are the advertisements: "the names of all subscribers (say Gilbert and Dean, the brokers employed by government) shall be known only to the undersigned." As if those who came forward to aid their country in the hour of her utmost need, were engaged in some dark and foul conspiracy, they were assured "that their names should not be known." Can any thing show more conclusively the unhappy state of public feeling, which prevailed at that day, than this single fact? Of the same character with these measures was the conduct of Massachusetts, in withholding her militia from the service of the United States, and devising measures for withdrawing her quota of the taxes, thereby attempting, not merely to cripple the resources of the country, but actually depriving the government (as far as depended upon her) of all the means of carrying on the war—of the bone, and muscle, and sinews of war—"of man and steel—the soldier and his sword." But it seems Massachusetts was to reserve her resources for herself—she was to defend and protect her own shores. And how was that duty performed? In some places on the coast neutrality was declared, and the enemy was suffered to invade the soil of Massachusetts, and allowed to occupy her territory, until the peace, without one effort to rescue it from his grasp. Nay, more, while our own government, and our rulers were considered as enemies, the troops of the enemy were treated like friends—the most intimate commercial relations were established with them, and maintained up to the peace. At this dark period of our national affairs, where was the senator from Massachusetts? How were his political associates employed? "Calculating the value of the union?" Yes, sir, that was the propitious moment, when our country stood alone, the last hope of the world, struggling for her existence against the colossal power of Great Britain, "concentrated in one mighty effort to crush us at a blow"—that was the chosen hour to revive the grand scheme of building up "a great northern confederacy"—a scheme which, it is stated in the work before me, had its origin as far back as the year 1796, and which appears never to have been entirely abandoned. In the language of the writers of that day, (1796,) "rather than have a constitution such as the anti-federalists were contending for, (such as we now are contending for,) the union ought to be dissolved;" and to prepare the way for that measure, the same methods were resorted to then, that have always been relied on for that purpose, exciting prejudice against the south. Yes, sir, our northern brethren were then told, "that if the negroes were good for food, their southern masters would claim the right to destroy them at pleasure." (Olive Branch, p. 267.) Sir, in 1814, all these topics were revived. Again we heard of "a northern confederacy;" "the slave states by themselves;" "the mountains are the natural boundary;" we want neither "the counsels nor the power of the west," &c. &c. The papers teemed with accusations against the south and the west, and the calls for a dissolution of all connexion with them, were loud and strong. I can not consent to go through the disgusting details. But to show the height to which the spirit of disaffection was carried, I will take you to the temple of the living God, and show you *that sacred place* (which should be devoted to the exten-

"And whereas, the said ordinance prescribes to the people of South Carolina a course of conduct in direct violation of their duty as citizens of the United

sion of "peace on earth and good will towards men," where "*one day's truce* ought surely to be allowed to the dissensions and animosities of mankind") converted into a *fiere arena of political strife*, where, from the lips of the priest standing between the horns of the altar, there went forth the most *terrible denunciations* against all who should be true to their country, in the hour of her utmost need.

"If you do not wish," said a reverend clergyman, in a sermon preached in Boston, on the 23d of July, 1812, "to become the slaves of those who own slaves, and who are themselves the slaves of French slaves, you must either, *in the language of the day*, cut the connexion, or so far alter the national compact, as to ensure to yourselves a due share in the government." (Olive Branch, page 319.) "The union," says the same writer, (page 320,) "has been long since virtually dissolved, and it is full time that this part of the disunited states should take care of itself."

Another reverend gentleman, pastor of a church at Medford, (page 321,) issues his anathema—"LET HIM STAND ACCURSED"—against all who, by their "personal services," or "loans of money," "conversation," or "writing," or "influence," gives countenance or support to the unrighteous war, in the following terms: "that man is an accomplice in the wickedness—he loads his conscience with the blackest crimes—he brings the guilt of blood upon his soul, and, in the sight of God and his law, *he is a murderer*."

One or two more quotations, sir, and I shall have done. A reverend doctor of divinity, the pastor of a church at Byfield, Massachusetts, on the 7th of April, 1814, thus addresses his flock, (page 321)—"The Israelites became weary of yielding the fruit of their labour to pamper their splendid tyrants. They left their political woes. THEY SEPARATED. Where is our Moses? Where the rod of his miracles? Where is our Aaron? Alas! no voice from the burning bush has directed them here."

"We must trample on the mandates of despotism, or remain slaves for ever." (Page 322.) "You must drag the chains of Virginian despotism, unless you discover some other mode of escape." "Those western states, which have been violent for this abominable war, those states which have thirsted for blood—God has given them blood to drink." (Page 323.) Mr. President, I can go no further. The records of the day are full of such sentiments, issued from the press, spoken in public assemblies, pouring out from the sacred desk! God forbid, sir, that I should charge the people of Massachusetts with participating in these sentiments. The south and the west had there, their friends—men who stood by their country, though encompassed all around by their enemies. The senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Silsbee) was one of them; the senator from Connecticut (Mr. Foot) was another; and there are others now on this floor. The sentiments I have read were the sentiments of a party embracing the political associates of the gentleman from Massachusetts. If they could only be found in the columns of a newspaper, in a few occasional pamphlets, issued by men of intemperate feeling, I should not consider them as affording any evidence of the opinions even of the peace party of New England. But, sir, they were the common language of that day; they pervaded the whole land; they were issued from the legislative hall, from the pulpit, and the press. Our books are full of them. And there is no man who now hears me, but knows, that they were the sentiments of a party, by whose members they were promulgated. Indeed, no evidence of this would seem to be required, beyond the fact, that such sentiments found their way even into the pulpits of New England. What must be the state of public opinion, where any respectable clergyman would venture to preach, and to print sermons, containing the sentiments I have quoted? I doubt not the piety or moral worth of these gentlemen. I am told they were respectable and pious men. But they were men, and they "kindled in a common blaze." And now, sir, I must be suffered to remark, that at this awful and melancholy period of our national history, the gentleman from Massachusetts, who now manifests so great a devotion to the union, and so much anxiety lest it should be endangered from the south, was "with his brethren in Israel." He saw all these things passing before his

States, contrary to the laws of their country, subversive of its constitution, and having for its object the destruction of the union—that union which, coeval

eyes—he heard these sentiments uttered all around him. I do not charge that gentleman with any participation in these acts, or with approving of these sentiments.

But I will ask why, if he was animated by the same sentiments then, which he now professes, if he can "augur disunion at a distance, and snuff up rebellion in every tainted breeze," why he did not, at that day, exert his great talents and acknowledged influence with the political associates by whom he was surrounded, (and who then, as now, looked up to him for guidance and direction,) in allaying this general excitement; in pointing out to his deluded friends the value of the union, in instructing them, that, instead of looking "to some prophet to lead them out from the land of Egypt," they should become reconciled to their brethren, and unite with them in the support of a just and necessary war? Sir, the gentleman must excuse me for saying, that if the records of our country afforded any evidence that he had pursued such a course, then if we could find it recorded in the history of those times, that, like the immortal Dexter, he had breasted that mighty torrent, which was sweeping before it all that was great and valuable in our political institutions; if, like him, he had stood by his country in opposition to his party, sir, we would, like little children, listen to his precepts, and abide by his counsels.

As soon as the public mind was sufficiently prepared for the measure, the celebrated Hartford convention was got up; not as the act of a few unauthorized individuals, but by authority of the legislature of Massachusetts; and, as has been shown by the able historian of that convention, in accordance with the views and wishes of the party, of which it was the organ. Now, sir, I do not desire to call in question the motives of the gentlemen who composed that assembly: I knew many of them to be, in private life, accomplished and honourable men, and I doubt not there were some among them who did not perceive the dangerous tendency of their proceedings. I will even go further, and say, that if the authors of the Hartford convention believed, that "gross, deliberate, and palpable violations of the constitution" had taken place, utterly destructive of their rights and interests, I should be the last man to deny their right to resort to any constitutional measures for redress. But, sir, in any view of the case, the time when, and the circumstances under which that convention assembled, as well as the measures recommended, render their conduct, in my opinion, wholly indefensible. Let us contemplate, for a moment, the spectacle then exhibited to the view of the world. I will not go over the disasters of the war, nor describe the difficulties in which the government was involved. It will be recollected, that its credit was nearly gone, Washington had fallen, the whole coast was blockaded, and an immense force collected in the West Indies, was about to make a descent, which it was supposed we had no means of resisting. In this awful state of our public affairs, when the government seemed almost to be tottering on its base, when Great Britain, relieved from all her other enemies, had proclaimed her purpose of "reducing us to unconditional submission," we beheld the peace party of New England (in the language of the work before us) "pursuing a course calculated to do more injury to their country, and to render England more effective service, than all her armies." Those who could not find it in their hearts to rejoice at our victories, sang *Te Deum* at the king's chapel in Boston, for the restoration of the Bourbons. Those who could not consent to illuminate their dwellings for the capture of the *Guerriere*, could give visible tokens of their joy at the fall of Detroit. The "beacon fires" of their hills were lighted up, not for the encouragement of their friends, but as signals to the enemy; and, in the gloomy hours of midnight, the very lights burned blue. Such were the dark and portentous signs of the times, which ushered into being the renowned Hartford convention. That convention met, and from their proceedings it appears, that their chief object was to keep back the men and money of New England from the service of the union, and to effect radical changes in the government—changes that can never be effected without a dissolution of the union.

Let us now, sir, look at their proceedings. I read from "a short

with our political existence, led our fathers, without any other ties to unite them than those of patriotism and a common cause, through a sanguinary struggle

account of the Hartford convention," (written by one of its members,) a very rare book, of which I was fortunate enough, a few years ago, to obtain a copy.

It appears at page 6 of "the account," that by a vote of the house of representatives of Massachusetts, [260 to 90,] delegates to this convention were ordered to be appointed, to consult upon the subject "of their public grievances and concerns," and upon "the best means of preserving their resources," and for procuring a revision of the constitution of the United States, "more effectually to secure the support and attachment of all the people, by placing all upon the basis of fair representation."

The convention assembled at Hartford on the 15th of December, 1814. On the next day it was

"Resolved, That the most inviolable secrecy shall be observed by each member of this convention, including the secretary, as to all propositions, debates, and proceedings thereof, until this injunction shall be suspended or altered."

On the 24th of December, the committee appointed to prepare and report a general project of such measures as may be proper for the convention to adopt, reported, among other things,

"1. That it was expedient to recommend to the legislatures of the states, the adoption of the most effectual and decisive measures to protect the militia and the states from the usurpations contained in these proceedings." [The proceedings of congress and the executive, in relation to the militia and the war.]

"2. That it was expedient also to prepare a statement exhibiting the necessity which the improvidence and inability of the general government have imposed upon the states of providing for their own defence, and the impossibility of their discharging this duty, and at the same time fulfilling the requisitions of the general government; and also to recommend to the legislatures of the several states to make provision for mutual defence, and to make an earnest application to the government of the United States, with a view to some arrangement whereby the states may be enabled to retain a portion of the taxes levied by congress, for the purposes of self-defence, and for the reimbursement of expenses already incurred on account of the United States.

"3. That it is expedient to recommend to the several state legislatures certain amendments to the constitution, viz.:

"That the power to declare or make war by the congress of the United States be restricted.

"That it is expedient to attempt to make provision for restraining congress in the exercise of an unlimited power to make new states, and admit them into the union.

"That an amendment be proposed respecting slave representation and slave taxation."

On the 29th of December, 1814, it was proposed "that the capacity of naturalized citizens to hold offices of trust, honour, or profit, ought to be restrained," &c.

The subsequent proceedings are not given at large; but it seems that the report of the committee was adopted, and also a recommendation of certain measures (of the character of which we are not informed) to the states for their mutual defence; and having voted "that the injunction of secrecy, in regard to all the debates and proceedings of the convention, (except so far as relates to the report finally adopted,) be continued," the convention adjourned *sine die*, but (as it was supposed) to meet again when circumstances should require it.

It is unnecessary to trace the matter further, or to ask what would have been the next chapter in this history, if the measures recommended had been carried into effect; and if, with the men and money of New England withheld from the government of the United States, she had been withdrawn from the war; if New Orleans had fallen into the hands of the enemy; and if, without troops and almost destitute of money, the southern and the western states had been thrown upon their own resources for the prosecution of the war, and the recovery of New Orleans? Sir, whatever may have been the issue of the contest, the union must have been dissolved. But a wise and just Providence, which "shapes our ends,

to a glorious independence—that sacred union, hitherto inviolate, which, perfected by our happy constitution, has brought us, by the favour of Heaven,

rough-hew them as we will," gave us the victory, and crowned our efforts with a glorious peace. The ambassadors of Hartford were seen retracing their steps from Washington, "the bearers of the glad tidings of great joy." Courage and patriotism triumphed—the country was saved—the union was preserved. And are we, Mr. President, who stood by our country then; who threw open our coffers; who bared our bosoms; who freely periled all in that conflict, to be reproached with want of attachment to the union? If, sir, we are to have lessons of patriotism read to us, they must come from a different quarter. The senator from Massachusetts, who is now so sensitive on all subjects connected with the union, seems to have a memory forgetful of the political events that have passed away. I must, therefore, refresh my recollection a little further on these subjects. The history of disunion has been written by one whose authority stands too high with the American people to be questioned—I mean Thomas Jefferson. I know not how the gentleman may receive this authority. When that great and good man occupied the presidential chair, I believe he commanded no portion of that gentleman's respect.

I hold in my hand a celebrated pamphlet on the embargo, in which language is held in relation to Mr. Jefferson, which my respect for his memory will prevent me from reading—unless any gentleman should call for it. But the senator from Massachusetts has since joined in singing hosannas to his name—he has assisted at his apotheosis, and has fixed him as "a brilliant star in the clear upper sky." I hope, therefore, he is now prepared to receive with deference and respect the high authority of Mr. Jefferson. In the fourth volume of his memoirs, which has just issued from the press, we have the following history of disunion from the pen of that illustrious statesman: "Mr. Adams called on me pending the embargo, and while endeavours were making to obtain its repeal; he spoke of the dissatisfaction of the eastern portion of our confederacy with the restraints of the embargo then existing, and their restlessness under it; that there was nothing which might not be attempted to rid themselves of it; that he had information of the most unquestionable certainty, that certain citizens of the eastern states (I think he named Massachusetts particularly) were in negotiation with the agents of the British government, the object of which was an agreement, that the New England states should take no further part in the war [the commercial war, the "war of restrictions," as it was called] then going on; and that without formally declaring their separation from the union, they should withdraw from all aid and obedience to them, &c. From that moment, says Mr. Jefferson, I saw the necessity of abandoning it, [the embargo,] and, instead of effecting our purpose by this peaceful weapon, we must fight it out, or break the union." In another letter, Mr. Jefferson adds: "I doubt whether a single fact known to the world, will carry as clear conviction to it of the correctness of our knowledge of the treasonable views of the federal party of that day, as that disclosed by this the most nefarious and daring attempt to dis sever the union, of which the Hartford convention was a subsequent chapter; and both of these having failed, consolidation becomes the fourth chapter of the next book of their history. But this opens with a vast accession of strength from their younger recruits, who, having nothing in them of the feelings and principles of '76, now look to a single and splendid government, &c., riding and ruling over the plundered ploughman and beggared yeomanry."—(4th vol. p. 419, 422.)

The last chapter, says Mr. Jefferson, of that history, is to be found in the conduct of those who are endeavouring to bring about consolidation: aye, sir, that very consolidation for which the gentleman from Massachusetts is contending—the exercise by the federal government, of powers not delegated in relation to "internal improvements," and the "protection of manufactures." And why, sir, does Mr. Jefferson consider consolidation as leading directly to disunion? Because he knew that the exercise by the federal government of the powers contended for, would make this "a government without limitation of powers," the submission to which he considered as a greater evil than disunion itself. There is one

to a state of prosperity at home, and high consideration abroad, rarely, if ever, equalled in the history of nations. To preserve this bond of our political ex-

chapter in this history, however, which Mr. Jefferson has not filled up, and I must therefore supply the deficiency. It is to be found in the protests made by New England against the acquisition of Louisiana. In relation to that subject, the New England doctrine is thus laid down by one of her learned political doctors of that day, now a doctor of laws, at the head of the great literary institution of the east; I mean Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard College. I quote from the speech delivered by that gentleman on the floor of congress, on the occasion of the admission of Louisiana into the union.

"Mr. Quincy repeated and justified a remark he had made, which, to save all misapprehensions, he had committed to writing, in the following words: 'If this bill passes, it is my deliberate opinion, that it is virtually a dissolution of the union; that it will free the states from their moral obligation; and as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must.'"

Mr. President, I wish it to be distinctly understood, that all the remarks I have made on this subject, are intended to be exclusively applied to a party, which I have described as the "peace party of New England"—embracing the political associates of the senator from Massachusetts—a party which controlled the operations of that state during the embargo and the war, and who are justly chargeable with all the measures I have reprobated. Sir, nothing has been further from my thoughts than to impeach the character or conduct of the people of New England. For their steady habits and hardy virtues, I trust I entertain a becoming respect. I fully subscribe to the truth of the description given before the revolution, by one whose praise is the highest eulogy, "that the perseverance of Holland, the activity of France, and the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, have been more than equalled by this 'recent people.'"

Hardy, enterprising, sagacious, industrious, and moral, the people of New England, of the present day, are worthy of their ancestors. Still less, Mr. President, has it been my intention to say any thing that could be construed into a want of respect for that party, who, trampling on all narrow, sectional feelings, have been true to their principles in the worst of times—I mean the democracy of New England.

Sir, I will declare, that, highly as I appreciate the democracy of the south, I consider even higher praise to be due to the democracy of New England—who have maintained their principles "through good and through evil report;" who, at every period of our national history, have stood up manfully for "their country, their whole country, and nothing but their country." In the great political revolution of '98, they were found united with the democracy of the south, marching under the banner of the constitution, led on by the patriarch of liberty, in search of the land of political promise, which they lived not only to behold, but to possess and to enjoy. Again, sir, in the darkest and most gloomy period of the war, when our country stood single handed against "the conqueror of the world;" when all about and around them was dark and dreary, disastrous and discouraging, they stood a Spartan band in that narrow pass, where the honour of their country was to be defended, or to find its grave. And in the last great struggle, involving, as we believe, the very existence of the principle of popular sovereignty, where were the democracy of New England? Where they always have been found, sir; struggling, side by side, with their brethren of the south and the west, for popular rights, and assisting in that glorious triumph by which the man of the people was elevated to the highest office in their gift.

Who, then, Mr. President, are the true friends of the union? Those who would confine the federal government strictly within the limits prescribed by the constitution; who would preserve to the states and the people all powers not expressly delegated; who would make this a federal, and not a national union, and who, administering the government in a spirit of equal justice, would make it a blessing, and not a curse. And who are its enemies? Those who are in favour of consolidation—who are constantly stealing power from the states, and adding strength to the federal govern-

ment. Who, assuming an unwarrantable jurisdiction over the states and the people, undertake to regulate the whole industry and capital of the country. But, sir, of all descriptions of men, I consider those as the worst enemies of the union, who sacrifice the equal rights which belong to every member of the confederacy to combinations of interested majorities, for personal or political objects. But the gentleman apprehends no evil from the dependence of the states on the federal government; he can see no danger of corruption from the influence of money or of patronage. Sir, I know that it is supposed to be a wise saying, "that patronage is a source of weakness," and in support of that maxim, it has been said, that "every ten appointments makes a hundred enemies." But I am rather inclined to think, with the eloquent and sagacious orator now reposing on his laurels on the banks of the Roanoke, that "the power of conferring favours creates a crowd of dependants;" he gave a forcible illustration of the truth of the remark, when he told us of the effect of holding up the savoury morsel to the eager eyes of the hungry hounds gathered around his door. It mattered not whether the gift was bestowed on Towser or Sweetlips, "Tray, Blanch, or Sweetheart," while held in suspense, they were all governed by a nod, and when the morsel was bestowed, the expectation of the favours of to-morrow kept up the subjection of to-day.

The senator from Massachusetts, in denouncing what he is pleased to call the Carolina doctrine, has attempted to throw ridicule upon the idea, that a state has any constitutional remedy, by the exercise of its sovereign authority, against "a gross, palpable, and deliberate violation of the constitution." He calls it "an idle," or "a ridiculous notion," or something to that effect, and added, that it would make the union "a mere rope of sand." Now, sir, as the gentleman has not condescended to enter into any examination of the question, and has been satisfied with throwing the weight of his authority into the scale, I do not deem it necessary to do more than to throw into the opposite scale the authority on which South Carolina relies, and there, for the present, I am perfectly willing to leave the controversy. The South Carolina doctrine, that is to say, the doctrine contained in an exposition reported by a committee of the legislature, in December, 1828, and published by their authority, is the good old republican doctrine of '98—the doctrine of the celebrated "Virginia resolutions" of that year, and of "Madison's report" of '99. It will be recollected, that the legislature of Virginia, in December, '98, took into consideration the alien and sedition laws, then considered by all the republicans as a gross violation of the constitution of the United States, and on that day passed, among others, the following resolution:

"The general assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare, that it views the powers of the federal government, as resulting from the compact to which the states are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the said compact, the states who are parties thereto, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits, the authorities, rights, and liberties, appertaining to them."

In addition to these resolutions, the general assembly of Virginia "appealed to the other states, in the confidence that they would concur with that commonwealth, that the acts aforesaid [the alien and sedition laws] are unconstitutional, and that the necessary and proper measures would be taken by each for co-operating with Virginia in maintaining unimpaired the authorities, rights, and liberties, reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

The legislatures of several of the New England states having, contrary to the expectation of the legislature of Virginia, expressed their dissent from these doctrines, the subject came up again for consideration during the session of 1799, 1800, when it was referred to a select committee, by whom was made that celebrated report, which is familiarly known as "Madison's report," and which

me, I, ANDREW JACKSON, *President of the United States*, have thought proper to issue this my PROCLAMATION, stating my views of the constitution

deserves to last as long as the constitution itself. In that report, which was subsequently adopted by the legislature, the whole subject was deliberately re-examined, and the objections urged against the Virginia doctrines carefully considered. The result was, that the legislature of Virginia re-affirmed all the principles laid down in the resolutions of 1798, and issued to the world that admirable report, which has stamped the character of Mr. Madison as the preserver of that constitution which he had contributed so largely to create and establish. I will here quote from Mr. Madison's report one or two passages which bear more immediately on the point in controversy. "The resolution having taken this view of the federal compact," proceeds to infer, "that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by the said compact, the states who are parties thereto have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits, the authorities, rights, and liberties, appertaining to them."

"It appears to your committee to be a plain principle, founded on common sense, illustrated by common practice, and essential to the nature of compacts, that, where resort can be had to no tribunal, superior to the authority of the parties, *the parties themselves must be the rightful judges* in the last resort, whether the bargain made has been pursued or violated. The constitution of the United States was formed by the sanction of the states, given by each in its sovereign capacity. It adds to the stability and dignity, as well as to the authority of the constitution, that it rests on this legitimate and solid foundation. The states, then, being the parties to the constitutional compact, and in their sovereign capacity, it follows of necessity, that there can be *no tribunal above their authority*, to decide in the last resort, whether the compact made by them be violated, and consequently, that as the parties to it, they must themselves decide, in the last resort, such questions as may be of sufficient magnitude to require their interposition."

"The resolution has guarded against any misapprehension of its object, by expressly requiring for such an interposition 'the case of a *deliberate, palpable, and dangerous* breach of the constitution, by the exercise of powers not granted by it.' It must be a case, not of a light and transient nature, but of a nature dangerous to the great purposes for which the constitution was established."

"But the resolution has done more than guard against misconception, by expressly referring to cases of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous nature. It specifies the object of the interposition, which it contemplates to be solely that of arresting the progress of the evil of usurpation, and of maintaining the authorities, rights, and liberties, appertaining to the states, as parties to the constitution."

"From this view of the resolution, it would seem inconceivable that it can incur any just disapprobation from those who, laying aside all momentary impressions, and recollecting the genuine source and object of the federal constitution, shall candidly and accurately interpret the meaning of the general assembly. If the deliberate exercise of dangerous powers, palpably withheld by the constitution, could not justify the parties to it, in interposing even so far as to arrest the progress of the evil, and thereby to preserve the constitution itself, as well as to provide for the safety of the parties to it, there would be an end to all relief from usurped power, and a direct subversion of the rights specified or recognised under all the state constitutions, as well as a plain denial of the fundamental principles on which our independence itself was declared."

But, sir, our authorities do not stop here. The state of Kentucky responded to Virginia, and on the 10th of November, 1798, adopted those celebrated resolutions, well known to have been penned by the author of the declaration of American independence. In those resolutions, the legislature of Kentucky declare, "that the government created by this compact, was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself, since that would have made its discretion, and not the constitution, the measure of its powers; but that, as in all other cases of compact among

and laws applicable to the measures adopted by the convention of South Carolina, and to the reasons they have put forth to sustain them, declaring the

parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress."

At the ensuing session of the legislature, the subject was re-examined, and on the 14th of November, 1799, the resolutions of the preceding year were deliberately re-affirmed, and it was, among other things, solemnly declared,

"That if those who administer the general government be permitted to transgress the limits fixed by that compact, by a total disregard to the special delegations of power therein contained, an annihilation of the state governments, and the erection upon their ruins of a general consolidated government, will be the inevitable consequence. That the principle and construction contended for by sundry of the state legislatures, that the general government is the exclusive judge of the extent of the powers delegated to it, stop nothing short of despotism; since the discretion of those who administer the government, and not the constitution, would be the measure of their powers. That the several states who formed that instrument, being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of its infraction, and that a nullification by those sovereignties, of all unauthorized acts done under colour of that instrument, is the rightful remedy."

Time and experience confirmed Mr. Jefferson's opinion on this all important point. In the year 1821, he expressed himself in this emphatic manner: "It is a fatal heresy to suppose that either our state governments are superior to the federal, or the federal to the state; neither is authorized literally to decide which belongs to itself or its copartner in government; in differences of opinion between their different sets of public servants, the appeal is to neither, but to their employers, peaceably assembled by their representatives in convention." The opinion of Mr. Jefferson on this subject has been so repeatedly and so solemnly expressed, that they may be said to have been among the most fixed and settled convictions of his mind.

In the protest prepared by him for the legislature of Virginia, in December, 1825, in respect to the powers exercised by the federal government in relation to the tariff and internal improvements, which he declares to be "usurpations of the powers retained by the states, mere interpolations into the compact, and direct infractions of it,"—he solemnly reasserts all the principles of the Virginia resolutions of '98—protests against "these acts of the federal branch of the government, as null and void, and declares, that although Virginia would consider a dissolution of the union as among the greatest calamities that could befall them, yet it is not the greatest. There is one yet greater—submission to a government of unlimited powers. It is only when the hope of this shall become absolutely desperate, that further forbearance could not be indulged."

In his letter to Mr. Giles, written about the same time, he says: "I see, as you do, and with the deepest affliction, the rapid strides with which the federal branch of our government is advancing towards the usurpation of all the rights reserved to the state, and the consolidation in itself of all powers, foreign and domestic, and the too, by constructions which leave no limits to their powers, &c. Under the power to regulate commerce, they assume indefinitely that also over agriculture and manufactures, &c. Under the authority to establish post roads, they claim that of cutting down mountains for the construction of roads and digging canals, &c. And what is our resource for the preservation of the constitution? Reason and argument? You might as well reason and argue with the marble columns encircling them, &c. Are we then to stand to our arms, with the hot-headed Georgian? No—[and I say no, and South Carolina has said no]—that must be the last resource. We must have patience and long endurance with our brethren, &c. and separate from our companions only when the sole alternatives left are a dissolution of our union with them, or submission to a government without limitation of powers. Between these two evils, when we must make a choice, there can be no hesitation."

course which duty will require me to pursue, and appealing to the understanding and patriotism of the people, warn them of the consequences that must

Such, sir, are the high and imposing authorities in support of "the Carolina doctrine," which is, in fact, the doctrine of the Virginia resolutions of 1798.

Sir, at that day the whole country was divided on this very question. It formed the line of demarcation between the federal and republican parties, and the great political revolution which then took place turned upon the very question involved in these resolutions. That question was decided by the people, and by that decision the constitution was, in the emphatic language of Mr. Jefferson, "saved at its last gasp." I should suppose, sir, it would require more self-respect than any gentleman here would be willing to assume, to treat lightly doctrines derived from such high sources. Resting on authority like this, I will ask gentlemen whether South Carolina has not manifested a high regard for the union, when under a tyranny ten times more grievous than the alien and sedition laws, she has hitherto gone no further than to petition, remonstrate, and solemnly to protest against a series of measures which she believes to be wholly unconstitutional, and utterly destructive of her interests? Sir, South Carolina has not gone one step further than Mr. Jefferson himself was disposed to go, in relation to the very subject of our present complaints; not a step further than the statesmen from New England were disposed to go under similar circumstances; no further than the senator from Massachusetts himself once considered as within "the limits of a constitutional opposition." The doctrine that it is the right of a state to judge of the violations of the constitution on the part of the federal government, and to protect her citizens from the operations of unconstitutional laws, was held by the enlightened citizens of Boston, who assembled in Faneuil Hall, on the 25th of January, 1809. They state, in that celebrated memorial, that "they looked only to the state legislature, who were competent to devise relief against the unconstitutional acts of the general government. That your power (say they) is adequate to that object, is evident from the organization of the confederacy."

A distinguished senator from one of the New England states, [Mr. Hillhouse,] in a speech delivered here, on a bill for enforcing the embargo, declared, "I feel myself bound in conscience to declare, (lest the blood of those who shall fall in the execution of this measure, shall be on my head,) that I consider this to be an act which directs a mortal blow at the liberties of my country—an act containing unconstitutional provisions, to which the people are not bound to submit, and to which, in my opinion, they will not submit."

And the senator from Massachusetts himself, in a speech delivered on the same subject, in the other house, said, "This opposition is constitutional and legal; it is also conscientious. It rests on settled and sober conviction, that such policy is destructive to the interests of the people, and dangerous to the being of the government. The experience of every day confirms these sentiments. Men who act from such motives, are not to be discouraged by trifling obstacles, nor awed by any dangers. They know the limit of constitutional opposition; up to that limit, at their own discretion, they will walk, and walk fearlessly." How "the being of the government" was to be endangered by "constitutional opposition" to the embargo, I leave to the gentleman to explain.

Thus, it will be seen, Mr. President, that the South Carolina doctrine is the republican doctrine of '98; that it was first promulgated by the fathers of the faith; that it was maintained by Virginia and Kentucky in the worst of times; that it constituted the very pivot on which the political revolution of that day turned; that it embraces the very principles, the triumph of which, at that time, saved the constitution at its last gasp, and which New England statesmen were not unwilling to adopt, when they believed themselves to be the victims of unconstitutional legislation. Sir, as to the doctrine that the federal government is the exclusive judge of the extent, as well as the limitations of its powers, it seems to me to be utterly subversive of the sovereignty and independence of the states. It makes but little difference, in my estimation, whether congress or the supreme court are invested with this power. If the federal government, in all, or any of its departments, are to pre-

inevitably result from an observance of the dictates of the convention.

"Strict duty would require of me nothing more than

scribe the limits of its own authority, and the states are bound to submit to the decision, and are not to be allowed to examine and decide for themselves, when the barriers of the constitution shall be overleaped, this is practically "a government without limitation of powers." The states are at once reduced to mere petty corporations, and the people are entirely at your mercy. I have but one word more to add. In all the efforts that have been made by South Carolina, to resist the unconstitutional laws which congress has extended over them, she has kept steadily in view the preservation of the union, by the only means by which she believes it can be long preserved—a firm, manly, and steady resistance against usurpation. The measures of the federal government have, it is true, prostrated her interests, and will soon involve the whole south in irretrievable ruin. But even this evil, great as it is, is not the chief ground of our complaints. It is the principle involved in the contest, a principle which, substituting the discretion of congress for the limitations of the constitution, bring the states and the people to the feet of the federal government, and leaves them nothing they can call their own. Sir, if the measures of the federal government were less oppressive, we should still strive against this usurpation. The south is acting on a principle she has always held sacred—resistance to unauthorized taxation. These, sir, are the principles which induced the immortal Hampden to resist the payment of a tax of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined his fortune? No; but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle on which it was demanded, would have made him a slave. Sir, if, in acting on these high motives—if animated by that ardent love of liberty which has always been the most prominent trait in the southern character—we should be hurried beyond the bounds of a cold and calculating prudence, who is there, with one noble and generous sentiment in his bosom, that would not be disposed, in the language of Burke, to exclaim, "you must pardon something to the spirit of liberty!"

After Mr. Hayne had concluded, Mr. Webster made the following reply to his speech:—

Mr. President: When the mariner has been tossed, for many days, in thick weather, and on an unknown sea, he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm, the earliest glance of the sun, to take his latitude, and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course. Let us imitate this prudence, and, before we float further, refer to the point from which we departed, that we may at least be able to conjecture where we now are. I ask for the reading of the resolution.

[The secretary read the resolution as follows:

"Resolved, that the committee on public lands be instructed to inquire and report the quantity of the public lands remaining unsold within each state and territory, and whether it be expedient to limit, for a certain period, the sales of the public lands to such lands only as have heretofore been offered for sale, and are now subject to entry at the minimum price. And, also, whether the office of surveyor general, and some of the land offices, may not be abolished without detriment to the public interest; or whether it be expedient to adopt measures to hasten the sales, and extend more rapidly the surveys of the public lands."]

We have thus heard, sir, what the resolution is, which is actually before us for consideration; and it will readily occur to every one, that it is almost the only subject about which something has not been said in the speech, running through two days, by which the senate has been now entertained by the gentleman from South Carolina. Every topic in the wide range of our public affairs, whether past or present—every thing, general or local, whether belonging to national politics or party politics, seems to have attracted more or less of the honourable member's attention, save only the resolution before us. He has spoken of every thing but the public lands. They have escaped his notice. To that subject, in all his excursions, he has not paid even the cold respect of a passing glance.

When this debate, sir, was to be resumed, on Thursday morning it so happened that it would have been convenient for me to be elsewhere. The honourable member, however, did not incline to

the exercise of those powers with which I am now, or may hereafter be invested, for preserving the peace of the union, and for the execution of the laws. But

put off the discussion to another day. He had a shot, he said, to return, and he wished to discharge it. That shot, sir, which it was kind thus to inform us was coming, that we might stand out of the way, or prepare ourselves to fall before it, and die with decency, has now been received. Under all advantages, and with expectation awakened by the tone which preceded it, it has been discharged, and has spent its force. It may become me to say no more of its effect, than that, if nobody is found, after all, either killed or wounded by it, it is not the first time, in the history of human affairs, that the vigour and success of the war have not quite come up to the lofty and sounding phrase of the manifesto.

The gentleman, sir, in declining to postpone the debate, told the senate, with the emphasis of his hand upon his heart, that there was something rankling *here* which he wished to relieve. [Mr. Hayne rose, and disclaimed having used the word *rankling*.] It would not, Mr. President, be safe for the honourable member to appeal to those around him, upon the question, whether he did, in fact, make use of that word. But he may have been unconscious of it. At any rate, it is enough that he disclaims it. But still, with or without the use of that particular word, he had yet something *here*, he said, of which he wished to rid himself by an immediate reply. In this respect, sir, I have a great advantage over the honourable gentleman. There is nothing *here*, sir, which gives me the slightest uneasiness; neither fear, nor anger, nor that which is sometimes more troublesome than either, the consciousness of having been in the wrong. There is nothing, either originating *here*, or now received *here*, by the gentleman's shot. Nothing original, for I had not the slightest feeling of disrespect or unkindness towards the honourable member. Some passages, it is true, had occurred since our acquaintance in this body, which I could have wished might have been otherwise; but I had used philosophy, and forgotten them. When the honourable member rose, in his first speech, I paid him the respect of attentive listening; and when he sat down, though surprised, and I must say even astonished, at some of his opinions, nothing was further from my intention, than to commence any personal warfare; and through the whole of the few remarks I made in answer, I avoided, studiously and carefully, every thing which I thought possible to be construed into disrespect. And, sir, while there is thus nothing originating *here*, which I wished at any time, or now wish to discharge, I must repeat, also, that nothing has been received *here* which *rankles*, or in any way gives me annoyance. I will not accuse the honourable member of violating the rules of civilized war; I will not say that he poisoned his arrows. But whether his shafts were, or were not, dipped in that which would have caused rankling, if they had reached, there was not, as it happened, quite strength enough in the bow to bring them to their mark. If he wishes now to gather up those shafts, he must look for them elsewhere; they will not be found fixed and quivering in the object at which they were aimed.

The honourable member complained that I had slept on his speech. I must have slept on it, or not slept at all. The moment the honourable member sat down, his friend from Missouri rose, and with much honeyed commendation of the speech, suggested that the impressions which it had produced were too charming and delightful to be disturbed by other sentiments or other sounds, and proposed that the senate should adjourn. Would it have been quite amiable in me, sir, to interrupt this excellent good feeling? Must I not have been absolutely malicious, if I could have thrust myself forward to destroy sensations thus pleasing? Was it not much better and kinder, both to sleep upon them myself, and to allow others, also, the pleasure of sleeping upon them? But if it be meant, by sleeping upon his speech, that I took time to prepare a reply to it, it is quite a mistake; owing to other engagements, I could not employ even the interval between the adjournment of the senate, and its meeting the next morning, in attention to the subject of this debate. Nevertheless, sir, the mere matter of fact is undoubtedly true—I did sleep on the gentleman's speech, and slept soundly. And I slept equally well on his speech of yesterday, to which I am now replying. It is quite possible, that, in this respect

the imposing aspect which opposition has assumed in this case, by clothing itself with state authority, and the deep interest which the people of the United

also, I possess some advantage over the honourable member, attributable, doubtless, to a cooler temperament on my part; for, in truth, I slept upon his speeches remarkably well. But the gentleman inquires, why he was made the object of such a reply? Why was he singled out? If an attack had been made on the east, he, he assures us, did not begin it—it was the gentleman from Missouri. Sir, I answered the gentleman's speech, because I happened to hear it; and because, also, I chose to give an answer to that speech, which, if unanswered, I thought most likely to produce injurious impressions. I did not stop to inquire who was the original drawer of the bill. I found a responsible endorser before me, and it was my purpose to hold him liable, and to bring him to his just responsibility, without delay. But, sir, this interrogatory of the honourable member was only introductory to another. He proceeded to ask me, whether I had turned upon him, in this debate, from the consciousness, that I should find an over-match, if I ventured on a contest with his friend from Missouri. If, sir, the honourable member, *ex gratia modestia*, had chosen thus to defer to his friend, and to pay him a compliment, without intentional disparagement to others, it would have been quite according to the friendly courtesies of debate, and not at all ungrateful to my own feelings. I am not one of those, sir, who esteem any tribute of regard, whether light and occasional, or more serious and deliberate, which may be bestowed on others, as so much unjustly withheld from themselves. But the tone and manner of the gentleman's question, forbid me that I thus interpret it. I am not at liberty to consider it as nothing more than a civility to his friend. It had an air of taunt and disparagement, a little of the loftiness of asserted superiority, which does not allow me to pass it over without notice. It was put as a question for me to answer, and so put, as if it were difficult for me to answer, whether I deemed the member from Missouri an over-match for myself, in debate here. It seems to me, sir, that this is extraordinary language, and an extraordinary tone, for the discussions of this body.

Matches and over-matches! Those terms are more applicable elsewhere than here, and fitter for other assemblies than this. Sir, the gentleman seems to forget where and what we are. This is a senate; a senate of equals; of men of individual honour and personal character, and of absolute independence. We know no masters; we acknowledge no dictators. This is a hall for mutual consultation and discussion; not an arena for the exhibition of champions. I offer myself, sir, as a match for no man; I throw the challenge of debate at no man's feet. But then, sir, since the honourable member has put the question, in a manner that calls for an answer, I will give him an answer; and I tell him, that, holding myself to be the humblest of the members here, I yet know nothing in the arm of his friend from Missouri, either alone or when aided by the arm of his friend from South Carolina, that need deter even me from espousing whatever opinions I may choose to espouse, from debating whenever I may choose to debate, or from speaking whatever I may see fit to say, on the floor of the senate. Sir, when uttered as matter of commendation or compliment, I should dissent from nothing which the honourable member might say of his friend. Still less do I put forth any pretensions of my own. But, when put to me as matter of taunt, I throw it back, and say to the gentleman, that he could possibly say nothing less likely than such a comparison, to wound my pride of personal character. The anger of its tone rescued the remark from intentional irony, which otherwise, probably, would have been its general acceptance. But, sir, if it be imagined that by this mutual quotation and commendation; if it be supposed that, by casting the characters of the drama, assigning to each his part—to one the attack, to another the cry of onset; or if it be thought that, by a loud and empty vaunt of anticipated victory, any laurels are to be won here; if it be imagined, especially, that any or all these things will shake any purpose of mine, I can tell the honourable member, once for all, that he is greatly mistaken, and that he is dealing with one of whose temper and character he has yet much to learn. Sir, I shall not allow myself, on this occasion, I hope on no occasion, to be be-

States must all feel in preventing a resort to stronger measures, while there is a hope that any thing will be yielded to reasoning and remonstrance, perhaps de-

trayed into any loss of temper; but, if provoked, as I trust I never shall allow myself to be, into crimination and recrimination, the honourable member may perhaps find, that, in that contest, there will be blows to take as well as blows to give; that others can state comparisons as significant, at least, as his own; and that his impunity may, perhaps, demand of him whatever powers of taunt and sarcasm he may possess. I commend him to a prudent husbandry of his resources.

But, sir, the coalition! The coalition! Ay, "the murdered coalition!" The gentleman asks, if I were led or frightened into this debate by the spectre of the coalition. "Was it the ghost of the murdered coalition," he exclaims, "which haunted the member from Massachusetts, and which, like the ghost of Banquo, would never down?" "The murdered coalition!" Sir, this charge of a coalition, in reference to the late administration, is not original with the honourable member. It did not spring up in the senate. Whether as a fact, as an argument, or as an embellishment, it is all borrowed. He adopts it, indeed, from a very low origin, and a still lower present condition. It is one of the thousand calumnies with which the press teemed during an excited political canvass. It was a charge of which there was not only no proof or probability, but which was, in itself, wholly impossible to be true. No man of common information ever believed a syllable of it. Yet it was of that class of falsehoods, which, by continued repetition, through all the organs of detraction and abuse, are capable of misleading those who are already far misled, and of further fanning passion, already kindling into flame. Doubtless, it served in its day, and, in greater or less degree, the end designed by it. Having done that, it has sunk into the general mass of stale and loathed calumnies. It is the very cast-off slough of a polluted and shameless press. Incapable of further mischief, it lies in the sewer, lifeless and despised. It is not now, sir, in the power of the honourable member to give it dignity or decency, by attempting to elevate it, and to introduce it into the senate. He can not change it from what it is, an object of general disgust and scorn. On the contrary, the contact, if he choose to touch it, is more likely to drag him down, down, to the place where it lies itself.

But, sir, the honourable member was not, for other reasons, entirely happy in his allusion to the story of Banquo's murder and Banquo's ghost. It was not, I think, the friends, but the enemies of the murdered Banquo, at whose bidding his spirit would not down. The honourable gentleman is fresh in his reading of the English classics, and can put me right, if I am wrong; but, according to my poor recollection, it was at those who had begun with caresses, and ended with foul and treacherous murder, that the gory locks were shaken. The ghost of Banquo, like that of Hamlet, was an honest ghost. It disturbed no innocent man. It knew where its appearance would strike terror, and who would cry out, a ghost! It made itself visible in the right quarter, and compelled the guilty and the conscience-smitten, and none others, to start, with

"Pry'thee, see there! behold!—look! lo!
If I stand here, I saw him!"

Their eye-balls were seared (was it not so, sir?) who had thought to shield themselves, by concealing their own hand, and laying the imputation of the crime on a low and hireling agency in wickedness, who had vainly attempted to stifle the workings of their own coward consciences, by ejaculating, through white lips and chattering teeth, "Thou canst not say I did it!" I have misread the great poet, if it was those who had no way partaken in the deed of the death, who either found that they were, or feared that they should be, pushed from their stools by the ghost of the slain; or who exclaimed, to a spectre created by their own fears, and their own remorse, "Avaunt! and quit our sight!"

There is another particular, sir, in which the honourable member's quick perception of resemblances might, I should think, have seen something in the story of Banquo, making it not altogether a subject of the most pleasant contemplation. Those who murdered

mand, and will certainly justify a full exposition to South Carolina and the nation of the views I entertain of this important question, as well as a distinct enun-

Banquo, what did they win by it? Substantial good? Permanent power? Or disappointment, rather, and sore mortification—dust and ashes—the common fate of vaulting ambition, overleaping itself? Did not even-handed justice, ere long, commend the poisoned chalice to their own lips? Did they not soon find that for another they had "filled their mind?" that their ambition, though apparently for the moment successful, had but put a barren sceptre in their grasp? Ay, sir,

"A barren sceptre in their gripe,
Thence to be wrenched by an unlinial hand,
No son of their's succeeding."

Sir, I need pursue the allusion no further. I leave the honourable gentleman to run it out at his leisure, and to derive from it all the gratification it is calculated to administer. If he finds himself pleased with the associations, and prepared to be quite satisfied, though the parallel should be entirely completed, I had almost said, I am satisfied also; but that I shall think of. Yes, sir, I will think of that.

In the course of my observations, the other day, Mr. President, I paid a passing tribute of respect to a very worthy man, Mr. Dane, of Massachusetts. It so happened, that he drew the ordinance of 1787, for the government of the Northwestern Territory. A man of so much ability, and so little pretence; of so great a capacity to do good, and so unmixed a disposition to do it for its own sake; a gentleman who acted an important part, forty years ago, in a measure, the influence of which is still deeply felt in the very matter which was the subject of debate, might, I thought, receive from me a commendatory recognition.

But the honourable member was inclined to be facetious on the subject. He was rather disposed to make it matter of ridicule, that I had introduced into the debate the name of one Nathan Dane, of whom, he assures us, he had never before heard. Sir, if the honourable member had never before heard of Mr. Dane, I am sorry for it. It shows him less acquainted with the public men of the country than I had supposed. Let me tell him, however, that a sneer from him, at the mention of the name of Mr. Dane, is in bad taste. It may well be a high mark of ambition, sir, either with the honourable gentleman or myself, to accomplish as much to make our names known to advantage, and remembered with gratitude, as Mr. Dane has accomplished. But the truth is, sir, I suspect, that Mr. Dane lives a little too far north. He is of Massachusetts, and too near the north star to be reached by the honourable gentleman's telescope. If his sphere had happened to range south of Mason's and Dixon's line, he might, probably, have come within the scope of his vision!

I spoke, sir, of the ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery, in all future times, northwest of the Ohio, as a measure of great wisdom and foresight, and one which had been attended with highly beneficial and permanent consequences. I suppose, that, on this point, no two gentlemen in the senate could entertain different opinions. But, the simple expression of this sentiment has led the gentleman, not only into a laboured defence of slavery, in the abstract, and on principle, but also into a warm accusation against me, as having attacked the system of domestic slavery, now existing in the southern states. For all this, there was not the slightest foundation, in any thing said or intimated by me. I did not utter a single word, which any ingenuity could torture into an attack on the slavery of the south. I said only, that it was highly wise and useful, in legislating for the northwestern country, while it was yet a wilderness, to prohibit the introduction of slaves; and added, that, I presumed, in the neighbouring state of Kentucky, there was no reflecting and intelligent gentleman, who would doubt, that if the same prohibition had been extended, at the same early period, over that commonwealth, her strength and population would, at this day, have been far greater than they are. If these opinions be thought doubtful, they are, nevertheless, I trust, neither extraordinary nor disrespectful. They attack nobody, and menace nobody.

ciation of the course which my sense of duty will require me to pursue.

"The ordinance is founded, not on the indefeasi-

And yet, sir, the gentleman's optics have discovered, even in the mere expression of this sentiment, what he calls the very spirit of the Missouri question! He represents me as making an onset on the whole south, and manifesting a spirit which would interfere with, and disturb their domestic condition! Sir, this injustice no otherwise surprises me, than as it is done here, and done without the slightest pretence of ground for it. I say it only surprises me, as being done here; for I know full well, that it is, and has been, the settled policy of some persons in the south, for years, to represent the people of the north as disposed to interfere with them in their own exclusive and peculiar concerns. This is a delicate and sensitive point in southern feeling; and of late years it has always been touched, and generally with effect, whenever the object has been to unite the whole south against northern men, or northern measures. This feeling, always carefully kept alive, and maintained at too intense a heat to admit discrimination or reflection, is a lever of great power in our political machine. It moves vast bodies, and gives to them one and the same direction. But the feeling is without all adequate cause, and the suspicion which exists wholly groundless. There is not, and never has been, a disposition in the north to interfere with these interests of the south. Such interference has never been supposed to be within the power of government; nor has it been in any way attempted. It has always been regarded as a matter of domestic policy, left with the states themselves, and with which the federal government had nothing to do. Certainly, sir, I am, and ever have been, of that opinion. The gentleman, indeed, argues that slavery, in the abstract, is no evil. Most assuredly, I need not say I differ with him altogether and most widely on that point. I regard domestic slavery as one of the greatest of evils, both moral and political. But, though it be a malady, and whether it be curable, and if so, by what means; or, on the other hand, whether it be the *vulnus immedicabile* of the social system, I leave it to those whose right and duty it is to inquire and to decide. And this, I believe, sir, is, and uniformly has been, the sentiment of the north. Let us look a little at the history of this matter.

When the present constitution was submitted for the ratification of the people, there were those who imagined that the powers of the government which it proposed to establish, might, perhaps, in some possible mode, be exerted in measures tending to the abolition of slavery. This suggestion would of course attract much attention in the southern conventions. In that of Virginia, Governor Randolph said:

"I hope there is none here who, considering the subject in the calm light of philosophy, will make an objection dishonourable to Virginia—that, at the moment they are securing the rights of their citizens, an objection is started, that there is a spark of hope that those unfortunate men now held in bondage, may, by the operation of the general government, be made free."

At the very first congress, petitions on the subject were presented, if I mistake not, from different states. The Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, took a lead, and laid before congress a memorial, praying congress to promote the abolition by such powers as it possessed. This memorial was referred, in the house of representatives, to a select committee, consisting of Mr. Foster, of New Hampshire; Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts; Mr. Huntington, of Connecticut; Mr. Lawrence, of New York; Mr. Sinnickson, of New Jersey; Mr. Hartley, of Pennsylvania; and Mr. Parker, of Virginia. All of them, sir, as you will observe, northern men, but the last. This committee made a report, which was committed to a committee of the whole house, and there considered and discussed on several days; and being amended, although in no material respect, it was made to express three distinct propositions on the subjects of slavery and the slave trade. First, in the words of the constitution, that congress could not, prior to the year 1808, prohibit the migration or importation of such persons as any of the states, then existing, should think proper to admit. Second, that congress had authority to restrain the citizens of the United States from carrying on the African slave trade, for

ble right of resisting acts which are plainly unconstitutional and too oppressive to be endured; but on the strange position that any one state may not only

the purpose of supplying foreign countries. On this proposition, our early laws against those who engage in that traffic are founded. The third proposition, and that which bears on the present question, was expressed in the following terms:

"Resolved, That congress have no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them in any of the states; it remaining with the several states alone to provide rules and regulations therein, which humanity and true policy may require."

This resolution received the sanction of the house of representatives so early as March, 1790. And now, sir, the honourable member will allow me to remind him, that not only were the select committee who reported the resolution, with a single exception, all northern men, but also that of the members then composing the house of representatives, a large majority, I believe nearly two thirds, were northern men also.

The house agreed to insert these resolutions in its journal; and, from that day to this, it has never been maintained or contended, that congress had any authority to regulate, or interfere with, the condition of slaves in the several states. No northern gentleman, to my knowledge, has moved any such question in either house of congress.

The fears of the south, whatever fears they might have entertained, were allayed and quieted by this early decision; and so remained, till they were excited afresh, without cause but for collateral and indirect purposes. When it became necessary, or was thought so, by some political persons, to find an unvarying ground for the exclusion of northern men from confidence and from lead in the affairs of the republic, then, and not till then, the cry was raised, and the feeling industriously excited, that the influence of northern men in the public councils would endanger the relation of master and slave. For myself, I claim no other merit, than that this gross and enormous injustice towards the whole north, has not wrought upon me to change my opinions, or my political conduct. I hope I am above violating any principles, even under the smart of injury and false imputations. Unjust suspicions and undeserved reproach, whatever pain I may experience from them, will not induce me, I trust, nevertheless, to overstep the limits of constitutional duty, or to encroach on the rights of others. The domestic slavery of the south, I leave where I find it—in the hands of their own governments. It is their affair, not mine. Nor do I complain of the peculiar effect which the magnitude of that population has had in the distribution of power under this federal government. We know, sir, that the representation of the states in the other house, is not equal. We know that great advantage, in that respect, is enjoyed by the slave-holding states; and we know, too, that the intended equivalent for that advantage, that is to say, the imposition of direct taxes in the same ratio, has become merely nominal; the habit of the government being almost invariably to collect its revenues from other sources, and in other modes. Nevertheless, I do not complain, nor would I countenance any movement to alter this arrangement of representation. It is the original bargain, the compact—let it stand: let the advantage of it be fully enjoyed. The union itself is too full of benefit to be hazarded in propositions for changing its original basis. I go for the constitution as it is, and for the union as it is. But I am resolved not to submit in silence to accusations, either against myself individually, or against the north, wholly unfounded and unjust; accusations which impute to us a disposition to evade the constitutional compact, and to extend the power of the government over the internal laws and domestic condition of the states. All such accusations, wherever and whenever made; all insinuations of the existence of any such purposes, I know and feel to be groundless and injurious. And we must confide in southern gentlemen themselves; we must trust to those whose integrity of heart and magnanimity of feeling will lead them to a desire to maintain and disseminate truth, and who possess the means of its diffusion with the southern public; we must leave it to them to disabuse that public of its prejudices. But, in the mean time, for my own part, I shall continue to act justly,

declare an act of congress void, but prohibit its execution—that they may do this consistently with the constitution—that the true construction of that

whether those towards whom justice is exercised receive it with candour or with contumely.

Having had occasion to recur to the ordinance of 1787, in order to defend myself against the inferences which the honourable member has chosen to draw from my observations on that subject, I am not willing now entirely to take leave of it without another remark. It need hardly be said, that that paper expresses just sentiments on the great subject of civil and religious liberty. Such sentiments were common, and abound in all our state papers of that day. But this ordinance did that which was not so common, and which is not, even now, universal; that is, it set forth and declared, as a *high and binding duty of government itself*, to encourage schools, and advance the means of education; on the plain reason, that religion, morality, and knowledge, are necessary to good government, and to the happiness of mankind. One observation further. The important provision incorporated into the constitution of the United States, and several of those of the states, and recently, as we have seen, adopted into the reformed constitution of Virginia, restraining legislative power, in questions of private right, and from impairing the obligation of contracts, is first introduced and established, as far as I am informed, as matter of express written constitutional law, in this ordinance of 1787. And I must add, also, in regard to the author of the ordinance, who has not had the happiness to attract the gentleman's notice, heretofore, nor to avoid his sarcasm now, that he was chairman of that select committee of the old congress, whose report first expressed the strong sense of that body, that the old confederation was not adequate to the exigencies of the country, and recommending to the states to send delegates to the convention which formed the present constitution.

An attempt has been made to transfer from the north to the south, the honour of this exclusion of slavery from the Northwestern Territory. The journal, without argument or comment, refutes such attempt. The cession by Virginia was made March, 1784. On the 19th of April following, a committee, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, Chase, and Howell, reported a plan for a temporary government of the territory, in which was this article: "that, after the year 1800, there shall be neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude, in any of the said states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been convicted." Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, moved to strike out this paragraph. The question was put, according to the form then practised: "shall these words stand as part of the plan," &c. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—seven states, voted in the affirmative. Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, in the negative. North Carolina was divided. As the consent of the nine states was necessary, the words could not stand, and were struck out accordingly. Mr. Jefferson voted for the clause, but was overruled by his colleagues.

In March of the next year, (1785,) Mr. King, of Massachusetts, seconded by Mr. Ellery, of Rhode Island, proposed the formerly rejected article, with this addition: "*And that this regulation shall be an article of compact, and remain a fundamental principle of the constitutions between the thirteen original states, and each of the states described in the resolve,*" &c. On this clause, which provided the adequate and thorough security, the eight northern states at that time voted affirmatively, and the four southern states negatively. The votes of nine states were not yet obtained, and thus, the provision was again rejected by the southern states. The perseverance of the north held out, and two years afterwards the object was attained. It is no derogation from the credit, whatever that may be, of drawing the ordinance, that its principles had before been prepared and discussed, in the form of resolutions. If one should reason in that way, what would become of the distinguished honour of the author of the declaration of independence? There is not a sentiment in that paper which had not been voted and resolved in the assemblies, and other popular bodies in the country, over and over again.

But the honourable member has now found out that this gentle-

instrument permits a state to retain its place in the union, and yet be bound by no other of its laws than those it may choose to consider as constitution-

man, Mr. Dane, was a member of the Hartford convention. However uninformed the honourable member may be of characters and occurrences at the north, it would seem that he has at his elbow on this occasion, some high-minded and lofty spirit, some magnanimous and true-hearted monitor, possessing the means of local knowledge, and ready to supply the honourable member with every thing, down even to forgotten and moth-eaten twopenny pamphlets, which may be used to the disadvantage of his own country. But as to the Hartford convention, sir, allow me to say, that the proceedings of that body seem now to be less read and studied in New England than further south. They appear to be looked to, not in New England, but elsewhere, for the purpose of seeing how far they may serve as a precedent. But they will not answer the purpose; they are quite too tame. The latitude in which they originated was too cold. Other conventions, of more recent existence, have gone a whole bar's length beyond it. The learned doctors of Colleton and Abbeville have pushed their commentaries on the Hartford collect so far, that the original text-writers are thrown entirely into the shade. I have nothing to do, sir, with the Hartford convention. Its journal, which the gentleman has quoted, I never read. So far as the honourable member may discover in its proceedings a spirit in any degree resembling that which was avowed and justified in those other conventions to which I have alluded, or so far as those proceedings can be shown to be disloyal to the constitution, or tending to disunion, so far I shall be as ready as any one to bestow on them reprehension and censure.

Having dwelt long on this convention, and other occurrences of that day, in the hope, probably, (which will not be gratified,) that I should leave the course of this debate to follow him at length in those discussions, the honourable member returned, and attempted another object. He referred to a speech of mine in the other house, the same which I had occasion to allude to myself the other day; and has quoted a passage or two from it, with a bold, though uneasy and labouring air of confidence, as if he had detected in me an inconsistency. Judging from the gentleman's manner, a stranger to the course of the debate, and to the point in discussion, would have imagined, from so triumphant a tone, that the honourable member was about to overwhelm me with a manifest contradiction. Any one who heard him, and who had not heard what I had, in fact, previously said, must have thought me routed and discomfited, as the gentleman had promised. Sir, a breath blows all this triumph away. There is not the slightest difference in the sentiments of my remarks on the two occasions. What I said here on Wednesday, is in exact accordance with the opinions expressed by me in the other house, in 1825. Though the gentleman had the metaphysics of Hudibras—though he were able

"To sever and divide
A hair 'twixt north and northwest side,"

he yet could not insert his metaphysical scissors between the fair reading of my remarks in 1825, and what I said here last week. There is not only no contradiction, no difference, but, in truth, too exact a similarity, both in thought and language, to be entirely in just taste. I had myself quoted the same speech; had recurred to it, and spoke with it open before me; and much of what I said was little more than a repetition from it. In order to make finishing work with this alleged contradiction, permit me to recur to the origin of this debate, and review its course. This seems expedient, and may be done as well now as at any time.

Well, then, its history is this: The honourable member from Connecticut moved a resolution, which constitutes the first branch of that which is now before us; that is to say, a resolution, instructing the committee on public lands to inquire into the expediency of limiting, for a certain period, the sales of the public lands, to such as have heretofore been offered for sale; and whether sundry offices, connected with the sales of the lands, might not be abolished, without detriment to the public service.

In the progress of the discussion which arose on this resolution,

al. It is true, they add, that to justify this abrogation of a law, it must be palpably contrary to the constitution; but it is evident, that to give the right

an honourable member from New Hampshire moved to amend the resolution, so as entirely to reverse its object; that is, to strike it all out, and insert a direction to the committee to inquire into the expediency of adopting measures to hasten the sales, and extend more rapidly the surveys of the lands.

The honourable member from Maine, (Mr. Sprague,) suggested, that both those propositions might well enough go, for consideration, to the committee; and in this state of the question, the member from South Carolina addressed the senate in his first speech. He rose, he said, to give us his own free thoughts on the public lands. I saw him rise with pleasure, and listened with expectation, though, before he concluded, I was filled with surprise. Certainly, I was never more surprised, than to find him following up, to the extent he did, the sentiments and opinions which the gentleman from Missouri had put forth, and which it is known he has long entertained.

I need not repeat, at large, the general topics of the honourable gentleman's speech. When he said, yesterday, that he did not attack the eastern states, he certainly must have forgotten, not only particular remarks, but the whole drift and tenor of his speech; unless he means, by not attacking, that he did not commence hostilities—but that another had preceded him in the attack. He, in the first place, disapproved of the whole course of the government, for forty years, in regard to its dispositions of the public land; and then, turning northward and eastward, and fancying he had found a cause for alleged narrowness and niggardliness in the "accursed policy" of the tariff, to which he represented the people of New England as wedded, he went on, for a full hour, with remarks, the whole scope of which was to exhibit the results of this policy, in feelings and measures unfavourable to the west. I thought his opinions unfounded and erroneous, as to the general course of the government, and ventured to reply to them.

The gentleman remarked on the analogy of other cases, and quoted the conduct of European governments towards their own subjects, settling on this continent, as in point, to show, that we had been harsh and rigid in selling, when we should have given the public lands to settlers. I thought the honourable member had suffered his judgment to be betrayed by a false analogy; that he was struck with an appearance of resemblance, where there was no real similitude. I think so still. The first settlers of North America were enterprising spirits, engaged in private adventure, or fleeing from tyranny at home. When arrived here, they were forgotten by the mother country, or remembered only to be oppressed. Carried away again by the appearance of analogy, or struck with the eloquence of the passage, the honourable member yesterday observed, that the conduct of government towards the western emigrants, or my representation of it, brought to his mind a celebrated speech in the British parliament. It was, sir, the speech of Col. Barre. On the question of the stamp act, or tea tax, I forget which, Col. Barre had heard a member on the treasury bench argue, that the people of the United States, being British colonists, planted by the maternal care, nourished by the indulgence, and protected by the arms of England, would not grudge their mite to relieve the mother country from the heavy burden under which she groaned. The language of Col. Barre, in reply to this, was—"They planted by your care! Your oppression planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny, and grew by your neglect of them. So soon as you began to care for them, you showed your care by sending persons to spy out their liberties, misrepresent their character, prey upon them, and eat out their substance."

And now, does the honourable gentleman mean to maintain, that language like this is applicable to the conduct of the government of the United States towards the western emigrants, or to any representation given by me of that conduct? Were the settlers of the west driven thither by our oppression? Have they flourished only by our neglect of them? Has the government done nothing but to prey upon them, and eat out their substance? Sir, this fervid eloquence of the British speaker, just when and where it was uttered, and fit to remain an exercise for the schools, is not a little

of resisting laws of that description, coupled with the uncontrolled right to decide what laws deserve that character, is to give the power of resisting all laws.

out of place, when it is brought thence to be applied here, to the conduct of our own country towards her own citizens. From America to England, it may be true; from Americans to their own government, it would be strange language. Let us leave it to be declaimed by our boys against a foreign nation; not introduce it here to recite and declaim ourselves against our own.

But I come to the point of the alleged contradiction. In my remarks on Wednesday, I contended, that we could not give away gratuitously all the public lands; that we held them in trust; that the government had solemnly pledged itself to dispose of them as a common fund for the common benefit, and to sell and settle them as its discretion should dictate. Now, sir, what contradiction does the gentleman find to this sentiment, in the speech of 1825? He quotes me as having then said, that we ought not to hug these lands as a very great treasure. Very well, sir, supposing me to be accurately reported, in that expression, what is the contradiction? I have not now said, that we should hug these lands as a favourite source of pecuniary income. No such thing. It is not my view. What I have said, and what I do say, is, that they are a common fund—to be disposed of for the common benefit—to be sold at low prices, for the accommodation of settlers, keeping the object of settling the lands as much in view, as that of raising money from them. This I say now, and this I have always said. Is this hugging them as a favourite treasure? Is there no difference between hugging and hoarding this fund, on the one hand, as a great treasure, and, on the other, of disposing of it at low prices, placing the proceeds in the general treasury of the union? My opinion is, that as much is to be made of the land, as fairly and reasonably may be, selling it all the while at such rates as to give the fullest effect to settlement. This is not giving it all away to the states, as the gentleman would propose; nor is it hugging the fund closely and tenaciously, as a favourite treasure; but it is, in my judgment, a just and wise policy, perfectly according with all the various duties which rest on government. So much for my contradiction. And what is it? Where is the ground of the gentleman's triumph? What inconsistency, in word or doctrine, has he been able to detect? Sir, if this be a sample of that discomfiture with which the honourable member threatened me, commend me to the word *discomfiture* for the rest of my life.

But, after all, this is not the point of the debate; and I must now bring the gentleman back to that which is the point.

The real question between him and me is, where has the doctrine been advanced, at the south or the east, that the population of the west should be retarded, or at least need not be hastened, on account of its effect to drain off the people from the Atlantic states? Is this doctrine, as has been alleged, of eastern origin? That is the question. Has the gentleman found any thing, by which he can make good his accusation? I submit to the senate, that he has entirely failed; and, as far as this debate has shown, the only person who has advanced such sentiments, is a gentleman from South Carolina, and a friend to the honourable member himself. The honourable gentleman has given no answer to this; there is none which can be given. The simple fact, while it requires no comment to enforce it, defies all argument to refute it. I could refer to the speeches of another southern gentleman, in years before, of the same general character, and to the same effect, as that which has been quoted; but I will not consume the time of the senate by the reading of them.

So then, sir, New England is guiltless of the policy of retarding western population, and of all envy and jealousy of the growth of the new states. Whatever there be of that policy in the country, no part of it is her's. If it has a local habitation, the honourable member has probably seen, by this time, where he is to look for it; and if it has now received a name, he has himself christened it.

We approach, at length, sir, to a more important part of the honourable gentleman's observations. Since it does not accord with my views of justice and policy to give away the public lands altogether, as mere matter of gratuity, I am asked by the honourable gentleman, on what ground it is, that I consent to vote them away

For, as by the theory, there is no appeal, the reasons alleged by the state, good or bad, must prevail. If it should be said that public opinion is a sufficient

in particular instances? How, he inquires, do I reconcile with these professed sentiments, my support of measures appropriating portions of the lands to particular roads, particular canals, particular rivers, and particular institutions of education in the west? This leads, sir, to the real and wide difference in political opinion between the honourable gentleman and myself. On my part, I look upon all these objects as connected with the common good, fairly embraced in its object and its terms; he, on the contrary, deems them all, if good at all, only local good. This is our difference. The interrogatory which he proceeded to put, at once explains this difference. "What interest," asks he, "has South Carolina in a canal in Ohio?" Sir, this very question is full of significance. It develops the gentleman's whole political system; and its answer expounds mine. Here we differ, *toto calo*. I look upon a road over the Alleghany, a canal round the falls of the Ohio, or a canal or railway from the Atlantic to the western waters, as being objects large and extensive enough to be fairly said to be for the common benefit. The gentleman thinks otherwise, and this is the key to open his construction of the powers of the government. He may well ask, upon his system, what interest has South Carolina in a canal in Ohio? On that system, it is true, she has no interest. On that system, Ohio and Carolina are different governments, and different countries, connected here, it is true, by some slight and ill-defined bond of union, but in all main respects, separate and diverse. On that system, Carolina has no more interest in a canal in Ohio, than in Mexico. The gentleman, therefore, only follows out his own principles; he does no more than arrive at the natural conclusions of his own doctrines; he only announces the true results of that creed which he has adopted himself, and would persuade others to adopt, when he thus declares that South Carolina has no interest in a public work in Ohio. Sir, we narrow-minded people of New England do not reason thus. Our notion of things is entirely different. We look upon the states not as separated, but as united. We love to dwell on that union, and on the mutual happiness which it has so much promoted, and the common renown which it has so greatly contributed to acquire. In our contemplation, Carolina and Ohio are parts of the same country; states, united under the same general government, having interests, common, associated, intermingled. In whatever is within the proper sphere of the constitutional power of this government, we look upon the states as one. We do not impose geographical limits to our patriotic feeling or regard; we do not follow rivers, and mountains, and lines of latitude, to find boundaries beyond which public improvements do not benefit us. We who come here, as agents and representatives of these narrow-minded and selfish men of New England, consider ourselves as bound to regard, with equal eye, the good of the whole, in whatever is within our power of legislation. Sir, if a railroad or a canal, beginning in South Carolina, and ending in South Carolina, appeared to me to be of national importance and national magnitude, believing, as I do, that the power of government extends to the encouragement of works of that description, if I were to stand up here, and ask, what interest has Massachusetts in a railroad in South Carolina, I should not be willing to face my constituents. These same narrow-minded men would tell me, that they had sent me to act for the whole country, and that one who possessed too little comprehension, either of intellect or feeling; one who was not large enough, in mind and heart, to embrace the whole, was not fit to be entrusted with the interest of any part. Sir, I do not desire to enlarge the powers of the government, by unjustifiable construction; nor to exercise any not within a fair interpretation. But when it is believed, that a power does exist, then it is, in my judgment, to be exercised for the general benefit of the whole: so far as respects the exercise of such a power, the states are one. It was the very object of the constitution to create unity of interests to the extent of the powers of the general government. In war and peace, we are one; in commerce one; because the authority of the general government reaches to war and peace, and to the regulation of commerce. I have never seen any more difficulty in erecting light-houses on the lakes, than

check against the abuse of this power, it may be asked, why it is not deemed a sufficient guard against the passage of an unconstitutional act by congress.

on the ocean; in improving the harbours of inland seas, than if they were within the ebb and flow of the tide; or of removing obstructions in the vast streams of the west, more than in any work to facilitate commerce on the Atlantic coast. If there be power for one, there is power also for the other; and they are all and equally for the country.

There are other objects, apparently more local, or the benefit of which is less general, towards which, nevertheless, I have concurred with others to give aid, by donations of land. It is proposed to construct a road in or through one of the new states in which this government possesses large quantities of land. Have the United States no right, as a great and untaxed proprietor? Are they under no obligation to contribute to an object thus calculated to promote the common good of all the proprietors, themselves included? And even with respect to education, which is the extreme case, let the question be considered. In the first place, as we have seen, it was made matter of compact with these states, that they should do their part to promote education. In the next place, our whole system of land laws proceeds on the idea that education is for the common good; because, in every division, a certain portion is uniformly reserved and appropriated for the use of schools. And, finally, have not these new states singularly strong claims, founded on the ground already stated, that the government is a great untaxed proprietor in the ownership of the soil? It is a consideration of great importance, that probably there is in no part of the country, or of the world, so great a call for the means of education, as in those new states; owing to the vast numbers of persons within those ages, in which education and instruction are usually received, if received at all. This is the natural consequence of recency of settlement and rapid increase. The census of these states shows how great a proportion of the whole population occupies the classes between infancy and manhood. These are the wide fields, and here is the deep and quick soil for the seeds of knowledge and virtue; and this is the favoured season, the spring time for sowing them. Let them be disseminated without stint. Let them be scattered with a bountiful, broad cast. Whatever the government can fairly do towards these objects, in my opinion, ought to be done.

These, sir, are the grounds, succinctly stated, on which my votes for grants of lands for particular objects rest; while I maintain, at the same time, that it is all a common fund, for the common benefit. And reasons like these, I presume, have influenced the votes of other gentlemen from New England. Those who have a different view of the powers of the government, of course, come to different conclusions, on these, as on other questions. I observed, when speaking on this subject before, that if we looked to any measure, whether for a road, a canal, or any thing else, intended for the improvement of the west, it would be found, that if the New England *ayes* were struck out of the lists of votes, the southern *noes* would always have rejected the measure. The truth of this has not been denied, and can not be denied. In stating this, I thought it just to ascribe it to the constitutional scruples of the south, rather than to any other less favourable or less charitable cause. But, no sooner had I done this, than the honourable gentleman asks, if I reproach him and his friends with their constitutional scruples? Sir, I reproach nobody. I stated a fact, and gave the most respectful reason for it that occurred to me. The gentleman can not deny the fact; he may, if he choose, disclaim the reason. It is not long since I had occasion, in presenting a petition from his own state, to account for its being entrusted to my hands, by saying, that the constitutional opinions of the gentleman and his worthy colleague, prevented them from supporting it. Sir, did I state this as a matter of reproach? Far from it. Did I attempt to find any other cause than an honest one for these scruples? Sir, I did not. It did not become me to doubt nor to insinuate that the gentleman had either changed his sentiments, or that he had made up a set of constitutional opinions, accommodated to any particular combination of political occurrences. Had I done so, I should have felt, that, while I was entitled to little credit in thus questioning other people's motives, I justified the whole world in suspecting my own.

There is, however, a restraint in this last case, which makes the assumed power of a state more indefensible, and which does not exist in the other. There

But how has the gentleman returned this respect for others' opinions? His own candour and justice, how have they been exhibited towards the motives of others, while he has been at so much pains to maintain, what nobody has disputed, the purity of his own? Why, sir, he has asked, *when*, and *how*, and *why*, New England votes were found going for measures favourable to the west; he has demanded to be informed, whether all this did not begin in 1825, and while the election of president was still pending? Sir, to these questions retort would be justified; and it is both cogent and at hand. Nevertheless, I will answer the inquiry, not by retort, but by facts. I will tell the gentleman *when*, and *how*, and *why*, New England has supported measures favourable to the west. I have already referred to the early history of the government—to the first acquisition of the lands—to the original laws for disposing of them, and for governing the territories where they lie; and have shown the influence of New England men and New England principles in all these leading measures. I should not be pardoned were I to go over that ground again. Coming to more recent times, and to measures of a less general character, I have endeavoured to prove that every thing of this kind, designed for western improvement, has depended on the votes of New England; all this is true, beyond the power of contradiction.

And now, sir, there are two measures to which I will refer, not so ancient as to belong to the early history of the public lands, and not so recent as to be on this side of the period when the gentleman charitably imagines a new direction may have been given the New England feeling, and New England votes. These measures, and the New England votes in support of them, may be taken as samples and specimens of all the rest. In 1820, observe, Mr. President, in 1820, the people of the west besought congress for a reduction in the price of lands. In favour of that reduction, New England, with a delegation of forty members in the other house, gave thirty-three votes, and one only against it. The four southern states, with fifty members, gave thirty-two votes for it, and seven against it. Again, in 1821, (observe again, sir, the time,) the law passed for the relief of the purchasers of the public lands. This was a measure of vital importance to the west, and more especially to the southwest. It authorized the relinquishment of contracts for lands, which had been entered into at high prices, and a reduction in the other cases of not less than 37 1-2 per cent. on the purchase money. Many millions of dollars, six or seven, I believe, at least, probably much more, were relinquished by this law. On this bill, New England, with her forty members, gave more affirmative votes than the four southern states, with their fifty-two or three members. These two are far the most important measures, respecting the public lands, which have been adopted within the last twenty years. They took place in 1820 and 1821. That is the time *when*. And as to the manner *how*, the gentleman already sees that it was by voting, in solid column, for the required relief; and, lastly, as to the cause *why*, I tell the gentleman, it was because the members from New England thought the measures just and salutary; because they entertained towards the west neither envy, hatred, nor malice; because they deemed it becoming them, as just and enlightened public men, to meet the exigency which had arisen in the west, with the appropriate measure of relief; because they felt it due to their own characters, and the characters of their New England predecessors in this government, to act towards the new states in the spirit of a liberal, patronizing, magnanimous policy. So much, sir, for the cause *why*; and I hope that by this time, sir, the honourable gentleman is satisfied; if not, I do not know *when*, or *how*, or *why*, he ever will be.

Having recurred to these two important measures, in answer to the gentleman's inquiries, I must now beg permission to go back to a period yet something earlier, for the purpose of still further showing how much, or rather, how little reason there is for the gentleman's insinuation, that political hopes, or fears, or party associations, were the grounds of these New England votes. And after what has been said, I hope it may be forgiven me, if I allude to some political opinions and votes of my own, of very little public

are two appeals from an unconstitutional act passed by congress—one to the judiciary, the other to the people and the states. There is no appeal from

importance, certainly, but which, from the time at which they were given and expressed, may pass for good witnesses on this occasion.

This government, Mr. President, from its origin to the peace of 1815, had been too much engrossed with various other important concerns, to be able to turn its thoughts inward, and look to the development of its vast internal resources. In the early part of President Washington's administration, it was fully occupied with organizing the government, providing for the public debt, defending the frontiers, and maintaining domestic peace. Before the termination of that administration, the fires of the French revolution blazed forth, as from a new opened volcano, and the whole breadth of the ocean did not entirely secure us from its effects. The smoke and the cinders reached us, though not the burning lava. Difficult and agitating questions, embarrassing to government, and dividing public opinion, sprung out of the new state of our foreign relations, and were succeeded by others, and yet again by others, equally embarrassing, and equally exciting division and discord, through the long series of twenty years; till they finally issued in the war with England. Down to the close of that war, no distinct, marked, and deliberate attention, had been given, or could have been given, to the internal condition of the country, its capacities of improvement, or the constitutional power of the government, in regard to objects connected with such improvement.

The peace, Mr. President, brought about an entirely new, and a most interesting state of things: it opened to us other prospects, and suggested other duties. We ourselves were changed, and the whole world was changed. The pacification of Europe, after June, 1815, assumed a firm and permanent aspect. The nations evidently manifested that they were disposed for peace. Some agitation of the waves might be expected, even after the storm had subsided, but the tendency was, strongly and rapidly, towards settled repose.

It so happened, sir, that I was at that time a member of congress, and, like others, naturally turned my attention to the contemplation of the newly altered condition of the country, and of the world. It appeared plainly enough to me, as well as to wiser and more experienced men, that the policy of the government would necessarily take a start, in a new direction; because new directions would necessarily be given to the pursuits and occupations of the people. We had pushed our commerce far and fast, under the advantage of a neutral flag. But there were now no longer flags, either neutral or belligerent. The harvest of neutrality had been great, but we had gathered it all. With the peace of Europe, it was obvious there would spring up in her circle of nations, a revived and invigorated spirit of trade, and a new activity in all the business and objects of civilized life. Hereafter, our commercial gains were to be earned only by success in a close and intense competition. Other nations would produce for themselves, and carry for themselves, and manufacture for themselves, to the full extent of their abilities. The crops of our plains would no longer sustain European armies, nor our ships longer supply those whom war had rendered unable to supply themselves. It was obvious, that, under these circumstances, the country would begin to survey itself, and to estimate its own capacity of improvement. And this improvement, how was it to be accomplished, and who was to accomplish it? We were ten or twelve millions of people, spread over almost half a world. We were twenty-four states, some stretching along the same seaboard, some along the same line of inland frontier, and others on opposite banks of the same vast rivers. Two considerations at once presented themselves, in looking at this state of things, with great force. One was, that that great branch of improvement, which consisted in furnishing new facilities of intercourse, necessarily ran into different states, in every leading instance, and would benefit the citizens of all such states. No one state, therefore, in such cases, would assume the whole expense, nor was the co-operation of several states to be expected. Take the instance of the Delaware Breakwater. It will cost several millions of money. Would Pennsylvania alone have ever constructed it? Certainly never, while this union lasts, because it is not for her sole benefit. Would Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, have united to

the state decision in theory, and the practical illustration shows that the courts are shut against an application to review it, both judges and jurors being

accomplish it at their joint expense? Certainly not, for the same reason. It could not be done, therefore, but by the general government. The same may be said of the large inland undertakings, except that, in them, government, instead of bearing the whole expense, co-operates with others who bear a part. The other consideration is, that the United States have the means. They enjoy the revenues derived from commerce, and the states have no abundant and easy sources of public income. The custom-houses fill the general treasury, while the states have scanty resources, except by resort to heavy direct taxes.

Under this view of things, I thought it necessary to settle, at least for myself, some definite notions, with respect to the powers of the government, in regard to internal affairs. It may not savour too much of self-commendation to remark, that, with this object, I considered the constitution, its judicial construction, its contemporaneous exposition, and the whole history of the legislation of congress under it; and I arrived at the conclusion, that government had power to accomplish sundry objects, or aid in their accomplishment, which are now commonly spoken of as *INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS*. That conclusion, sir, may have been right, or it may have been wrong. I am not about to argue the grounds of it at large. I only say, that it was adopted and acted on even so early as in 1816. Yes, Mr. President, I made up my opinion, and determined on my intended course of political conduct, on these subjects, in the fourteenth congress, in 1816. And now, Mr. President, I have further to say, that I made up these opinions, and entered on this course of political conduct, *Teuero duce*. Yes, sir, I pursued, in all this, a South Carolina track. On the doctrines of internal improvement, South Carolina, as she was then represented in the other house, set forth, in 1816, under a fresh and leading breeze, and I was among the followers. But if my leader sees new lights, and turns a sharp corner, unless I see new lights also, I keep straight on in the same path. I repeat, that leading gentlemen from South Carolina were first and foremost in behalf of the doctrines of internal improvements, when those doctrines first came to be considered and acted upon in congress. The debate on the bank question, on the tariff of 1816, and on the direct tax, will show who was who, and what was what, at that time. The tariff of 1816, one of the plain cases of oppression and usurpation, from which, if the government does not recede, individual states may justly secede from the government, is, sir, in truth, a South Carolina tariff, supported by South Carolina votes. But for those votes, it could not have passed in the form in which it did pass; whereas, if it had depended on Massachusetts votes, it would have been lost. Does not the honourable gentleman well know all this? There are certainly those who do, full well, know it all. I do not say this to reproach South Carolina. I only state the fact; and I think it will appear to be true, that among the earliest and boldest advocates of the tariff, as a measure of protection, and on the express ground of protection, were leading gentlemen of South Carolina, in congress. I did not then, and can not now, understand their language in any other sense. While this tariff of 1816 was under discussion, in the house of representatives, an honourable gentleman from Georgia, now of this house, (Mr. Forsyth,) moved to reduce the proposed duty on cotton. He failed, by four votes, South Carolina giving three votes (enough to have turned the scale) against his motion. The act, sir, then passed, and received on its passage the support of a majority of the representatives of South Carolina present and voting. This act is the first, in the order of those now denounced as plain usurpations. We see it daily, in the list, by the side of those of 1824 and 1828, as a case of manifest oppression, justifying disunion. I put it home to the honourable member from South Carolina, that his own state was not only "art and part" in this measure, but the *causa causans*. Without her aid, this seminal principle of mischief, this root of Upas, could not have been planted. I have already said, and it is true, that this act proceeded on the ground of protection. It interfered, directly, with existing interests of great value and amount. It cut up the Calcutta cotton trade by the roots, but it passed, nevertheless, and it passed on the

sworn to decide in its favour. But reasoning on this subject is superfluous, when our social compact in express terms declares, that the laws of the United

principle of protecting manufactures, on the principle against free trade, on the principle *opposed to that which lets us alone*.

Such, Mr. President, were the opinions of important and leading gentlemen from South Carolina, on the subject of internal improvement, in 1816. I went out of congress the next year; and returning again in 1823, thought I found South Carolina where I had left her. I really supposed that all things remained as they were, and that the South Carolina doctrine of internal improvements would be defended by the same eloquent voices, and the same strong arms, as formerly. In the lapse of these six years, it is true, political associations had assumed a new aspect, and new divisions. A party had arisen in the south, hostile to the doctrine of internal improvements, and had vigorously attacked that doctrine. Anti-consolidation was the flag under which this party fought; and its supporters inveighed against internal improvements, much after the manner in which the honourable gentleman has now inveighed against them, as part and parcel of the system of consolidation. Whether this party arose in South Carolina herself, or in her neighbourhood, is more than I know. I think the latter. However that may have been, there were those found in South Carolina ready to make war upon it, and who did make intrepid war upon it. Names being regarded as things, in such controversies, they bestowed on the anti-improvement gentlemen the appellation of radicals. Yes, sir, the name of radicals, as a term of distinction, applicable and applied to those who denied the liberal doctrines of internal improvements, originated, according to the best of my recollection, somewhere between North Carolina and Georgia. Well, sir, these mischievous radicals were to be put down, and the strong arm of South Carolina was stretched out to put them down. About this time, sir, I returned to congress. The battle with the radicals had been fought, and our South Carolina champions of the doctrines of internal improvement had nobly maintained their ground, and were understood to have achieved a victory. They had driven back the enemy with discomfiture—a thing, by the way, sir, which is not always performed when it is promised. A gentleman, to whom I have already referred in this debate, had come into congress, during my absence from it, from South Carolina, and had brought with him a high reputation for ability. He came from a school with which we have been acquainted, *et noscitur a sociis*. I hold in my hand, sir, a printed speech of this distinguished gentleman, (Mr. McDuffie,) "ON INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS," delivered about the period to which I now refer, and printed with a few introductory remarks upon consolidation; in which, sir, I think he quite consolidated the arguments of his opponents, the radicals, if to *crush* be to consolidate. I give you a short, but substantive quotation, from these remarks. He is speaking of a pamphlet, then recently published, entitled, "Consolidation;" and having alluded to the question of renewing the charter of the former bank of the United States, he says, "Moreover, in the early history of parties, and when Mr. Crawford advocated a renewal of the old charter, it was considered a federal measure; which internal improvements *never* was, as this author erroneously states. This latter measure originated in the administration of Mr. Jefferson, with the appropriation for the Cumberland road; and was first proposed, as a *system*, by Mr. Calhoun, and carried through the house of representatives by a large majority of the republicans, including almost every one of the leading men who carried us through the late war."

So, then, internal improvement is not one of the federal heresies. One paragraph more, sir:

"The author in question, not content with denouncing as federalists General Jackson, Mr. Adams, Mr. Calhoun, and the majority of the South Carolina delegation in congress, modestly extends the denunciation to Mr. Monroe, and the whole republican party. Here are his words: 'During the administration of Mr. Monroe, much has passed which the republican party would be glad to approve if they could. But the principal feature, and that which has chiefly elicited these observations, is the renewal of the *SYSTEM OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS*.' Now this measure was adopted by a vote of 115 to 86, of a republican congress, and sanctioned by a repub-

States, its constitution and treaties made under it, are the supreme law of the land—and for greater caution adds, 'that the judges in every state shall be

lican president. Who, then, is this author, who assumes the high prerogative of denouncing, in the name of the republican party, the republican administration of the country? A denunciation including within its sweep *Calhoun*, *Lowndes*, and *Cheves*—men who will be regarded as the brightest ornaments of South Carolina, and the strongest pillars of the republican party, as long as the late war shall be remembered, and talents and patriotism shall be regarded as the proper objects of the admiration and gratitude of a free people."

Such are the opinions, sir, which were maintained by South Carolina gentlemen, in the house of representatives, on the subject of internal improvements, when I took my seat there as a member from Massachusetts, in 1823. But this is not all: we had a bill before us, and passed it in that house, entitled, "An act to procure the necessary surveys, plans, and estimates, upon the subject of roads and canals." It authorized the president to cause surveys and estimates to be made of the routes of such roads and canals as he might deem of national importance, in a commercial or military point of view, or for the transportation of the mail, and appropriated thirty thousand dollars, out of the treasury, to defray the expense. This act, though preliminary in its nature, covered the whole ground. It took for granted the complete power of internal improvement, as far as any of its advocates had ever contended for it. Having passed the other house, the bill came up to the senate, and was here considered and debated in April, 1824. The honourable member from South Carolina was a member of the senate at that time. While the bill was under consideration here, a motion was made to add the following proviso:

"Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to affirm or admit a power in congress, on their own authority, to make roads or canals, within any of the states of the union."

The yeas and nays were taken on this proviso, and the honourable member voted in the negative! The proviso failed. A motion was then made to add this proviso, viz.:

"Provided, That the faith of the United States is hereby pledged, that no money shall ever be expended for roads or canals, except it shall be among the several states, and in the same proportion as direct taxes are laid and assessed by the provisions of the constitution."

The honourable member voted against this proviso also, and it failed. The bill was then put on its passage, and the honourable member voted for it, and it passed, and became a law.

Now, it strikes me, sir, that there is no maintaining these votes, but upon the power of internal improvement, in its broadest sense. In truth, these bills for surveys and estimates have always been considered as test questions—they show who is for and who against internal improvement. This law itself went the whole length, and assumed the full and complete power. The gentleman's vote sustained that power, in every form in which the various propositions to amend presented it. He went for the entire and unrestrained authority, without consulting the states, and without agreeing to any proportionate distribution. And now suffer me to remind you, Mr. President, that it is this very same power, thus sanctioned, in every form, by the gentleman's own opinion, that is so plain and manifest a usurpation, that the state of South Carolina is supposed to be justified in refusing submission to any laws carrying the power into effect. Truly, sir, is not this a little too hard? May we not crave some mercy, under favour and protection of the gentleman's own authority? Admitting that a road, or a canal, must be written down flat usurpation as ever was committed, may we find no mitigation in our respect for his place, and his vote, as one that knows the law?

The tariff, which South Carolina had an efficient hand in establishing, in 1816, and this asserted power of internal improvement, advanced by her in the same year, and, as we have seen, approved and sanctioned by her representatives in 1824, these two measures are the great grounds on which she is now thought to be justified in breaking up the union, if she sees fit to break it up!

I may now safely say, I think, that we have had the authority of

bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.' And it may be asserted without fear of refutation, that no

leading and distinguished gentlemen from South Carolina, in support of the doctrine of internal improvement. I repeat, that, up to 1824, I, for one, followed South Carolina; but, when that star, in its ascension, veered off in an unexpected direction, I relied on its light no longer. [Here the Vice-President said, "Does the Chair understand the gentleman from Massachusetts to say, that the person now occupying the chair of the senate has changed his opinions on the subject of internal improvement?"] From nothing ever said to me, sir, have I had reason to know of any change in the opinions of the person filling the chair of the senate. If such change has taken place, I regret it. I speak generally of the state of South Carolina. Individuals, we know there are, who hold opinions favourable to the power. An application for its exercise, in behalf of a public work in South Carolina itself, is now pending, I believe, in the other house, presented by members from that state.

I have thus, sir, perhaps not without some tediousness of detail, shown that if I am in error, on the subjects of internal improvement, how, and in what company, I fell into that error. If I am wrong, it is apparent who misled me.

I go to other remarks of the honourable member, and I have to complain of an entire misapprehension of what I said on the subject of the national debt, though I can hardly perceive how any one could misunderstand me. What I said was, not that I wished to put off the payment of the debt, but, on the contrary, that I had always voted for every measure for its reduction, as uniformly as the gentleman himself. He seems to claim the exclusive merit of a disposition to reduce the public charge. I do not allow it to him. As a debt, I was, I am for paying it, because it is a charge on our finances, and on the industry of the country. But I observed, that I thought I perceived a morbid fervour on that subject—an excessive anxiety to pay off the debt, not so much because it is a debt simply, as because, while it lasts, it furnishes one objection to disunion. It is a tie of common interest, while it lasts. I did not impute such motives to the honourable member himself, but that there is such a feeling in existence, I have not a particle of doubt. The most I said was, that if one effect of the debt was to strengthen our union, that effect itself was not regretted by me, however much others might regret it. The gentleman has not seen how to reply to this, otherwise than by supposing me to have advanced the doctrine that a national debt is a national blessing. Others, I must hope, will find less difficulty in understanding me. I distinctly and pointedly cautioned the honourable member not to understand me as expressing an opinion favourable to the continuance of the debt. I repeated this caution, and repeated it more than once; but it was thrown away.

On yet another point, I was still more unaccountably misunderstood. The gentleman had harangued against "consolidation." I told him, in reply, that there was one kind of consolidation to which I was attached, and that was the consolidation of our union; and that this was precisely that consolidation to which I feared others were not attached. That such consolidation was the very end of the constitution—the leading object, as they had informed us themselves, which its framers had kept in view. I turned to their communication, and read their very words—"the consolidation of the union"—and expressed my devotion to this sort of consolidation. I said, in terms, that I wished not, in the slightest degree, to augment the powers of this government; that my object was to preserve, not to enlarge; and that by consolidating the union, I understood no more than the strengthening of the union, and perpetuating it. Having been thus explicit; having thus read, from the printed book, the precise words which I adopted, as expressing my own sentiments, it passes comprehension, how any man could understand me as contending for an extension of the powers of the government, or for consolidation, in that odious sense, in which it means an accumulation in the federal government of the powers properly belonging to the states.

I repeat, sir, that in adopting the sentiment of the framers of the constitution, I read their language audibly, and word for word; and I pointed out the distinction, just as fully as I have now done, be-

'ederative government could exist without a similar provision. Look for a moment to the consequence. If South Carolina considers the revenue laws uncon-

tween the consolidation of the union, and that other obnoxious consolidation which I disclaimed. And yet the honourable member misunderstood me. The gentleman had said that he wished for no fixed revenue—not a shilling. If, by a word, he could convert the capitol into gold, he would not do it. Why all this fear of revenue? Why, sir, because, as the gentleman told us, it tends to consolidation. Now, this can mean neither more nor less than that a common revenue is a common interest, and that all common interests tend to hold the union of the states together. I confess I like that tendency; if the gentleman dislikes it, he is right in deprecating a shilling's fixed revenue. So much, sir, for consolidation.

As well as I recollect the course of his remarks, the honourable gentleman next recurred to the subject of the tariff. He did not doubt the word must be of unpleasant sound to me, and proceeded, with an effort, neither new, nor attended with new success, to involve me and my votes in inconsistency and contradiction. I am happy the honourable gentleman has furnished me an opportunity of a timely remark or two on that subject. I was glad he approached it, for it is a question I enter upon without fear from any body. The strenuous toil of the gentleman has been to raise an inconsistency between my dissent to the tariff in 1824, and my vote in 1828. It is labour lost. He pays undeserved compliment to my speech in 1824; but this is to raise me high, that my fall, as he would have it, in 1828, may be more signal. Sir, there was no fall at all. Between the ground I stood on in 1824, and that I took in 1828, there was not only no precipice, but no declivity. It was a change of position, to meet new circumstances, but on the same level. A plain tale explains the whole matter. In 1816, I had not acquiesced in the tariff, then supported by South Carolina. To some parts of it, especially, I felt and expressed great repugnance. I held the same opinions in 1821, at the meeting in Faneuil Hall, to which the gentleman has alluded. I said then, and say now, that, as an original question, the authority of congress to exercise the revenue power, with direct reference to the protection of manufactures, is a questionable authority, far more questionable, in my judgment, than the power of internal improvements. I must confess, sir, that, in one respect, some impression has been made on my opinions lately. Mr. Madison's publication has put the power in a very strong light. He has placed it, I must acknowledge, upon grounds of construction and argument, which seem impregnable. But even if the power were doubtful, on the face of the constitution itself, it had been assumed and asserted in the first revenue law ever passed under that same constitution; and, on this ground, as a matter settled by contemporaneous practice, I had refrained from expressing the opinion, that the tariff laws transcended constitutional limits, as the gentleman supposes. What I did say at Faneuil Hall; as far as I now remember, was, that this was originally matter of doubtful construction. The gentleman himself, I suppose, thinks there is no doubt about it, and that the laws are plainly against the constitution. Mr. Madison's letters, already referred to, contain, in my judgment, by far the most able exposition extant, of this part of the constitution. He has satisfied me, so far as the practice of the government had left it an open question.

With a great majority of the representatives of Massachusetts, I voted against the tariff of 1824. My reasons were then given, and I will not now repeat them. But, notwithstanding our dissent, the great states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky, went for the bill, in almost unbroken column, and it passed. Congress and the president sanctioned it, and it became the law of the land. What, then, were we to do? Our only option was, either to fall in with this settled course of public policy, and accommodate ourselves to it as well as we could, or to embrace the South Carolina doctrine, and talk of nullifying the statute by state interference.

This last alternative did not suit our principles, and, of course, we adopted the former. In 1827, the subject came again before congress, on a proposition favourable to wool and woollens. We looked upon the system of protection as being fixed and settled.

stitutional, and has a right to prevent their execution' in the port of Charleston, there would be a clear constitutional objection to their collection in every

The law of 1824 remained. It had gone into full operation, and, in regard to some objects intended by it, perhaps most of them, had produced all its expected effects. No man proposed to repeal it; no man attempted to renew the general contest on its principle. But, owing to subsequent and unforeseen occurrences, the benefit intended by it to wool and woollen fabrics had not been realized. Events, not known here when the law passed, had taken place, which defeated its object in that particular respect. A measure was accordingly brought forward to meet this precise deficiency, to remedy this particular defect. It was limited to wool and woollens. Was ever any thing more reasonable? If the policy of the tariff laws had become established in principle, as the permanent policy of the government, should they not be revised and amended, and made equal, like other laws, as exigencies should arise, or justice require? Because we had doubted about adopting the system, were we to refuse to cure its manifest defects, after it became adopted, and when no one attempted its repeal? And this, sir, is the inconsistency so much bruited. I had voted against the tariff of 1824—but it passed; and in 1827 and 1828, I voted to amend it, in a point essential to the interest of my constituents. Where is the inconsistency? Could I do otherwise? Sir, does political consistency consist in always giving negative votes? Does it require of a public man to refuse to concur in amending laws, because they passed against his consent? Having voted against the tariff originally, does consistency demand that I should do all in my power to maintain an unequal tariff, burdensome to my own constituents, in many respects, favourable in none? To consistency of that sort, I lay no claim; and there is another sort to which I lay as little—and that is, a kind of consistency by which persons feel themselves as much bound to oppose a proposition after it has become a law of the land, as before.

The bill of 1827, limited, as I have said, to the single object in which the tariff of 1824 had manifestly failed in its effect, passed the house of representatives, but was lost here. We had then the act of 1828. I need not recur to the history of a measure so recent. Its enemies spiced it with whatsoever they thought would render it distasteful; its friends took it, drugged as it was. Vast amounts of property, many millions, had been invested in manufactures, under the inducements of the act of 1824. Events called loudly, as I thought, for further regulation to secure the degree of protection intended by that act. I was disposed to vote for such regulations, and desired nothing more; but certainly was not to be bantered out of my purpose by a threatened augmentation of duty on molasses, put into the bill for the avowed purpose of making it obnoxious. The vote may have been right or wrong, wise or unwise; but it is little less than absurd to allege against it an inconsistency with opposition to the former law.

Sir, as to the general subject of the tariff, I have little now to say. Another opportunity may be presented. I remarked the other day, that this policy did not begin with us in New England; and yet, sir, New England is charged, with vehemence, as being favourable, or charged with equal vehemence, as being unfavourable to the tariff policy, just as best suits the time, place, and occasion for making some charge against her. The credulity of the public has been put to its extreme capacity of false impression, relative to her conduct in this particular. Through all the south, during the late contest, it was New England policy, and a New England administration, that was afflicting the country with a tariff policy beyond all endurance; while on the other side of the Alleghany, even the act of 1828 itself, the very sublimated essence of oppression, according to southern opinions, was pronounced to be one of those blessings, for which the west was indebted to the "generous south."

With large investments in manufacturing establishments, and many and various interests connected with and dependent on them, it is not to be expected that New England, any more than other portions of the country, will now consent to any measure, destructive or highly dangerous. The duty of the government, at the present moment, would seem to be to preserve, not to destroy; to maintain the position which it has assumed; and, for one, I shall feel it

other port, and no revenue could be collected any where; for all imposts must be equal. It is no answer to repeat, that an unconstitutional law is no law, so

an indispensable obligation to hold it steady, as far as in my power, to that degree of protection which it has undertaken to bestow. No more of the tariff.

Professing to be provoked by what he chose to consider a charge made by me against South Carolina, the honourable member, Mr. President, has taken up a new crusade against New England. Leaving altogether the subject of the public lands, in which his success, perhaps, had been neither distinguished nor satisfactory, and letting go, also, of the topic of the tariff, he sallied forth, in a general assault on the opinions, politics, and parties of New England, as they have been exhibited in the last thirty years. This is natural. The "narrow policy" of the public lands had proved a legal settlement in South Carolina, and was not to be removed. The "accursed policy" of the tariff, also, had established the fact of its birth and parentage, in the same state. No wonder, therefore, the gentleman wished to carry the war, as he expressed it, into the enemy's country. Prudently willing to quit these subjects, he was, doubtless, desirous of fastening on others, which could not be transferred south of Mason and Dixon's line. The politics of New England became his theme; and it was in this part of his speech, I think, that he menaced me with such sore discomfiture. Discomfiture! Why, sir, when he attacks any thing which I maintain, and overthrows it; when he turns the right or left of any position which I take up; when he drives me from any ground I choose to occupy; he may then talk of discomfiture, but not till that distant day. What has he done? Has he maintained his own charges? Has he proved what he alleged? Has he sustained himself in his attack on the government, and on the history of the north, in the matter of the public lands? Has he disproved a fact, refuted a proposition, weakened an argument, maintained by me? Has he come within beat of drum of any position of mine? Oh, no, but he has "carried the war into the enemy's country!" Carried the war into the enemy's country! Yes, sir, and what sort of a war has he made of it? Why, sir, he has stretched a drag-net over the whole surface of perished pamphlets, indiscreet sermons, frothy paragraphs, and fuming popular addresses; over whatever the pulpit, in its moments of alarm, the press in its heats, and parties in their extravagance, have severally thrown off, in times of general excitement and violence. He has thus swept together a mass of such things as, but that they are now old, the public health would have required him rather to leave in their state of dispersion. For a good long hour or two, we had the unbroken pleasure of listening to the honourable member, while he recited, with his usual grace and spirit, and with evident high gusto, speeches, pamphlets, addresses, and all the *et ceteras* of the political press, such as warm heads produce in warm times; and such as it would be "discomfiture," indeed, for any one, whose taste did not delight in that sort of reading, to be obliged to peruse. This is his war. This it is to carry the war into the enemy's country. It is in an invasion of this sort, that he flatters himself with the expectation of gaining laurels fit to adorn a senator's brow!

Mr. President, I shall not, it will, I trust, not be expected that I should, either now, or at any time, separate this farrago into parts, and answer and examine its components. I shall hardly bestow upon it all, a general remark or two. In the run of forty years, sir, under this constitution, we have experienced sundry successive violent party contests. Party arose, indeed, with the constitution itself, and, in some form or other, has attended it through the greater part of its history. Whether any other constitution than the old articles of confederation, was desirable, was, itself, a question on which parties formed; if a new constitution were framed, what powers should be given to it, was another question; and, when it had been formed, what was, in fact, the just extent of the powers actually conferred, was a third. Parties, as we know, existed, under the first administration, as distinctly marked as those which manifested themselves at any subsequent period. The contest immediately preceding the political change in 1801, and that, again, which existed at the commencement of the late war, are other instances of party excitement, of something more than usual

long as the question of its legality is to be decided by the state itself; for every law operating injuriously upon any local interest will be perhaps thought, and

strength and intensity. In all these conflicts, there was, no doubt, much of violence on both and all sides. It would be impossible, if one had a fancy for such employment, to adjust the relative *quantum* of violence between these contending parties. There was enough in each, as must always be expected in popular governments. With a great deal of proper and decorous discussion, there was mingled a great deal, also, of declamation, virulence, crimination, and abuse. In regard to any party, probably, at one of the leading epochs in the history of parties, enough may be found to make out another equally inflamed exhibition, as that with which the honourable member has edified us. For myself, sir, I shall not rake among the rubbish of by-gone times, to see what I can find, or whether I can not find something, by which I can fix a blot on the escutcheon of any state, any party, or any part of the country. General Washington's administration was steadily and zealously maintained, as we all know, by New England. It was violently opposed elsewhere. We know in what quarter he had the most earnest, constant, and persevering support, in all his great and leading measures. We know where his private and personal character were held in the highest degree of attachment and veneration; and we know, too, where his measures were opposed, his services slighted, and his character vilified. We know, or we might know, if we turned to the journals, who expressed respect, gratitude, and regret, when he retired from the chief magistracy; and who refused to express either respect, gratitude, or regret. I shall not open those journals. Publications more abusive or scurrilous never saw the light, than were sent forth against Washington, and all his leading measures, from presses south of New England. But I shall not look them up. I employ no scavengers—no one is in attendance on me, tendering such means of retaliation; and, if there were, with an ass's load of them, with a bulk as huge as that which the gentleman himself has produced, I would not touch one of them. I see enough of the violence of our own times, to be no way anxious to rescue from forgetfulness the extravagances of times-past. Besides, what is all this to the present purpose? It has nothing to do with the public lands, in regard to which the attack was begun; and it has nothing to do with those sentiments and opinions, which, I have thought, tend to disunion, and all of which the honourable member seems to have adopted himself, and undertaken to defend. New England has, at times, so argues the gentleman, held opinions as dangerous as those which he now holds. Suppose this were so; why should he, therefore, abuse New England? If he finds himself countenanced by acts of hers, how is it that, while he relies on these acts, he covers, or seeks to cover, their authors with reproach? But, sir, if, in the course of forty years, there have been undue effervescences of party in New England, has the same thing happened nowhere else? Party animosity and party outrage, not in New England, but elsewhere, denounced President Washington, not only as a federalist, but as a tory, a British agent, a man who, in his high office, sanctioned corruption. But does the honourable member suppose, that, if I had a tender here, who should put such an effusion of wickedness and folly in my hand, that I would stand up and read it against the south? Parties ran into great heats, again, in 1799 and 1800. What was said, sir, or rather, what was not said, in those years, against John Adams, one of the signers of the declaration of independence, and its admitted ablest defender on the floor of congress? If the gentleman wishes to increase his stores of party abuse and frothy violence; if he has a determined proclivity to such pursuits, there are treasures of that sort south of the Potomac, much to his taste, yet untouched—I shall not touch them.

The parties which divided the country at the commencement of the late war, were violent. But, then, there was violence on both sides, and violence in every state. Minorities and majorities were equally violent. There was no more violence against the war in New England, than in other states; nor any more appearance of violence, except that, owing to a dense population, greater facility of assembling, and more presses, there may have been more in quantity spoken and printed there, than in some other places. In

certainly represented, as unconstitutional, and, as has been shown, there is no appeal.

"If this doctrine had been established at an earlier

the article of sermons, too, New England is somewhat more abundant than South Carolina; and, for that reason, the chance of finding here and there an exceptionable one, may be greater. I hope, too, there are more good ones. Opposition may have been more formidable in New England, as it embraced a larger portion of the whole population; but it was no more unrestrained in its principle, or violent in manner. The minorities dealt quite as harshly with their own state governments, as the majorities dealt with the administration here. There were presses on both sides, popular meetings on both sides, ay, and pulpits on both sides, also. The gentleman's purveyors have only catered for him among the productions of one side. I certainly shall not supply the deficiency by furnishing samples of the other. I leave to him, and to them, the whole concern.

It is enough for me to say, that if, in any part of this, their grateful occupation; if, in all their researches, they find any thing in the history of Massachusetts, or New England, or in the proceedings of any legislative, or other public body, disloyal to the union, speaking slightly of its value, proposing to break it up, or recommending non-intercourse with neighbouring states, on account of difference of political opinion, then, sir, I give them all up to the honourable gentleman's unrestrained rebuke; excepting, however, that he will extend his buffetings, in like manner, to all similar proceedings, wherever else found.

The gentleman, sir, has spoken at large of former parties, now no longer in being, by their received appellations, and has undertaken to instruct us, not only in the knowledge of their principles, but of their respective pedigrees, also. He has ascended to the origin, and run out their genealogies. With most exemplary modesty, he speaks of the party to which he professes to have belonged himself, as the true Pure, the only honest, patriotic party, derived by regular descent, from father to son, from the time of the virtuous Romans! Spreading before us the *family tree* of political parties, he takes especial care to show himself snugly perched on a popular bough! He is wakeful to the expediency of adopting such rules of descent, as shall bring him in, in exclusion of others, as an heir to the inheritance of all public virtue, and all true political principle. His party, and his opinions, are sure to be orthodox; heterodoxy is confined to his opponents. He spoke, sir, of the federalists, and I thought I saw some eyes begin to open and stare a little, when he ventured on that ground. I expected he would draw his sketches rather lightly, when he looked on the circle round him, and, especially, if he should cast his thoughts to the high places, out of the senate. Nevertheless, he went back to Rome, *ad annum urbe condita*, and found the fathers of the federalists, in the primeval aristocrats of that renowned empire! He traced the flow of federal blood down, through successive ages and centuries, till he brought it into the veins of the American Tories, (of whom, by the way, there were twenty in the Carolinas, for one in Massachusetts.) From the Tories he followed it to the federalists; and, as the federal party was broken up, and there was no possibility of transmitting it further on this side the Atlantic, he seems to have discovered, that it has gone off, collaterally, though against all the canons of descent, into the ultras of France, and finally become extinguished, like exploded gas, among the adherents of Don Miguel! This, sir, is an abstract of the gentleman's history of federalism. I am not about to controvert it. It is not, at present, worth the pains of refutation; because, sir, if, at this day, any one feels the sin of federalism lying heavily on his conscience, he can easily obtain remission. He may even obtain an indulgence, if he be desirous of repeating the same transgression. It is an affair of no difficulty to get into this same right line of patriotic descent. A man, now-a-days, is at liberty to choose his political parentage. He may elect his own father. Federalist, or not, he may, if he choose, claim to belong to the favoured stock, and his claim will be allowed. He may carry back his pretensions just as far as the honourable gentleman himself; nay, he may make himself out the honourable gentleman's cousin, and prove, satisfactorily, that he is descended from the same political great grandfa-

ther. All this is allowable. We all know a process, sir, by which the whole Essex Junto could, in one hour, be all washed white from their ancient federalism, and come out, every one of them, an original democrat, dyed in the wool! Some of them have actually undergone the operation, and they say it is quite easy. The only inconvenience it occasions, as they tell us, is a slight tendency of the blood to the face, a soft suffusion, which, however, is very transient, since nothing is said by those whom they join, calculated to deepen the red on the cheek, but a prudent silence observed, in regard to all the past. Indeed, sir, some smiles of approbation have been bestowed, and some crumbs of comfort have fallen, not a thousand miles from the door of the Hartford convention itself. And if the author of the ordinance of 1787 possessed the other requisite qualifications, there is no knowing, notwithstanding his federalism, to what heights of favour he might not yet attain.

Mr. President, in carrying his warfare, such as it was, into New England, the honourable gentleman all along professes to be acting on the defensive. He elects to consider me as having assailed South Carolina, and insists that he comes forth only as her champion, and in her defence. Sir, I do not admit that I made any attack whatever on South Carolina. Nothing like it. The honourable member, in his first speech, expressed opinions, in regard to revenue, and some other topics, which I heard both with pain and with surprise. I told the gentleman that I was aware that such sentiments were entertained out of the government, but had not expected to find them advanced in it; that I knew there were persons in the south who speak of our union with indifference or doubt, taking pains to magnify its evils, and to say nothing of its benefits; that the honourable member himself, I was sure, could never be one of these; and I regretted the expression of such opinions as he had avowed, because I thought their obvious tendency was to encourage feelings of disrespect to the union, and to weaken its connexion. This, sir, is the sum and substance of all I said on the subject. And this constitutes the attack, which called on the chivalry of the gentleman, in his opinion, to harry us with such a foray, among the party pamphlets and party proceedings of Massachusetts! If he means that I spoke with dissatisfaction or disrespect of the ebullitions of individuals in South Carolina, it is true. But, if he means that I had assailed the character of the state, her honour, or patriotism; that I had reflected on her history or her conduct; he had not the slightest ground for any such assumption. I did not even refer, I think, in my observations, to any collection of individuals. I said nothing of the recent conventions. I spoke in the most guarded and careful manner, and only expressed my regret for the publication of opinions which I presumed the honourable member disapproved as much as myself. In this, it seems, I was mistaken. I do not remember that the gentleman has disclaimed any sentiment, or any opinion, of a supposed anti-union tendency, which on all, or any of the recent occasions, has been expressed. The whole drift of his speech has been rather to prove, that, in divers times and manners, sentiments equally liable to objection have been promulgated in New England. And one would suppose that his object, in this reference to Massachusetts, was to find a precedent to justify proceedings in the south, were it not for the reproach and contumely with which he labours, all along, to load these, his own chosen precedents. By way of defending South Carolina from what he chooses to think an attack on her, he first quotes the example of Massachusetts, and then denounces that example, in good set terms. This two-fold purpose, not very consistent with itself, one would think, was exhibited more than once in the course of his speech. He referred, for instance, to the Hartford convention. Did he do this for authority, or for a topic of reproach? Apparently for both: for he told us that he should find no fault with the mere fact of holding such a convention, and considering and discussing such questions as he supposes were then and there discussed; but what rendered it obnoxious was the time it was held, and the circumstances of the country then existing. We were in a war, he said, and the country needed all our aid—the hand of government required to be strengthened, not weaken-

carriage tax in Virginia, were all deemed unconstitutional, and were more unequal in their operation than any of the laws now complained of; but fortunately

ed—and patriotism should have postponed such proceedings to another day. The thing itself, then, is a precedent; the time and manner of it, only, a subject of censure. Now, sir, I go much further, on this point, than the honourable member. Supposing, as the gentleman seems to, that the Hartford convention assembled for any such purpose as breaking up the union, because they thought unconstitutional laws had been passed, or to consult on that subject, or to calculate the value of the union; supposing this to be their purpose, or any part of it, then, I say the meeting itself was disloyal, and was obnoxious to censure, whether held in time of peace or time of war, or under whatever circumstances. The material question is the *object*. Is dissolution the *object*? If it be, external circumstances may make it a more or less aggravated case, but can not affect the principle. I do not hold, therefore, sir, that the Hartford convention was pardonable, even to the extent of the gentleman's admission, if its objects were really such as have been imputed to it. Sir, there never was a time, under any degree of excitement, in which the Hartford convention, or any other convention, could maintain itself one moment in New England, if assembled for any such purpose as the gentleman says would have been an allowable purpose. To hold conventions to decide questions of constitutional law!—to try the binding validity of statutes, by votes in a convention! Sir, the Hartford convention, I presume, would not desire that the honourable gentleman should be their defender or advocate, if he puts their case upon such untenable and extravagant grounds.

Then, sir, the gentleman has no fault to find with these recently promulgated South Carolina opinions. And, certainly, he need have none; for his own sentiments, as now advanced, and advanced on reflection, as far as I have been able to comprehend them, go the full length of all these opinions. I propose, sir, to say something on these, and to consider how far they are just and constitutional. Before doing that, however, let me observe, that the eulogium pronounced on the character of the state of South Carolina, by the honourable gentleman, for her revolutionary and other merits, meets my hearty concurrence. I shall not acknowledge that the honourable member goes before me in regard for whatever of distinguished talent, or distinguished character, South Carolina has produced. I claim part of the honour, I partake in the pride, of her great names. I claim them for countrymen, one and all. The Laurenses, the Rutledges, the Pinckneys, the Sumpters, the Marions—Americans, all—whose fame is no more to be hemmed in by state lines, than their talents and patriotism were capable of being circumscribed within the same narrow limits. In their day and generation, they served and honoured the country, and the whole country; and their renown is of the treasures of the whole country. Him, whose honoured name the gentleman himself bears—does he suppose me less capable of gratitude for his patriotism, or sympathy for his sufferings, than if his eyes had first opened upon the light in Massachusetts, instead of South Carolina? Sir, does he suppose it in his power to exhibit a Carolina name, so bright, as to produce envy in my bosom? No, sir, increased gratification and delight, rather. Sir, I thank God, that, if I am gifted with little of the spirit which is able to raise mortals to the skies, I have yet none, as I trust, of that other spirit, which would drag angels down. When I shall be found, sir, in my place here, in the Senate, or elsewhere, to sneer at public merit, because it happened to spring up beyond the little limits of my own state, or neighbourhood; when I refuse, for any such cause, or for any cause, the homage due to American talent, to elevated patriotism, to sincere devotion to liberty and the country; or, if I see an uncommon endowment of heaven—if I see extraordinary capacity and virtue in any son of the south—and if, moved by local prejudice, or gangrened by state jealousy, I get up here to abate the title of a hair from his just character and just fame, may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!

Sir, let me recur to pleasing recollections—let me indulge in refreshing remembrance of the past—let me remind you that in early times no states cherished greater harmony, both of principle

and of feeling, than Massachusetts and South Carolina. Would to God, that harmony might again return! Shoulder to shoulder they went through the revolution—hand in hand they stood round the administration of Washington, and felt his own great arm lean on them for support. Unkind feeling, if it exist, alienation and distrust, are the growth, unnatural to such soils, of false principles since sown. They are weeds, the seeds of which that same great arm never scattered.

Mr. President, I shall enter on no encomium upon Massachusetts—she needs none. There she is—behold her, and judge for yourselves. There is her history—the world knows it by heart. The past, at least, is secure. There is Boston, and Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill—and there they will remain for ever. The bones of her sons, falling in the great struggle for independence, now lie mingled with the soil of every state, from New England to Georgia; and there they will lie for ever. And, sir, where American liberty raised its first voice; and where its youth was nurtured and sustained, there it still lives, in the strength of its manhood, and full of its original spirit. If discord and disunion shall wound it—if party strife and blind ambition shall hawk at and tear it—if folly and madness—if uneasiness, under salutary and necessary restraint—shall succeed to separate it from that Union, by which alone its existence is made sure, it will stand, in the end, by the side of that cradle in which its infancy was rocked: it will stretch forth its arm, with whatever vigour it may still retain, over the friends who gather round it; and it will fall at last, if fall it must, amidst the proudest monuments of its own glory, and on the very spot of its origin.

There yet remains to be performed, Mr. President, by far the most grave and important duty, which I feel to be devolved on me, by this occasion. It is to state, and to defend, what I conceive to be the true principles of the constitution under which we are here assembled. I might well have desired that so weighty a task should have fallen into other and abler hands. I could have wished that it should have been executed by those, whose character and experience give weight and influence to their opinions, such as cannot possibly belong to mine. But, sir, I have met the occasion, not sought it; and I shall proceed to state my own sentiments, without challenging for them any particular regard, with studied plainness, and as much precision as possible.

I understand the honourable gentleman from South Carolina to maintain, that it is a right of the state legislatures to interfere, whenever, in their judgment, this government transcends its constitutional limits, and to arrest the operation of its laws.

I understand him to maintain this right, as a right existing *under* the constitution; not as a right to overthrow it, on the ground of necessity, such as would justify violent revolution.

I understand him to maintain an authority, on the part of the states, thus to interfere, for the purpose of correcting the exercise of power by the general government, of checking it, and of compelling it to conform to their opinion of the extent of its powers.

I understand him to maintain, that the ultimate power of judging of the constitutional extent of its own authority, is not lodged exclusively in the general government, or any branch of it, but that, on the contrary, the states may lawfully decide for themselves, and each state for itself, whether, in a given case, the act of the general government transcends its power.

I understand him to insist, that if the exigency of the case, in the opinion of any state government, require it, such state government may, by its own sovereign authority, annul an act of the general government, which it deems plainly and palpably unconstitutional.

This is the sum of what I understand from him to be the South Carolina doctrine, and the doctrine which he maintains. I propose to consider it, and to compare it with the constitution. Allow me to say, as a preliminary remark, that I call this the South Carolina doctrine, only because the gentleman himself has so denominated it. I do not feel at liberty to say that South Carolina, as a state, has ever advanced these sentiments. I hope she has not, and never

the nation and the rights of our citizens, might have ended in defeat and disgrace instead of victory and honour, if the states who supposed it a ruinous and

may. That a great majority of her people are opposed to the tariff laws, is doubtless true. That a majority, somewhat less than that just mentioned, conscientiously believe these laws unconstitutional, may probably also be true. But that any majority holds to the right of direct state interference, at state discretion, the right of nullifying acts of congress, by acts of state legislation, is more than I know, and what I shall be slow to believe.

That there are individuals, besides the honourable gentleman, who do maintain these opinions, is quite certain. I recollect the recent expression of a sentiment, which circumstances attending its utterance and publication justify us in supposing was not unpremeditated. "The sovereignty of the state—never to be controlled, construed, or decided on, but by her own feelings of honourable justice."

[Mr. Hayne here rose, and said, that for the purpose of being clearly understood, he would state, that his proposition was in the words of the Virginia resolution, as follows:

"That this assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare, that it views the powers of the federal government as resulting from the compact, to which the states are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no farther valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that, in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by the said compact, the states who are parties thereto have the right, and are in duty bound to interpose, for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights, and liberties, appertaining to them."]

Mr. Webster resumed:

I am quite aware, Mr. President, of the existence of the resolution which the gentleman read, and has now repeated, and that he relies on it as his authority. I know the source, too, from which it is understood to have proceeded. I need not say that I have much respect for the constitutional opinions of Mr. Madison; they would weigh greatly with me, always. But, before the authority of his opinion be vouched for the gentleman's proposition, it will be proper to consider what is the fair interpretation of that resolution, to which Mr. Madison is understood to have given his sanction. As the gentleman construes it, it is an authority for him. Possibly, he may not have adopted the right construction. That resolution declares, that, *in the case of the dangerous exercise of powers not granted, by the general government, the states may interpose to arrest the progress of the evil.* But how interpose, and what does this declaration purport? Does it mean no more, than that there may be extreme cases, in which the people, in any mode of assembling, may resist usurpation, and relieve themselves from a tyrannical government? No one will deny this. Such resistance is not only acknowledged to be just in America, but in England also. Blackstone admits as much, in the theory, and practice, too, of the English constitution. We, sir, who oppose the Carolina doctrine, do not deny that the people may, if they choose, throw off any government, when it become oppressive and intolerable, and erect a better in its stead. We all know that civil institutions are established for the public benefit, and that when they cease to answer the ends of their existence, they may be changed. But I do not understand the doctrine now contended for to be that which, for the sake of distinctness, we may call the right of revolution. I understand the gentleman to maintain, that, without revolution, without civil commotion, without rebellion, a remedy for supposed abuse and transgression of the powers of the general government lies in a direct appeal to the interference of the state governments.

[Mr. Hayne here rose: He did not contend, he said, for the mere right of revolution, but for the right of constitutional resistance. What he maintained, was, that, in case of a plain, palpable violation of the constitution, by the general government, a state may interpose; and that this interposition is constitutional.]

Mr. Webster resumed:

So, sir, I understood the gentleman, and am happy to find that I did not misunderstand him. What he contends for, is, that it is

unconstitutional measure, had thought they possessed the right of nullifying the act by which it was declared, and denying supplies for its prosecution.

constitutional to interrupt the administration of the constitution itself, in the hands of those who are chosen and sworn to administer it, by the direct interference, in form of law, of the states, in virtue of their sovereign capacity. The inherent right in the people to reform their government, I do not deny; and they have another right, and that is, to resist unconstitutional laws, without overturning the government. It is no doctrine of mine, that unconstitutional laws bind the people. The great question is, *whose prerogative is it to decide on the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of the laws?* On that, the main debate hinges. The proposition, that, in case of a supposed violation of the constitution by congress, the states have a constitutional right to interfere, and annul the law of congress, is the proposition of the gentleman: I do not admit it. If the gentleman had intended no more than to assert the right of revolution, for justifiable cause, he would have said only what all agree to. But I cannot conceive that there can be a middle course, between submission to the laws, when regularly pronounced constitutional, on the one hand, and open resistance, which is revolution, or rebellion, on the other. I say, the right of a state to annul a law of congress, cannot be maintained, but on the ground of the unalienable right of man to resist oppression; that is to say, upon the ground of revolution. I admit that there is an ultimate violent remedy above the constitution, and in defiance of the constitution, which may be resorted to when a revolution is to be justified. But I do not admit, that, under the constitution, and in conformity with it, there is any mode in which a state government, as a member of the union, can interfere and stop the progress of the general government, by force of her own laws, under any circumstances whatever.

This leads us to inquire into the origin of this government, and the source of its power. Whose agent is it? Is it the creature of the state legislatures, or the creature of the people? If the government of the United States be the agent of the state governments, then they may control it, provided they can agree in the manner of controlling it; if it be the agent of the people, then the people alone can control it, restrain it, modify, or reform it. It is observable enough, that the doctrine for which the honourable gentleman contends, leads him to the necessity of maintaining, not only that this general government is the creature of the states, but that it is the creature of each of the states severally; so that each may assert the power, for itself, of determining whether it acts within the limits of its authority. It is the servant of four-and-twenty masters, of different wills and different purposes, and yet bound to obey all. This absurdity (for it seems no less) arises from a misconception as to the origin of this government and its true character. It is, sir, the people's constitution, the people's government; made for the people; made by the people; and answerable to the people. The people of the United States have declared that this constitution shall be the supreme law. We must either admit the proposition, or dispute their authority. The states are, unquestionably, sovereign, so far as their sovereignty is not affected by this supreme law. But the state legislatures, as political bodies, however sovereign, are yet not sovereign over the people. So far as the people have given power to the general government, so far the grant is unquestionably good, and the government holds of the people, and not of the state governments. We are all agents of the same supreme power, the people. The general government and the state governments derive their authority from the same source. Neither can, in relation to the other, be called primary, though one is definite and restricted, and the other general and residuary. The national government possesses those powers which it can be shown the people have conferred on it, and no more. All the rest belongs to the state governments or to the people themselves. So far as the people have restrained state sovereignty, by the expression of their will, in the constitution of the United States, so far, it must be admitted, state sovereignty is effectually controlled. I do not contend that it is, or ought to be controlled farther. The sentiment to which I have referred, propounds that state sovereignty is only to be controlled by its own "feeling of justice;" that is to say, it is

Hardly and unequally as those measures bore upon several members of the Union, to the legislatures of none did this efficient and peaceable remedy, as it is

not to be controlled at all: for one who is to follow his own feeling is under no legal control. Now, however men may think this ought to be, the fact is, that the people of the United States have chosen to impose control on state sovereignties. There are those, doubtless, who wish they had been left without restraint; but the constitution has ordered the matter differently. To make war, for instance, is an exercise of sovereignty; but the constitution declares that no state shall make war. To coin money is another exercise of sovereign power; but no state is at liberty to coin money. Again, the constitution says that no sovereign state shall be so sovereign as to make a treaty. These prohibitions, it must be confessed, are a control on the state sovereignty of South Carolina, as well as of the other states, which does not arise "from her own feelings of honourable justice." Such an opinion, therefore, is in defiance of the plainest provisions of the constitution.

There are other proceedings of public bodies which have already been alluded to, and to which I refer again for the purpose of ascertaining, more fully, what is the length and breadth of that doctrine, denominated the Carolina doctrine, which the honourable member has now stood up on this floor to maintain. In one of them I find it resolved, that "the tariff of 1828, and every other tariff designed to promote one branch of industry at the expense of others, is contrary to the meaning and intention of the federal compact; and, as such, a dangerous, palpable, and deliberate usurpation of power, by a determined majority, wielding the general government beyond the limits of its delegated powers, as calls upon the states which compose the suffering minority, in their sovereign capacity, to exercise the powers which, as sovereigns, necessarily devolve upon them, when their compact is violated."

Observe, sir, that this resolution holds the tariff of 1828, and every other tariff, designed to promote one branch of industry at the expense of another, to be such a dangerous, palpable, and deliberate usurpation of power, as calls upon the states, in their sovereign capacity, to interfere by their own authority. This denunciation, Mr. President, you will please to observe, includes our old tariff of 1816, as well as all others; because that was established to promote the interest of the manufactures of cotton, to the manifest and admitted injury of the Calcutta cotton trade. Observe, again, that all the qualifications are here rehearsed and charged upon the tariff, which are necessary to bring the case within the gentleman's proposition. The tariff is a usurpation; it is a dangerous usurpation; it is a palpable usurpation; it is a deliberate usurpation. It is such a usurpation, therefore, as calls upon the states to exercise their right of interference. Here is a case, then, within the gentleman's principles, and all his qualifications of his principles. It is a case for action. The constitution is plainly, dangerously, palpably, and deliberately violated; and the states must interpose their own authority to arrest the law. Let us suppose the state of South Carolina to express this same opinion, by the voice of her legislature. That would be very imposing; but what then? Is the voice of one state conclusive? It so happens, that at the very moment when South Carolina resolves that the tariff laws are unconstitutional, Pennsylvania and Kentucky resolve exactly the reverse. They hold those laws to be both highly proper and strictly constitutional. And now, sir, how does the honourable member propose to deal with this case? How does he relieve us from this difficulty, upon any principle of his? His construction gets us into it; how does he propose to get us out?

In Carolina, the tariff is a palpable, deliberate usurpation; Carolina, therefore, may *nullify* it, and refuse to pay the duties. In Pennsylvania, it is both clearly constitutional, and highly expedient; and there, the duties are to be paid. And yet, we live under a government of uniform laws, and under a constitution, too, which contains an express provision, as it happens, that all duties shall be equal in all the states! Does not this approach absurdity?

If there be no power to settle such questions, independent of either of the states, is not the whole union a rope of sand? Are we not thrown back again, precisely, upon the old confederation?

called, suggest itself. The discovery of this important feature in our constitution was reserved to the present day. To the statesmen of South Carolina

It is too plain to be argued. Four and twenty interpreters of constitutional law, each with a power to decide for itself, and none with authority to bind any body else, and this constitutional law the only bond of their union! What is such a state of things, but a mere connexion during pleasure, or, to use the phraseology of the times, *during feeling*? And that feeling, too, not the feeling of the people who established the constitution, but the feeling of the state governments.

In another of the South Carolina addresses, having premised that the crisis requires "all the concentrated energy of passion," an attitude of open resistance to the laws of the union is advised. Open resistance to the laws, then, is the constitutional remedy, the conservative power of the state, which the South Carolina doctrines teach for the redress of political evils, real or imaginary. And its authors further say, that, appealing with confidence to the constitution itself, to justify their opinions, they can not consent to try their accuracy by the courts of justice. In one sense, indeed, sir, this is assuming an attitude of open resistance in favour of liberty. But what sort of liberty? The liberty of establishing their own opinions, in defiance of the opinions of all others; the liberty of judging and of deciding exclusively themselves, in a matter in which others have as much right to judge and decide as they; the liberty of placing their own opinions above the judgment of all others, above the laws, and above the constitution. This is their liberty, and this is the fair result of the proposition contended for by the honourable gentleman. Or it may be more properly said, it is identical with it, rather than the result from it.

In the same publication, we find the following: "Previously to our revolution, when the arm of oppression was stretched over New England, where did our northern brethren meet with a braver sympathy than that which sprung from the bosoms of Carolinians? We had no extortion, no oppression, no collision with the king's ministers, no navigation interests springing up, in envious rivalry of England."

This seems extraordinary language. South Carolina no collision with the king's ministers, in 1775! No extortion! No oppression! But, sir, it is also most significant language. Does any man doubt the purpose for which it was penned? Can any one fail to see that it was designed to raise in the reader's mind the question, whether, *at this time*—that is to say, in 1828—South Carolina has any collision with the king's ministers, any oppression, or extortion, to fear from England? Whether, in short, England is not as naturally the friend of South Carolina as New England, with her navigation interests springing up in envious rivalry of England?

Is it not strange, sir, that an intelligent man in South Carolina, in 1828, should thus labour to prove, that, in 1775, there was no hostility, no cause of war, between South Carolina and England? That she had no occasion, in reference to her own interest, or from a regard to her own welfare, to take up arms in the revolutionary contest? Can any one account for the expression of such strange sentiments, and their circulation through the state, otherwise than by supposing the object to be, what I have already intimated, to raise the question, if they had no "*collision*" (mark the expression) with the ministers of King George the Third, in 1775, what *collision* have they, in 1828, with the ministers of King George the Fourth? What is there now, in the existing state of things, to separate Carolina from *Old*, more, or rather, than from *New* England?

Resolutions, sir, have been recently passed by the legislature of South Carolina. I need not refer to them: they go no further than the honourable gentleman himself has gone—and, I hope, not so far. I content myself, therefore, with debating the matter with him.

And now, sir, what I have first to say on this subject is, that, at no time, and under no circumstances, has New England, or any state in New England, or any respectable body of persons in New England, or any public man of standing in New England, put forth such a doctrine as this Carolina doctrine.

The gentleman has found no case, he can find none, to support

belongs the invention, and upon the citizens of that state will unfortunately fall the evils of reducing it to practice.

his own opinions by New England authority. New England has studied the constitution in other schools, and under other teachers. She looks upon it with other regards, and deems more highly and reverently, both of its just authority, and its utility and excellence. The history of her legislative proceedings may be traced—the ephemeral effusions of temporary bodies, called together by the excitement of the occasion, may be hunted up—they have been hunted up. The opinions and votes of her public men, in and out of congress, may be explored—it will all be in vain. The Carolina doctrine can derive from her neither countenance nor support. She rejects it now; she always did reject it; and till she loses her senses, she always will reject it. The honourable member has referred to expressions, on the subject of the embargo law, made in this place, by an honourable and venerable gentleman, (Mr. Hillhouse,) now favouring us with his presence. He quotes that distinguished senator as saying, that, in his judgment, the embargo law was unconstitutional, and that, therefore, in his opinion, the people were not bound to obey it. That, sir, is perfectly constitutional language. An unconstitutional law is not binding; *but then it does not rest with a resolution or a law of a state legislature to decide whether an act of congress be, or be not, constitutional.* An unconstitutional act of congress would not bind the people of this district, although they have no legislature to interfere in their behalf; and, on the other hand, a constitutional law of congress does bind the citizens of every state, although all their legislatures should undertake to annul it, by act or resolution. The venerable Connecticut senator is a constitutional lawyer, of sound principles, and enlarged knowledge; a statesman practised and experienced, bred in the company of Washington, and holding just views upon the nature of our governments. He believed the embargo unconstitutional, and so did others; but what then? Who did he suppose was to decide that question? The state legislatures? Certainly not. No such sentiments ever escaped his lips. Let us follow up, sir, this New England opposition to the embargo laws; let us trace it, till we discern the principle which controlled and governed New England throughout the whole course of that opposition. We shall then see what similarity there is between the New England school of constitutional opinions, and this modern Carolina school. The gentleman, I think, read a petition from some single individual, addressed to the legislature of Massachusetts, asserting the Carolina doctrine—that is, the right of state interference to arrest the laws of the union. The fate of that petition shows the sentiment of the legislature. It met no favour. The opinions of Massachusetts were otherwise. They had been expressed, in 1798, in answer to the resolutions of Virginia, and she did not depart from them, nor bend them to the times. Misgoverned, wronged, oppressed, as she felt herself to be, she still held fast her integrity to the union. The gentleman may find in her proceedings much evidence of dissatisfaction with the measures of government, and great and deep dislike to the embargo; all this makes the case so much the stronger for her; for, notwithstanding all this dissatisfaction and dislike, she claimed no right, still, to sever asunder the bonds of the union. There was heat, and there was anger, in her political feeling—be it so—her heat or her anger did not, nevertheless, betray her into infidelity to the government. The gentleman labours to prove that she disliked the embargo, as much as South Carolina dislikes the tariff, and expressed her dislike, as strongly. Be it so; *but did she propose the Carolina remedy?—did she threaten to interfere, by state authority, to annul the laws of the union?* That is the question for the gentleman's consideration.

No doubt, sir, a great majority of the people of New England conscientiously believed the embargo law of 1807 unconstitutional; as conscientiously, certainly, as the people of South Carolina hold that opinion of the tariff. They reasoned thus: congress has power to regulate commerce; but here is a law, they said, stopping all commerce, and stopping it indefinitely. The law is perpetual; that is, it is not limited in point of time, and must, of course, continue, until it shall be repealed by some other law. It is as per-

petual, therefore, as the law against treason or murder. Now, is this regulating commerce, or destroying it? Is it guiding; controlling, giving the rule to commerce, as a subsisting thing; or is it putting an end to it altogether? Nothing is more certain, than that a majority in New England deemed this law a violation of the constitution. The very case required by the gentleman, to justify state interference, had then arisen. Massachusetts believed this law to be a "*deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of a power, not granted by the constitution.*" Deliberate it was, for it was long continued; palpable, she thought it, as no words in the constitution gave the power, and only a construction, in her opinion most violent, raised it; dangerous it was, since it threatened utter ruin to her most important interests. Here, then, was a Carolina case. How did Massachusetts deal with it? It was, as she thought, a plain, manifest, palpable violation of the constitution; and it brought ruin to her doors. Thousands of families, and hundreds of thousands of individuals, were beggared by it. While she saw and felt all this, she saw and felt, also, that, as a measure of national policy it was perfectly futile; that the country was no way benefited by that which caused so much individual distress; that it was efficient only for the production of evil, and all that evil inflicted on ourselves. In such a case, under such circumstances, how did Massachusetts demean herself? Sir, she remonstrated, she memorialized, she addressed herself to the general government, not exactly "with the concentrated energy of passion," but with her own strong sense, and the energy of sober conviction. But she did not interpose the arm of her own power to arrest the law, and break the embargo. Far from it. Her principles bound her to two things; and she followed her principles, lead where they might. First, to submit to every constitutional law of congress; and, secondly, if the constitutional validity of the law be doubted, to refer that question to the decision of the proper tribunals. The first principle is vain and ineffectual without the second. A majority of us in New England believed the embargo law unconstitutional; but the great question was, and always will be, in such cases, who is to decide this? Who is to judge between the people and the government? And, sir, it is quite plain, that the constitution of the United States confers on the government itself, to be exercised by its appropriate department, and under its own responsibility to the people, this power of deciding ultimately and conclusively, upon the just extent of its own authority. If this had not been done, we should not have advanced a single step beyond the old confederation.

Being fully of opinion that the embargo law was unconstitutional, the people of New England were yet equally clear in the opinion—it was a matter they did not doubt upon—that the question, after all, must be decided by the judicial tribunals of the United States. Before those tribunals, therefore, they brought the question. Under the provisions of the law, they had given bonds, to millions in amount, and which were alleged to be forfeited. They suffered the bonds to be sued, and thus raised the question. In the old-fashioned way of settling disputes, they went to law. The case came to hearing, and solemn argument; and he who espoused their cause, and stood up for them against the validity of the embargo act, was none other than that great man, of whom the gentleman has made honourable mention, Samuel Dexter. He was then, sir, in the fulness of his knowledge, and the maturity of his strength. He had retired from long and distinguished public service here, to the renewed pursuit of professional duties; carrying with him all that enlargement and expansion, all the new strength and force, which an acquaintance with the more general subjects, discussed in the national councils, is capable of adding to professional attainment, in a mind of true greatness and comprehension. He was a lawyer, and he was also a statesman. He had studied the constitution, when he filled public station, that he might defend it; he had examined its principles, that he might maintain them. More than all men, or at least as much as any man, he was attached to the general government and to the union of the states. His feelings and opinions all ran in that direction. A

also afford abundant proof that it would have been repudiated with indignation had it been proposed to form a feature in our government.

question of constitutional law, too, was, of all subjects, that one which was best suited to his talents and learning. Aloof from technicality, and unfettered by artificial rule, such a question gave opportunity for that deep and clear analysis, that mighty grasp of principle, which so much distinguished his higher efforts. His very statement was argument; his inference seemed demonstration. The earnestness of his own conviction, wrought conviction in others. One was convinced, and believed, and assented, because it was gratifying, delightful to think, and feel, and believe, in unison with an intellect of such evident superiority.

Mr. Dexter, sir, such as I have described him, argued the New England cause. He put into his effort his whole heart, as well as all the powers of his understanding; for he had avowed, in the most public manner, his entire concurrence with his neighbours, on the point in dispute. He argued the cause, it was lost, and New England submitted. The established tribunals pronounced the law constitutional, and New England acquiesced. Now, sir, is not this the exact opposite of the doctrine of the gentleman from South Carolina? According to him, instead of referring to the judicial tribunals, we should have broken up the embargo by laws of our own; we should have repealed it, *quoad* New England; for we had a strong, palpable, and oppressive case. Sir, we believed the embargo unconstitutional; but still, that was matter of opinion, and who was to decide it? We thought it a clear case; but, nevertheless, we did not take the law into our own hands, *because we did not wish to bring about a revolution, nor to break up the union*; for, I maintain, that, between submission to the decision of the constituted tribunals, and revolution, or disunion, there is no middle ground—there is no ambiguous condition, half allegiance, and half rebellion. And, sir, how futile it is, to admit the right of state interference, and then attempt to save it from the character of unlawful resistance, by adding terms of qualification to the causes and occasions, leaving all these qualifications, like the case itself, in the discretion of the state governments. It must be a clear case, it is said; a deliberate case; a palpable case; a dangerous case. But then the state is still left at liberty to decide for herself, what is clear, what is deliberate, what is palpable, what is dangerous. Do adjectives and epithets avail any thing? Sir, the human mind is so constituted, that the merits of both sides of a controversy appear very clear and very palpable, to those who respectively espouse them; and both sides usually grow clearer, as the controversy advances. South Carolina sees unconstitutionality in the tariff; she sees oppression there, also; and she sees danger. Pennsylvania, with a vision not less sharp, looks at the same tariff, and sees no such thing in it—she sees it all constitutional, all useful, all safe. The faith of South Carolina is strengthened by opposition, and she now not only sees, but *resolves*, that the tariff is palpably unconstitutional, oppressive, and dangerous: but Pennsylvania, not to be behind her neighbours, and equally willing to strengthen her own faith by a confident asseveration, *resolves*, also, and gives to every warm affirmative of South Carolina, a plain, downright, Pennsylvania negative. South Carolina, to show the strength and unity of her opinion, brings her assembly to a unanimity, within seven voices; Pennsylvania, not to be outdone in this respect more than others, reduces her dissentient fraction to a single vote. Now, sir, again, I ask the gentleman, what is to be done? Are these states both right? Is he bound to consider them both right? If not, which is in the wrong? or rather, which has the best right to decide? and if he, and if I, are not to know what the constitution means, and what it is, till those two state legislatures, and the twenty-two others, shall agree in its construction, what have we sworn to, when we have sworn to maintain it? I was forcibly struck, sir, with one reflection, as the gentleman went on in his speech. He quoted Mr. Madison's resolutions to prove that a state may interfere, in a case of deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of a power not granted. The honourable member supposes the tariff law to be such an exercise of power; and that, consequently, a case has arisen in which 'he state may, if it see fit, interfere by its own law. Now it so

"In our colonial state, although dependent on another power, we very early considered ourselves as connected by common interest with each other.

happens, nevertheless, that Mr. Madison himself deems this same tariff law quite constitutional. Instead of a clear and palpable violation, it is, in his judgment, no violation at all. So that, while they use his authority for a hypothetical case, they reject it in the very case before them. All this, sir, shows the inherent futility—I had almost used a stronger word—of conceding this power of interference to the states, and then attempting to secure it from abuse by imposing qualifications, of which the states themselves are to judge. One of two things is true; either the laws of the union are beyond the discretion, and beyond the control of the states; or else we have no constitution of general government, and are thrust back again to the days of the confederacy.

Let me here say, sir, that if the gentleman's doctrine had been received and acted upon in New England, in the times of the embargo and non-intercourse, we should probably not now have been here. The government would, very likely, have gone to pieces, and crumbled into dust. No stronger case can ever arise than existed under those laws; no states can ever entertain a clearer conviction than the New England states then entertained; and if they had been under the influence of that heresy of opinion, as I must call it, which the honourable member espouses, this union would, in all probability, have been scattered to the four winds. I ask the gentleman, therefore, to apply his principles to that case; I ask him to come forth and declare, whether, in his opinion, the New England states would have been justified in interfering to break up the embargo system, under the conscientious opinions which they held upon it? Had they a right to annul that law? Does he admit or deny? If that which is thought palpably unconstitutional in South Carolina, justifies that state in arresting the progress of the law, tell me, whether that which was thought palpably unconstitutional also in Massachusetts, would have justified her in doing the same thing? Sir, I deny the whole doctrine. It has not a foot of ground in the constitution to stand on. No public man of reputation ever advanced it in Massachusetts, in the warmest times, or could maintain himself upon it there at any time.

I wish now, sir, to make a remark upon the Virginia resolutions of 1798. I can not undertake to say how these resolutions were understood by those who passed them. Their language is not a little indefinite. In the case of the exercise, by congress, of a dangerous power, not granted to them, the resolutions assert the right, on the part of the state, to interfere, and arrest the progress of the evil. This is susceptible of more than one interpretation. It may mean no more than that the states may interfere by complaint and remonstrance; or by proposing to the people an alteration of the federal constitution. This would all be quite unobjectionable; or, it may be, that no more is meant than to assert the general right of revolution, as against all governments, in cases of intolerable oppression. This no one doubts; and this, in my opinion, is all that he who framed the resolutions could have meant by it: for I shall not readily believe, that he was ever of opinion that a state, under the constitution, and in conformity with it, could, upon the ground of her own opinion of its unconstitutionality, however clear and palpable she might think the case, annul a law of congress, so far as it should operate on herself, by her own legislative power.

I must now beg to ask, sir, whence is this supposed right of the states derived? Where do they find the power to interfere with the laws of the union? Sir, the opinion which the honourable gentleman maintains, is a notion, founded in a total misapprehension, in my judgment, of the origin of this government, and of the foundation on which it stands. I hold it to be a popular government, erected by the people; those who administer it responsible to the people; and itself capable of being amended and modified, just as the people may choose it should be. It is as popular, just as truly emanating from the people, as the state governments. It is created for one purpose; the state governments for another. It has its own powers; they have theirs. There is no more authority with them to arrest the operation of a law of congress, than with congress to arrest the operation of their laws. We are here to administer a constitution emanating immediately from the people,

leagues were formed for common defence, and before the Declaration of Independence we were known in our aggregate character as THE UNITED COLONIES

and trusted by them to our administration. It is not the creature of the state governments. It is of no moment to the argument, that certain acts of the state legislatures are necessary to fill our seats in this body. That is not one of their original state powers, a part of the sovereignty of the state. It is a duty which the people, by the constitution itself, have imposed on the state legislature; and which they might have left to be performed elsewhere, if they had seen fit. So they have left the choice of president with electors; but all this does not affect the proposition, that this whole government, president, senate, and house of representatives, is a popular government. It leaves it still all its popular character. The governor of a state (in some of the states) is chosen, not directly by the people, but by those who are chosen by the people, for the purpose of performing, among other duties, that of electing a governor. Is the government of the state, on that account, not a popular government? This government, sir, is the independent offspring of the popular will. It is not the creature of state legislatures; nay, more, if the whole truth must be told, the people brought it into existence, established it, and have hitherto supported it, for the very purpose, amongst others, of imposing certain salutary restraints on state sovereignties. The states can not now make war; they can not contract alliances; they can not make, each for itself, separate regulations of commerce; they can not lay imposts; they can not coin money. If this constitution, sir, be the creature of state legislatures, it must be admitted that it has obtained a strange control over the volitions of its creators.

The people, then, sir, erected this government. They gave it a constitution, and in that constitution they have enumerated the powers which they bestow on it. They have made it a limited government. They have defined its authority. They have restrained it to the exercise of such powers as are granted; and all others, they declare, are reserved to the states or the people. But, sir, they have not stopped here. If they had, they would have accomplished but half their work. No definition can be so clear, as to avoid possibility of doubt; no limitation so precise, as to exclude all uncertainty. Who, then, shall construe this grant of the people? Who shall interpret their will, where it may be supposed they have left it doubtful? With whom do they repose this ultimate right of deciding on the powers of the government? Sir, they have settled all this in the fullest manner. They have left it with the government itself, in its appropriate branches. Sir, the very chief end, the main design, for which the whole constitution was framed and adopted, was to establish a government that should not be obliged to act through state agency, or depend on state opinion and state discretion. The people had had quite enough of that kind of government, under the confederacy. Under that system, the legal action—the application of law to individuals—belonged exclusively to the states. Congress could only recommend—their acts were not of binding force, till the states had adopted and sanctioned them. Are we in that condition still? Are we yet at the mercy of state discretion and state construction? Sir, if we are, then vain will be our attempt to maintain the constitution under which we sit.

But, sir, the people have wisely provided, in the constitution itself, a proper, suitable mode and tribunal for settling questions of constitutional law. There are, in the constitution, grants of powers to congress; and restrictions on these powers. There are, also, prohibitions on the states. Some authority must, therefore, necessarily exist, having the ultimate jurisdiction to fix and ascertain the interpretation of these grants, restrictions, and prohibitions. The constitution has itself pointed out, ordained, and established that authority. How has it accomplished this great and essential end? By declaring, sir, that "*the constitution and the laws of the United States, made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.*"

This, sir, was the first great step. By this, the supremacy of the constitution and laws of the United States is declared. The people so will it. No state law is to be valid, which comes in con-

of AMERICA. That decisive and important step was taken jointly. We declared ourselves a nation by a joint, not by several acts, and when the terms of our

dict with the constitution, or any law of the United States. But who shall decide this question of interference? To whom lies the last appeal? This sir, the constitution itself decides, also, by declaring, "*that the judicial power shall extend to all cases arising under the constitution and laws of the United States.*" These two provisions, sir, cover the whole ground. They are, in truth, the key-stone of the arch. With these, it is a constitution; without them, it is a confederacy. In pursuance of these clear and express provisions, congress established, at its very first session, in the judicial act, a mode for carrying them into full effect, and for bringing all questions of constitutional power to the final decision of the supreme court. It then, sir, became a government. It then had the means of self-protection; and, but for this, it would, in all probability, have been now among things which are past. Having constituted the government, and declared its powers, the people have further said, that since somebody must decide on the extent of these powers, the government shall itself decide; subject, always, like other popular governments, to its responsibility to the people. And now, sir, I repeat, how is it that a state legislature acquires any power to interfere? Who, or what, gives them the right to say to the people, "We, who are your agents and servants for one purpose, will undertake to decide, that your other agents and servants, appointed by you for another purpose, have transcended the authority you gave them?" The reply would be, I think, not impertinent, "Who made you a judge over another's servants? To their own masters they stand or fall."

Sir, I deny this power of state legislatures altogether. It can not stand the test of examination. Gentlemen may say, that, in an extreme case, a state government might protect the people from intolerable oppression. Sir, in such a case, the people might protect themselves, without the aid of the state governments. Such a case warrants revolution. It must make, when it comes, a law for itself. A nullifying act of a state legislature can not alter the case, nor make resistance any more lawful. In maintaining these sentiments, sir, I am but asserting the rights of the people. I state what they have declared, and insist on their right to declare it. They have chosen to repose this power in the general government, and I think it my duty to support it, like other constitutional powers.

For myself, sir, I do not admit the jurisdiction of South Carolina, or any other state, to prescribe my constitutional duty, or to settle, between me and the people, the validity of laws of congress, for which I have voted. I decline her umpirage. I have not sworn to support the constitution according to her construction of its clauses. I have not stipulated, by my oath of office, or otherwise, to come under any responsibility, except to the people, and those whom they have appointed to pass upon the question, whether laws, supported by my votes, conform to the constitution of the country. And, sir, if we look to the general nature of the case, could any thing have been more preposterous, than to make a government for the whole union, and yet leave its powers subject, not to one interpretation, but to thirteen, or twenty-four, interpretations? Instead of one tribunal, established by all, responsible to all, with power to decide for all, shall constitutional questions be left to four and twenty popular bodies, each at liberty to decide for itself, and none bound to respect the decisions of others; and each at liberty, too, to give a new construction on every new election of its own members? Would any thing, with such a principle in it, or rather, with such a destitution of all principle, be fit to be called a government? No, sir. It should not be denominated a constitution. It should be called, rather, a collection of topics, for everlasting controversy; heads of debate for a disputations people. It would not be a government. It would not be adequate to any practical good, nor fit for any country to live under. To avoid all possibility of being misunderstood, allow me to repeat again, in the fullest manner, that I claim no powers for the government by forced or unfair construction. I admit, that it is a government of strictly limited powers; of enumerated, specified, and particularized powers; and that whatsoever is not granted, is withheld. But notwithstanding all this, and however the grant of powers may be

confederation were reduced to form, it was in that of a solemn league of several states, by which they agreed that they would collectively form one nation

expressed, its limit and extent may yet, in some cases, admit of doubt; and the general government would be good for nothing, it would be incapable of long existing, if some mode had not been provided, in which those doubts, as they should arise, might be peaceably, but authoritatively, solved.

And now, Mr. President, let me run the honourable gentleman's doctrine a little into its practical application. Let us look at his probable *modus operandi*. If a thing can be done, an ingenious man can tell *how* it is to be done. Now, I wish to be informed *how* this state interference is to be put in practice, without violence, bloodshed, and rebellion. We will take the existing case of the tariff law. South Carolina is said to have made up her opinion upon it. If we do not repeal it, (as we probably shall not,) she will then apply to the case the remedy of her doctrine. She will, we must suppose, pass a law of her legislature, declaring the several acts of congress, usually called the tariff laws, null and void, so far as they respect South Carolina or the citizens thereof. So far, all is a paper transaction, and easy enough. But the collector at Charleston is collecting the duties imposed by these tariff laws—he, therefore, must be stopped. The collector will seize the goods if the tariff duties are not paid. The state authorities will undertake their rescue; the marshal, with his posse, will come to the collector's aid, and here the contest begins. The militia of the state will be called out to sustain the nullifying act. They will march, sir, under a very gallant leader: for I believe the honourable member himself commands the militia of that part of the state. He will raise the NULLIFYING ACT on his standard, and spread it out as his banner! It will have a preamble, bearing, that the tariff laws are palpable, deliberate, and dangerous violations of the constitution! He will proceed, with his banner flying, to the custom-house in Charleston:

“All the while,
Sonorous metal blowing martial sounds.”

Arrived at the custom-house, he will tell the collector that he must collect no more duties under any of the tariff laws. This, he will be somewhat puzzled to say, by the way, with a grave countenance, considering what hand South Carolina herself had in that of 1816. But, sir, the collector would, probably, not desist at his bidding—here would ensue a pause: for they say, that a certain stillness precedes the tempest. Before this military array should fall on the custom-house, collector, clerks, and all, it is very probable some of those composing it would request of their gallant commander in chief, to be informed a little upon the point of law; for they have, doubtless, a just respect for his opinions as a lawyer, as well as for his bravery as a soldier. They know he has read Blackstone and the constitution, as well as Turenne and Vauban. They would ask him, therefore, something concerning their rights in this matter. They would inquire, whether it was not somewhat dangerous to resist a law of the United States? What would be the nature of their offence, they would wish to learn, if they, by military force and array, resisted the execution in Carolina of a law of the United States, and it should turn out, after all, that the law was constitutional? He would answer, of course, treason. No lawyer could give any other answer. John Fries, he would tell them, had learned that some years ago. How, then, they would ask, do you propose to defend us? We are not afraid of bullets, but treason has a way of taking people off, that we do not much relish. How do you propose to defend us? “Look at my floating banner,” he would reply; “see there the *nullifying law*!” Is it your opinion, gallant commander, they would then say, that if we should be indicted for treason, that same floating banner of yours would make a good plea in bar? “South Carolina is a sovereign state,” he would reply. That is true; but would the judge admit our plea? “These tariff laws,” he would repeat, “are unconstitutional, palpably, deliberately, dangerously.” That all may be so; but if the tribunals should not happen to be of that opinion, shall we swing for it? We are ready to die for our country, but it is rather an

for the purpose of conducting some certain domestic concerns and all foreign relations. In the instrument forming that union, is found an article which declares

awkward business, this dying without touching the ground! After all, that is a sort of *hemp tax*, worse than any part of the tariff.

Mr. President, the honourable gentleman would be in a dilemma, like that of another great general. He would have a knot before him, which he could not untie. He must cut it with his sword. He must say to his followers, defend yourselves with your bayonets; and this is war—civil war.

Direct collisions, therefore, between force and force, is the unavoidable result of that remedy for the revision of unconstitutional laws, which the gentleman contends for. It must happen in the very first case to which it is applied. Is not this the plain result? To resist, by force, the execution of a law, generally, is treason. Can the courts of the United States take notice of the indulgence of a state to commit treason? The common saying, that a state can not commit treason herself, is nothing to the purpose. Can she authorize others to do it? If John Fries had produced an act of Pennsylvania, annulling the law of congress, would it have helped his case? Talk about it as we will, these doctrines go the length of revolution. They are incompatible with any peaceable administration of the government. They lead directly to disunion and civil commotion; and, therefore, it is, that at their commencement, when they are first found to be maintained by respectable men, and in a tangible form, I enter my public protest against them all.

The honourable gentleman argues, that if this government be the sole judge of the extent of its own powers, whether that right of judging be in congress or the supreme court, it equally subverts state sovereignty. This the gentleman sees, or thinks he sees, although he can not perceive how the right of judging, in this matter, if left to the exercise of state legislatures, has any tendency to subvert the government of the union. The gentleman's opinion may be, that the right *ought not* to have been lodged with the general government; he may like better such a constitution, as we should have under the right of state interference; but I ask him to meet me on the plain matter of fact; I ask him to meet me on the constitution itself; I ask him if the power is not found there—clearly and visibly found there?

But, sir, what is this danger, and what the grounds of it? Let it be remembered, that the constitution of the United States is not unalterable. It is to continue in its present form no longer than the people who established it shall choose to continue it. If they shall become convinced that they have made an injudicious or inexpedient partition and distribution of power, between the state governments and the general government, they can alter that distribution at will.

If any thing be found in the national constitution, either by original provision, or subsequent interpretation, which ought not to be in it, the people know how to get rid of it. If any construction be established, unacceptable to them, so as to become, practically, a part of the constitution, they will amend it, at their own sovereign pleasure. But while the people choose to maintain it, as it is; while they are satisfied with it, and refuse to change it, who has given, or who can give, to the state legislatures a right to alter it, either by interference, construction, or otherwise? Gentlemen do not seem to recollect that the people have any power to do any thing for themselves; they imagine there is no safety for them, any longer than they are under the close guardianship of the state legislatures. Sir, the people have not trusted their safety, in regard to the general constitution, to these hands. They have required other security, and taken other bonds. They have chosen to trust themselves, first, to the plain words of the instrument, and to such construction as the government itself, in doubtful cases, should put on its own powers, under their oaths of office, and subject to their responsibility to them; just as the people of a state trust their own state governments with a similar power. Secondly, they have reposed their trust in the efficacy of frequent elections, and in their own power to remove their own servants and agents, whenever they see cause. Thirdly, they have reposed trust in the judicial power, which, in order that it might be trust worthy, they

that 'every state shall abide by the determination of congress on all questions which by that confederation should be submitted to them.'

"Under the confederation, then, no state could legally annul a decision of the congress, or refuse to submit to its execution; but no provision was made to enforce these decisions. Congress made requisitions, but they were not complied with. The government could not operate on individuals. They had no judiciary, no means of collecting revenue.

"But the defects of the confederation need not be detailed. Under its operation we could scarcely be called a nation. We had neither prosperity at home nor consideration abroad. This state of things could not be endured, and our present happy constitution was formed, but formed in vain, if this fatal doctrine prevails. It was formed for important objects that are announced in the preamble, made in the name, and by the authority of the people of the United States, whose delegates framed, and whose conventions approved it. The most important among these

have made as respectable, as disinterested, and as independent as was practicable. Fourthly, they have seen fit to rely, in case of necessity, or high expediency, on their known and admitted power, to alter or amend the constitution, peaceably and quietly, whenever experience shall point out defects or imperfections. And, finally, the people of the United States have, at no time, in no way, directly or indirectly, authorized any state legislature to construe or interpret *their* high instrument of government; much less to interfere, by their own power, to arrest its course and operation.

If, sir, the people, in these respects, had done otherwise than they have done, their constitution could neither have been preserved, nor would it have been worth preserving. And, if its plain provisions shall now be disregarded, and these new doctrines interpolated in it, it will become as feeble and helpless a being as its enemies, whether early or more recent, could possibly desire. It will exist in every state, but as a poor dependant on state permission. It must borrow leave to be; and will be no longer than state pleasure, or state discretion, sees fit to grant the indulgence, and to prolong its poor existence.

But, sir, although there are fears, there are hopes also. The people have preserved this, their own chosen constitution, for forty years, and have seen their happiness, prosperity, and renown, grow with its growth, and strengthen with its strength. They are now, generally, strongly attached to it. Overthrown by direct assault, it can not be; evaded, undermined, NULLIFIED, it will not be, if we, and those who shall succeed us here, as agents and representatives of the people, shall conscientiously and vigilantly discharge the two great branches of our public trust—faithfully to preserve, and wisely to administer it.

Mr. President, I have thus stated the reasons of my dissent to the doctrines which have been advanced and maintained. I am conscious of having detained you and the senate much too long. I was drawn into the debate, with no previous deliberation, such as is suited to the discussion of so grave and important a subject. But it is a subject of which my heart is full, and I have not been willing to suppress the utterance of its spontaneous sentiments. I can not even now persuade myself to relinquish it, without expressing, once more, my deep conviction, that, since it respects nothing less than the union of the states, it is of most vital and essential importance to the public happiness. I profess, sir, in my career, hitherto, to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honour of the whole country, and the preservation of our federal union. It is to that union we owe our safety at home, and our consideration

objects, that which is placed first in rank, on which all the others rest, is '*to form a more perfect Union.*' Now, is it possible that even if there were no express provision giving supremacy to the constitution and laws of the United States over those of the states—it can be conceived, that an instrument made for the purpose of '*forming a more perfect Union*' than that of the confederation, could be so constructed by the assembled wisdom of our country, as to substitute for that confederation a form of government, dependent for its existence on the local interest, the party spirit of a state, or of a prevailing faction in a state? Every man of plain, unsophisticated understanding, who hears the question, will give such an answer as will preserve the union. Metaphysical subtlety, in pursuit of an impracticable theory, could alone have devised one that is calculated to destroy it.

"I consider, then, the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one state, INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE EXISTENCE OF THE UNION, CONTRADICTED EXPRESSLY BY THE LETTER OF THE CONSTI-

and dignity abroad. It is to that union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influences, these great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and, although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread further and further, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness. I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty, when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the union should be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it shall be broken up and destroyed. While the union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that, in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind. When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonoured fragments of a once glorious union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance, rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honoured throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured—bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as, *What is all this worth?* nor those other words of delusion and folly, *liberty first, and union afterwards*—but every where, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart—*Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable!*

TUTION, UNAUTHORIZED BY ITS SPIRIT, INCONSISTENT WITH EVERY PRINCIPLE ON WHICH IT WAS FOUNDED, AND DESTRUCTIVE OF THE GREAT OBJECT FOR WHICH IT WAS FORMED.

"After this general view of the leading principle, we must examine the particular application of it which is made in the ordinance.

"The preamble rests its justification on these grounds:—It assumes as a fact, that the obnoxious laws, although they purport to be laws for raising revenue, were in reality intended for the protection of manufactures, which purpose it asserts to be unconstitutional; that the operation of these laws is unequal; that the amount raised by them is greater than is required by the wants of the government; and, finally, that the proceeds are to be applied to objects unauthorized by the constitution. These are the only causes alleged to justify an open opposition to the laws of the country, and a threat of seceding from the union, if any attempt should be made to enforce them. The first virtually acknowledges that the law in question was passed under a power expressly given by the constitution, to lay and collect imposts; but its constitutionality is drawn in question from the motives of those who passed it. However apparent this purpose may be in the present case, nothing can be more dangerous than to admit the position, that an unconstitutional purpose, entertained by the members who assent to a law enacted under a constitutional power, shall make that law void; for how is that purpose to be ascertained? Who is to make the scrutiny? How often may bad purposes be falsely imputed? in how many cases are they concealed by false professions? in how many is no declaration of motive made? Admit this doctrine, and you give to the states an uncontrolled right to decide, and every law may be annulled under this pretext. If, therefore, the absurd and dangerous doctrine should be admitted, that a state may annul an unconstitutional law, or one that it deems such, it will not apply to the present case.

"The next objection is, that the laws in question operate unequally. This objection may be made with truth to every law that has been or can be passed. The wisdom of man never yet contrived a system of taxation that would operate with perfect equality. If the unequal operation of a law makes it unconstitutional, and if all laws of that description may be abrogated by any state for that cause, then indeed is the federal constitution unworthy of the slightest effort for its preservation. We have hitherto relied on it as the perpetual bond of our union. We have received it as the work of the assembled wisdom of

the nation. We have trusted to it as to the sheet anchor of our safety, in the stormy times of conflict with a foreign or domestic foe. We have looked to it with sacred awe as the palladium of our liberties, and, with all the solemnities of religion, have pledged to each other our lives and fortunes here, and our hopes of happiness hereafter, in its defence and support. Were we mistaken, my countrymen, in attaching this importance to the constitution of our country? Was our devotion paid to the wretched, inefficient, clumsy contrivance, which this new doctrine would make it? Did we pledge ourselves to the support of an airy nothing, a bubble that must be blown away by the first breath of disaffection? Was this self-destroying, visionary theory, the work of the profound statesmen, the exalted patriots, to whom the task of constitutional reform was intrusted? Did the name of Washington sanction, did the states deliberately ratify, such an anomaly in the history of fundamental legislation? No. We were not mistaken! The letter of this great instrument is free from this radical fault: its language directly contradicts the imputation: its spirit, its evident intent, contradicts it. No, we did not err! Our constitution does not contain the absurdity of giving power to make laws, and another power to resist them. The sages, whose memory will always be revered, have given us a practical, and, as they hoped, a permanent constitutional compact. The Father of his country did not affix his revered name to so palpable an absurdity. Nor did the states, when they severally ratified it, do so under the impression that a veto on the laws of the United States was reserved to them, or that they could exercise it by implication. Search the debates in all their conventions—examine the speeches of the most zealous opposers of federal authority—look at the amendments that were proposed. They are all silent—not a syllable uttered, not a vote given, not a motion made, to correct the explicit supremacy given to the laws of the union over those of the states—or to show that implication, as is now contended, could defeat it. No, we have not erred! The constitution is still the object of our reverence, the bond of our union, our defence in danger, the source of our prosperity in peace. It shall descend, as we have received it, uncorrupted by sophistical construction to our posterity; and the sacrifices of local interest, of state prejudices, of personal animosities, that were made to bring it into existence, will again be patriotically offered for its support.

"The two remaining objections made by the ordinance to these laws are, that the sums intended to be raised by them are greater than are required, and

that the proceeds will be unconstitutionally employed. The constitution has given expressly to congress the right of raising revenue, and of determining the sum the public exigencies will require. The states have no control over the exercise of this right, other than that which results from the power of changing the representatives who abuse it, and thus procure redress. Congress may undoubtedly abuse this discretionary power, but the same may be said of others with which they are vested. Yet the discretion must exist somewhere. The constitution has given it to the representatives of all the people, checked by the representatives of the states, and by the executive power. The South Carolina construction gives it to the legislature or the convention of a single state, where neither the people of the different states, nor the states in their separate capacity, nor the chief magistrate elected by the people, have any representation? Which is the most discreet disposition of the power? I do not ask you, fellow-citizens, which is the constitutional disposition—that instrument speaks a language not to be misunderstood. But if you were assembled in general convention, which would you think the safest depository of this discretionary power in the last resort? Would you add a clause giving it to each of the states, or would you sanction the wise provisions already made by your constitution? If this should be the result of your deliberations when providing for the future, are you—can you—be ready to risk all that we hold dear, to establish, for a temporary and local purpose, that which you must acknowledge to be destructive, and even absurd, as a general provision? Carry out the consequences of this right vested in the different States, and you must perceive that the crisis your conduct presents at this day would recur whenever any law of the United States displeased any of the states, and that we should soon cease to be a nation.

“The ordinance, with the same knowledge of the future that characterizes a former objection, tells you that the proceeds of the tax will be unconstitutionally applied. If this could be ascertained with certainty, the objection would, with more propriety, be reserved for the law so applying the proceeds, but surely cannot be urged against the laws levying the duty.

“These are the allegations contained in the ordinance. Examine them seriously, my fellow-citizens, judge for yourselves. I appeal to you to determine whether they are so clear, so convincing, as to leave no doubt of their correctness; and even if you should come to this conclusion, how far they justify the reckless, destructive course, which you are directed to pursue. Review these objections and the conclu-

sions drawn from them, once more. What are they? Every law, then, for raising revenue, according to the South Carolina ordinance, may be rightfully annulled unless it be so framed as no law ever will or can be framed. Congress have a right to pass laws for raising revenue, and each state has a right to oppose their execution, two rights directly opposed to each other; and yet is this absurdity supposed to be contained in an instrument drawn for the express purpose of avoiding collisions between the states and the general government, by an assembly of the most enlightened statesmen and purest patriots ever embodied for a similar purpose.

“In vain have these sages declared that congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises—in vain have they provided that they shall have power to pass laws which shall be necessary and proper to carry those powers into execution; that those laws and that constitution shall be the ‘supreme law of the land; and that the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.’ In vain have the people of the several states solemnly sanctioned these provisions, made them their paramount law, and individually sworn to support them whenever they were called on to execute any office. Vain provisions! ineffectual restrictions! vile profanation of oaths! miserable mockery of legislation! if a bare majority of the voters in any one state may on a real or supposed knowledge of the intent with which a law has been passed, declare themselves free from its operation—say here it gives too little, there too much, and operates unequally—here it suffers articles to be free that ought to be taxed, there it taxes those that ought to be free—in this case the proceeds are intended to be applied to purposes which we do not approve, in that the amount raised is more than is wanted. Congress, it is true, are invested by the constitution with the right of deciding these questions according to their sound discretion. Congress is composed of the representatives of all the states, and of all the people of all the states; but *we*, part of the people of one state, to whom the constitution has given no power on the subject, from whom it has expressly taken it away—*we*, who have solemnly agreed that this constitution shall be our law—*we*, most of whom have sworn to support it—*we* now abrogate this law, and swear, and force others to swear, that it shall not be obeyed, and we do this, not because congress have no right to pass such laws, this we do not allege; but because they have passed them with improper views. They are unconstitutional from the motives

of those who passed them, which we can never with certainty know; from their unequal operation, although it is impossible from the nature of things that they should be equal; and from the disposition which we presume may be made of their proceeds, although that disposition has not been declared. This is the plain meaning of the ordinance in relation to laws which it abrogates for alleged unconstitutionality. But it does not stop there. It repeals, in express terms, an important part of the constitution itself, and of laws passed to give it effect, which have never been alleged to be unconstitutional. The constitution declares that the judicial powers of the United States extend in cases arising under the laws of the United States, and that such laws, the constitution, and treaties, shall be paramount to the state constitutions and laws. The judiciary act prescribes the mode by which the case may be brought before a court of the United States by appeal, when a state tribunal shall decide against this provision of the constitution. The ordinance declares there shall be no appeal; makes the state law paramount to the constitution and laws of the United States; forces judges and jurors to swear that they will disregard their provisions; and even makes it penal in a suitor to attempt relief by appeal. It further declares that it shall not be lawful for the authorities of the United States, or of that state, to enforce the payment of duties imposed by the revenue laws within its limits.

"Here is a law of the United States, not even pretended to be unconstitutional, repealed by the authority of a small majority of the voters of a single state. Here is a provision of the constitution which is solemnly abrogated by the same authority.

"On such expositions and reasonings, the ordinance grounds not only an assertion of the right to annul the laws of which it complains, but to enforce it by a threat of seceding from the union, if any attempt is made to execute them.

"This right to secede is deduced from the nature of the constitution, which, they say, is a compact between sovereign states, who have preserved their whole sovereignty, and, therefore, are subject to no superior; that, because they made the compact, they can break it when, in their opinion, it has been departed from by the other states. Fallacious as this course of reasoning is, it enlists state pride, and finds advocates in the honest prejudices of those who have not studied the nature of our government sufficiently to see the radical error on which it rests.

"The people of the United States formed the constitution, acting through the state legislatures in making the compact, to meet and discuss its provisions,

and acting in separate conventions when they ratified those provisions; but the terms used in its construction, show it to be a government in which the people of all the states collectively are represented. We are **ONE PEOPLE** in the choice of the president and vice president. Here the states have no other agency than to direct the mode in which the votes shall be given. The candidates having the majority of all the votes are chosen. The electors of a majority of states may have given their votes for one candidate, and yet another may be chosen. The people, then, and not the states, are represented in the executive branch.

"In the house of representatives there is this difference, that the people of one state do not, as in the case of president and vice president, all vote for the same officers. The people of all the states do not vote for all the members, each state electing only its own representatives. But this creates no material distinction. When chosen, they are all representatives of the United States, not representatives of the particular state from which they come. They are paid by the United States, not by the state; nor are they accountable to it for any act done in the performance of their legislative functions: and however they may in practice, as it is their duty to do, consult and prefer the interests of their particular constituents when they come in conflict with any other partial or local interests, yet it is their first and highest duty, as representatives of the United States, to promote the general good.

"The constitution of the United States, then, forms a *government*, not a league; and whether it be formed by compact between the states, or in any other manner, its character is the same. It is a government in which all the people are represented, which operates directly on the people individually, not upon the states; they retained all the power they did not grant. But each state having expressly parted with so many powers as to constitute jointly with the other states, a single nation, cannot from that period possess any right to secede, because such secession does not break a league, but destroys the unity of a nation; and any injury to that unity is not only a breach, which would result from the contravention of a compact, but it is an offence against the whole union. To say that any state may at pleasure secede from the union, is to say that the United States are not a nation; because it would be a solecism to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connexion with the other parts, to their injury or ruin, without committing any offence. Secession, like any other revolutionary act, may be morally justified by the ex-

tremity of oppression ; but to call it a constitutional right is confounding the meaning of terms ; and can only be done through gross error, or to deceive those who are willing to assert a right, but would pause before they made a revolution, or incur the penalties consequent on a failure.

"Because the union was formed by compact, it is said the parties to that compact may, when they feel themselves aggrieved, depart from it : but it is precisely because it is a compact that they cannot. A compact is an agreement or binding obligation. It may, by its terms, have a sanction or penalty for its breach, or it may not. If it contains no sanction, it may be broken with no other consequence than moral guilt : if it have a sanction, then the breach incurs the designated or implied penalty. A league between independent nations, generally has no sanction other than a moral one ; or, if it should contain a penalty, as there is no common superior, it cannot be enforced. A government, on the contrary, always has a sanction, express or implied ; and, in our case, it is both necessarily implied and expressly given. An attempt by force of arms to destroy a government, is an offence, by whatever means the constitutional compact may have been formed ; and such government has the right, by the law of self-defence, to pass acts for punishing the offender, unless that right is modified, restrained, or resumed, by the constitutional act.—In our system, although it is modified in the case of treason, yet authority is expressly given to pass all laws necessary to carry its powers into effect, and under this grant provision has been made for punishing acts which obstruct the due administration of the laws.

"It would seem superfluous to add any thing to show the nature of that union which connects us ; but as erroneous opinions on this subject are the foundation of doctrines the most destructive to our peace, I must give some further development to my views on this subject. No one, fellow-citizens, has a higher reverence for the reserved rights of the states, than the magistrate who now addresses you. No one would make greater personal sacrifices, or official exertions, to defend them from violation ; but equal care must be taken to prevent on their part an improper interference with, or resumption of, the rights they have vested in the nation. The line has not been so distinctly drawn as to avoid doubts in some cases of the exercise of power. Men of the best intentions and soundest views may differ in their construction of some parts of the constitution : but there are others on which dispassionate reflection can leave no doubt. Of this nature appears to be the assumed

right of secession. It rests, as we have seen, on the alleged undivided sovereignty of the states, and on their having formed in this sovereign capacity a compact which is called the constitution, from which, because they made it, they have the right to secede. Both of these positions are erroneous, and some of the arguments to prove them so have been anticipated.

The states severally have not retained their entire sovereignty. It has been shown that in becoming parts of a nation, not members of a league, they surrendered many of their essential parts of sovereignty. The right to make treaties—declare war—levy taxes—exercise exclusive judicial and legislative powers, were all of them functions of sovereign power. The states then, for all these important purposes, were no longer sovereign. The allegiance of their citizens was transferred, in the first instance, to the government of the United States—they became American citizens, and owed obedience to the constitution of the United States, and to the laws made in conformity with the powers it vested in congress. This last position has not been, and can not be denied. How then can that state be said to be sovereign and independent, whose citizens owe obedience to laws not made by it, and whose magistrates are sworn to disregard those laws, when they come in conflict with those passed by another ? What shows conclusively that the states can not be said to have reserved an undivided sovereignty, is, that they expressly ceded the right to punish treason—not treason against their separate power—but treason against the United States. Treason is an offence against *sovereignty*, and sovereignty must reside with the power to punish it. But the reserved rights of the states are not less sacred, because they have for their common interest made the general government the depository of these powers. The unity of our political character (as has been shown for another purpose) commenced with its very existence. Under the royal government we had no separate character—our opposition to its oppression began as United Colonies. We were the United States under the confederation, and the name was perpetuated, and the union rendered more perfect, by the federal constitution. In none of these stages did we consider ourselves in any other light than as forming one nation. Treaties and alliances were made in the name of all. Troops were raised for the joint defence. How, then, with all these proofs, that under all changes of our position we had, for designated purposes and with defined powers, created national governments—how is it, that the most perfect of those several modes of union should now be considered as a mere league, that may be dissolved at pleasure ? It

is from an abuse of terms. Compact is used as synonymous with league, although the true term is not employed, because it would at once show the fallacy of the reasoning. It would not do to say that our constitution was only a league; but, it is laboured to prove it a compact, (which in one sense it is,) and then to argue that as a league is a compact, every compact between nations must of course be a league, and from such an engagement every sovereign power has a right to secede. But it has been shown, that in this sense the states are not sovereign, and that even if they were, and the national constitution had been formed by compact, there would be no right in any one state to exonerate itself from its obligations.

"So obvious are the reasons which forbid this secession, that it is necessary only to allude to them. The union was formed for the benefit of all. It was produced by mutual sacrifices of interests and opinions. Can those sacrifices be recalled? Can the states who magnanimously surrendered their title to the territories of the west, recall the grant? Will the inhabitants of the inland states agree to pay the duties that may be imposed without their assent by those on the Atlantic or the Gulf, for their own benefits? Shall there be a free port in one state, and onerous duties in another? No one believes that any right exists in a single state to involve all the others in these and countless other evils, contrary to the engagements solemnly made. Every one must see that the other states, in self-defence, must oppose at all hazards.

"These are the alternatives that are presented by the convention—a repeal of all the acts for raising revenue, leaving the government without the means of support; or an acquiescence in the dissolution of our union by the secession of one of its members. When the first was proposed, it was known that it could not be listened to for a moment. It was known if force was applied to oppose the execution of the laws, that it must be repelled by force—that congress could not, without involving itself in disgrace, and the country in ruin, accede to the proposition; and yet, if this is not done in a given day, or if any attempt is made to execute the laws, the state is, by the ordinance, declared to be out of the union. The majority of a convention assembled for the purpose have dictated these terms, or rather this rejection of all terms, in the name of the people of South Carolina. It is true that the governor of the state speaks of the submission of their grievances to a convention of all the states; which, he says, they 'sincerely and anxiously seek and desire.' Yet this obvious and constitutional mode of ob-

taining the sense of the other states on the construction of the federal compact, and amending it, if necessary, has never been attempted by those who have urged the state on to this destructive measure. The state might have proposed the call for a general convention to the other states; and congress, if a sufficient number of them concurred, must have called it. But the first magistrate of South Carolina, when he expressed a hope that, 'on a review by congress and the functionaries of the general government of the merits of the controversy,' such a convention will be accorded to them, must have known that neither congress nor any functionary of the general government has authority to call such a convention, unless it be demanded by two thirds of the states. This suggestion, then, is another instance of the reckless inattention to the provisions of the constitution with which this crisis has been madly hurried on, or of the attempt to persuade the people that a constitutional remedy had been sought and refused. If the legislature of South Carolina 'anxiously desire' a general convention to consider their complaints, why have they not made application for it in the way the constitution points out? The assertion that they 'earnestly seek' it is completely negatived by the omission.

"This, then, is the position in which we stand. A small majority of the citizens of one state in the union have elected delegates to a state convention: that convention has ordained that all the revenue laws of the United States must be repealed, or that they are no longer a member of the union. The governor of the state has recommended to the legislature the raising of an army to carry the secession into effect, and that he may be empowered to give clearances to vessels in the name of the state. No act of violent opposition to the laws has yet been committed, but such a state of things is hourly apprehended, and it is the intent of this instrument to PROCLAIM, not only that the duty imposed on me by the constitution, 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed,' shall be performed to the extent of the powers already invested in me by law, or of such others as the wisdom of congress shall devise, and entrust to me for the purpose; but to warn the citizens of South Carolina, who have been deluded into an opposition to the laws, of the danger they incur by obedience to the illegal and disorganizing ordinance of the convention—to exhort those who have refused to support it to persevere in their determination to uphold the constitution and laws of their country, and to point out to all, the perilous situation into which the good people of that

state have been led—and that the course that they are urged to pursue is one of ruin and disgrace to the very state whose rights they affect to support.

“Fellow-citizens of my native state!—Let me not only admonish you, as the first magistrate of our common country, not to incur the penalties of its laws, but use the influence that a father would over his children whom he saw rushing to a certain ruin. In that paternal feeling, let me tell you, my countrymen, that you are deluded by men who are either deceived themselves, or wish to deceive you. Mark under what pretences you have been led on to the brink of insurrection and treason, on which you stand! First a diminution of the value of your staple commodity, lowered by over production in other quarters, and the consequent diminution in the value of your lands, were the sole effect of the tariff laws. The effect of those laws are confessedly injurious, but the evil was greatly exaggerated by the unfounded theory you were taught to believe, that its burdens were in proportion to your exports, not to your consumption of imported articles. Your pride was roused by the assertion that a submission to those laws was a state of vassalage, and that resistance to them was equal, in patriotic merit, to the opposition our fathers offered to the oppressive laws of Great Britain. You were told that this opposition might be peaceably—might be constitutionally made—that you might enjoy all the advantages of the union, and bear none of its burdens.

“Eloquent appeals to your passions, to your state pride, to your native courage, to your sense of real injury, were used to prepare you for the period when the mask which concealed the hideous features of DISUNION should be taken off. It fell, and you were made to look with complacency on objects which, not long since, you would have regarded with horror. Look back at the arts which have brought you to this state—look forward to the consequences to which it must inevitably lead! Look back to what was first told you as an inducement to enter into this dangerous course. The great political truth was repeated to you, that you had the revolutionary right of resisting all laws that were palpably unconstitutional and intolerably oppressive; it was added, that the right to nullify a law rested on the same principle, but that it was a peaceable remedy! This character which was given to it, made you receive, with too much confidence, the assertions that were made of the unconstitutionality of the law, and its oppressive effects. Mark, my fellow-citizens, that by the admission of your leaders, the unconstitutionality must be *palpable*, or it will not justify either resist-

ance or nullification! What is the meaning of the word *palpable*, in the sense in which it is here used? that which is apparent to every one; that which no man of ordinary intellect will fail to perceive. Is the unconstitutionality of these laws of that description? let those among your leaders who once approved and advocated the principle of protective duties, answer the question; and let them choose whether they will be considered as incapable, then, of perceiving that which must have been apparent to every man of common understanding; or as imposing upon your confidence, and endeavouring to mislead you now. In either case, they are unsafe guides in the perilous path they urge you to tread. Ponder well on this circumstance, and you will know how to appreciate the exaggerated language they address to you. They are not champions of liberty, emulating the fame of our revolutionary fathers; nor are you an oppressed people, contending, as they repeat to you, against worse than colonial vassalage. You are free members of a flourishing and happy union. There is no settled design to oppress you. You have indeed felt the unequal operation of laws which may have been unwisely, not unconstitutionally passed; but that inequality must necessarily be removed. At the very moment when you were madly urged on to the unfortunate course you have begun, a change in public opinion had commenced. The nearly approaching payment of the public debt, and the consequent necessity of a diminution of duties, had already produced a considerable reduction, and that too on some articles of general consumption in your state. The importance of this change was underrated, and you were authoritatively told, that no further alleviation of your burdens was to be expected, at the very time when the condition of the country imperiously demanded such a modification of the duties as should reduce them to a just and equitable scale. But, as if apprehensive of the effect of this change in allaying your discontents, you were precipitated into the fearful state in which you now find yourselves.

“I have urged you to look back to the means that were used to hurry you on to the position you have now assumed, and forward to the consequences it will produce. Something more is necessary. Contemplate the condition of that country of which you still form an important part! Consider its government, uniting in one bond of common interest and general protection so many different states, giving to all their inhabitants the proud title of AMERICAN CITIZENS, protecting their commerce, securing their literature and the arts, facilitating their intercommu-

nication, defending their frontiers, and making their name respected in the remotest parts of the earth! Consider the extent of its territory, its increasing and happy population, its advance in arts, which render life agreeable, and the sciences which elevate the mind! See education spreading the lights of religion, morality, and general information, into every cottage in this wide extent of our territories and states! Behold it as the asylum where the wretched and the oppressed find a refuge and support! Look on this picture of happiness and honour, and say—WE TOO, ARE CITIZENS OF AMERICA: Carolina is one of these proud states: her arms have defended, her best blood has cemented this happy union! And then add, if you can, without horror and remorse, this happy union we will dissolve—this picture of peace and prosperity we will deface—this free intercourse we will interrupt—these fertile fields we will deluge with blood—the protection of that glorious flag we renounce—the very name of Americans we discard—And for what, mistaken men!—for what do you throw away these inestimable blessings—for what would you exchange your share in the advantages and honour of the union? For the dream of a separate independence—a dream interrupted by bloody conflicts with your neighbours, and a vile dependence on a foreign power. If your leaders could succeed in establishing a separation, what would be your situation? Are you united at home—are you free from the apprehension of civil discord, with all its fearful consequences? Do our neighbouring republics, every day suffering some new revolution, or contending with some new insurrection—do they excite your envy? But the dictates of a high duty oblige me solemnly to announce that you can not succeed.

“The laws of the United States must be executed. I have no discretionary power on the subject—my duty is emphatically pronounced in the constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution, deceived you; they could not have been deceived themselves. They know that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the execution of the laws, and they know that such opposition must be repelled. Their object is disunion; but be not deceived by names; disunion by armed force is TREASON: Are you really ready to incur its guilt? If you are, on the heads of the instigators of the act be the dreadful consequence,—on their heads be the dishonour, but on yours may fall the punishment—on your unhappy state will inevitably fall all the evils of the conflict you force upon the government of your country. It can not accede to the mad project of disunion, of which you would be the first vic-

tims—its first magistrate can not, if he would, avoid the performance of his duty—the consequence must be fearful for you, distressing to your fellow-citizens here, and to the friends of good government throughout the world. Its enemies have beheld our prosperity, with a vexation they could not conceal—it was a standing refutation of their slavish doctrines, and they will point to our discord with a triumph of malignant joy. It is yet in your power to disappoint them. There is yet time to show that the descendants of the Pinckneys, the Sumpters, the Rutledges, and of the thousand other names which adorn the pages of your revolutionary history, will not abandon that union, to support which, so many of them fought, and bled, and died. I adjure you, as you honour their memory—as you love the cause of freedom, to which they dedicated their lives—as you prize the peace of your country, the lives of its best citizens, and your own fair fame, to retrace your steps. Snatch from the archives of your state the disorganizing edict of its convention—bid its members to re-assemble and promulgate the decided expressions of your will to remain in the path which alone can conduct you to safety, prosperity, and honour—tell them that compared to disunion, all other evils are light, because that brings with it an accumulation of all—declare that you will never take the field unless the star spangled banner of your country shall float over you: that you will not be stigmatized when dead, and dishonoured and scorned, while you live, as the authors of the first attack on the constitution of your country!—its destroyers you can not be. You may disturb its peace—you may interrupt the course of its prosperity—you may cloud its reputation for stability—but its tranquillity will be restored, its prosperity will return, and the stain upon its national character will be transferred, and remain an eternal blot on the memory of those who caused the disorder.

“Fellow-citizens of the United States! The threat of unhallowed disunion—the names of those once respected, by whom it is uttered—the array of military force to support it—denote the approach of a crisis in our affairs on which the continuance of our unexampled prosperity, our political existence, and perhaps that of all free governments, may depend. The conjunction demanded a free, a full, and explicit enunciation, not only of my intentions, but of my principles of action; and as the claim was asserted of a right by a state to annul the laws of the union, and even to secede from it at pleasure, a frank exposition of my opinions in relation to the origin and form of our government, and the construction I give

to the instrument by which it was created, seemed to be proper. Having the fullest confidence in the justice of the legal and constitutional opinion of my duties which has been expressed, I rely with equal confidence on your undivided support in my determination to execute the laws—to preserve the union by all constitutional means—to arrest, if possible, by moderate but firm measures, the necessity of a recourse to force; and, if it be the will of heaven that the recurrence of its primeval curse on man for the shedding of a brother's blood should fall upon our land, that it be not called down by any offensive act on the part of the United States.

“Fellow-citizens! The momentous case is before you. On your undivided support of your government depends the decision of the great question it involves, whether your sacred union will be preserved, and the blessings it secures to us as one people, shall be perpetuated. No one can doubt that the unanimity with which that decision will be expressed, will be such as to inspire new confidence in republican institutions, and that the prudence, the wisdom, and the courage which it will bring to their defence, will transmit them unimpaired and invigorated to our children.

“May the great ruler of nations grant that the signal blessings with which he has favoured ours, may not, by the madness of party, or personal ambition, be disregarded and lost: and may his wise providence bring those who have produced this crisis to see the folly, before they feel the misery of civil strife: and inspire a returning veneration for that union which, if we may dare to penetrate his designs, he has chosen as the only means of attaining the high destinies to which we may reasonably aspire.”

The language of the proclamation is too precious to be forgotten. The second election of General Jackson was of a decided character. The opposition was overwhelming. After this event, he made a tour to the eastern and northern states. Every where he was received with enthusiasm. Party feelings were forgotten, and the president alone was considered. A brave and generous people received a gallant commander, with every demonstration of respect and admiration. The most ancient university in the country made him a Doctor of Laws. He visited Bunker Hill, saw the plains of Lexington, ground sacred to the descendants of the Pilgrims, and returned with their warmest wishes for his prosperity.

END OF VOLUME I.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

When in the course of the human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

Prudence, in the second place, will not forbid that should a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing the same object, render a patent and obvious that the design is to reduce them to absolute Tyranny, it is their duty, at such time and when such accumulations of proof shall convince them that the good Colonies have incurred and justified an immediate and total separation, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; such has been their long endurance of the same, that they will now be obliged to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — That the United Colonies by the Declaration of Independence, do hereby sever all connection with Great Britain; that they do hereby declare that they are free, independent States, absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all future intercourse with Great Britain must be on equal terms of friendship, commerce, and consular jurisdiction, with no other powers.

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NIAGARA FALLS.



LONDON



THE
HISTORY AND TOPOGRAPHY
OF
THE UNITED STATES
OF
NORTH AMERICA,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

COMPRISING

POLITICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY; GEOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, MINERALOGY, ZOOLOGY, AND BOTANY; AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES,
AND COMMERCE; LAWS, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND RELIGION; WITH A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE
CITIES, TOWNS, SEA-PORTS, PUBLIC EDIFICES, CANALS, &c. &c.

EDITED BY

JOHN HOWARD HINTON, A. M.

ASSISTED BY SEVERAL LITERARY GENTLEMEN IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

A NEW AND IMPROVED EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS,
BY SAMUEL L. KNAPP.

"Much I avail my friends by all the zeal
I show the dead"——

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line of demarcation, which is certainly not unnatural, and which may be proceeded upon for the purposes of the present description.

In its utmost reach, the territory of the United States extends from N. Lat. 25° , or $24^{\circ} 27'$, the southern extremity of Florida, to N. Lat. $54^{\circ} 40'$, the extreme north of the district of Oregon; and from the 67th to the 125th degree of west longitude from Greenwich.* It is bounded on the north by British America; on the west by the Pacific Ocean to the 42d degree of latitude; on the south by the republic of Mexico and the Mexican Gulf, and on the east by the Atlantic Ocean. This may well be called an immense region. Its mean length from east to west is 2,500 miles, and its mean breadth from north to south 830. Its line of boundary extends, according to Darby, to 9,425 miles, of which 2,525 are sea coast; and its area comprehends 2,257,374 square miles, exceeding by a small fraction one twentieth part of the land surface of the earth.

The great features of this ample territory are few and simple. Contemplating its extent from east to west, we perceive on either side the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean respectively; on either side, also, are chains of mountains, on the east the Appalachian, on the west the Chippewyan Mountains, traversing the whole extent of the country, at a considerable distance from the coast, but in a direction nearly parallel with it. The effect of these mountain chains is to cut off a strip of land next the sea on either side, and to throw the whole of the intermediate country into the form of an immense inland valley. The territory of the United States is thus naturally divided into three great sections; that of the Atlantic Slope; that within the great central valley of North America; and, thirdly, a portion extending from the Chippewyan Mountains towards the Pacific Ocean.

The first of these sections we have called the Atlantic Slope, since for the most part it consists of lands gradually sloping from the Appalachian Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean. There are, however, two exceptions to this description; the one in the peninsula of Florida, which is flat and entirely separate from the mountain chains, and the other in the New England states, in which the mountains constitute the sea coast, without any intermediate lands. Neither in strictness can it be said that the mountain ridges constitute the western boundary of the Atlantic Slope itself; since the rivers, which of course indi-

cate the descent of the country most correctly, do not uniformly rise in the mountains, but in many cases, especially in the north, rise in the table land beyond them, and burst through the mountains, in order to find their way to the Atlantic Ocean. The high ground, therefore, which really defines the western edge of this slope, must be traced by the river sources, and will be found to form an inflected line, ranging obliquely over the Appalachian system.

The ocean border of the Atlantic Slope is formed into three extensive bays. Having Capes Hatteras and Florida as the extremes of its chord, and the fine estuaries of St. John's, St. Mary's, Alatomaha, with many other rivers, pouring into it, stretches a bay swept by that great ocean river, the Gulf Stream. The coast of this bay is uniformly low and sandy, with small islands, extending generally parallel to the opposing shore of the continent. The rivers are comparatively shallow at or near their efflux into the ocean. If we consider the South-western Bay as commencing with the northern outlet of the Bahama Channel, the length of its chord will be about six hundred miles, with a depth from that chord to the mouth of the Alatomaha of about two hundred miles. The Gulf Stream in its passage north-east flows almost exactly along the chord of this bay, and forms in its inner curvature an immense whirlpool.

Cape Hatteras forms a most distinguishing landmark on the oceanic border of the United States. Without an elevation much above the waves, which beat with untameable rage against its rocky front, this stormy promontory projects into the Atlantic Ocean, almost exactly mid-distance between Florida Point and Passamaquoddy. Sweeping inwards from this cape of tempests, and forming a section of a very elongated ellipse, the Middle Bay of the United States extends about five hundred and fifty miles to the eastern salient angle of Massachusetts, with a depth from its chord to New York harbour of one hundred and fifty miles. The coast of the Middle Bay, like that of the South-west, is generally low and sandy; but its rivers and minor bays assume a very different character. All the rivers of the South-western Bay enter the Atlantic Ocean by narrow and very shallow outlets, neither of them, except the St. Mary's, admitting the entrance of large vessels; but with the Neuse and the Pamlico, entering into Pamlico Sound directly west from Cape Hatteras, commences a new order of rivers. Pamlico Sound is followed by that of Albemarle, receiving Roanoke and Chowan Rivers, which is again succeeded by that immense recipient, the Chesapeake Bay, and that again by the wide estuary of the Delaware, and next, the long and

* Reckoned from the meridian of Washington, the United States extend from 10° east to 48° west longitude.

PREFACE
TO VOL. II. OF THE AMERICAN EDITION.

IN the few prefatory remarks which accompany the first volume of this work, I have stated, that my observations on Mr. Hinton's book were confined principally to events connected with American history, and to that portion, in particular, which includes the occurrences of the American Revolution. That they are of some extent, if not of some value, the student of American annals will be able to determine.

IN the second volume, I have carefully surveyed the mass of information which the London editor has brought together on a great variety of important topics. His information will be admitted to possess much accuracy, and to be of a recent date. Nevertheless, it was deemed but justice to that public who have so largely countenanced this undertaking, that many particulars which the author did not possess, or had entirely overlooked, should be added to this reprint; and when it is observed, that the additions to this part of the work now given by the American editor are nearly equal in extent to the entire quantity in the original volume, I am persuaded that I shall receive at least the approbation of the reader for good intentions, if not for the exercise of a wholesome discretion, and a desire to make this book on American matters a repository of facts of peculiar importance to every inquirer on the topics to which it relates.

IN order the better to dispose of my materials, I have looked with a becoming regard to the statistics, and other information, which the author has given of the several states, and under different heads. But few portions of his account of the country have been examined, without some additions or amendments; and if a disproportion present itself, concerning the manner in which some parts have been augmented, I must plead, that sometimes my materials led me to the measure, and that I felt that special subjects required the revision and enlargement that I have thus bestowed. Moreover, Mr. Hinton himself has not always been governed by the relative value of his subject, and different observers are supposed to look even on the same object with different eyes. I have also had several other difficulties to overcome. Almost every individual state of the confederacy now lays claim to its topographer and historian. Maine, for instance, has already called forth several topographical works; and no less than three authors, each of considerable merit, have published her historical occurrences. In such a case, the few pages of Hinton on this member of the

Union might have been swelled to as many hundred ; but a reference to authorities is nearly all that the prescribed limits allowed.

The state of New York, in the original edition, occupies no inconsiderable space in the work. I have, however, still farther largely added to it, because the empire state demanded it. Her mighty efforts in internal improvements, her commercial importance, her location, and other reasons, had their weight in my determination. The reader, therefore, will not be dissatisfied by finding in this edition the elaborate memoir of the late Cadwallader D. Colden on the canal history of this great state ; it is too precious a document not to be preserved in a way that it can readily be had access to.

I have, with a similar view to future benefit, enriched my pages with a minute and circumstantial account of the city of New York, furnished me by my friend, Dr. J. W. Francis, who has also afforded me other communications of value, and occasionally directed my attention to objects of special inquiry throughout the work. His ample library of American materials has also yielded to me many facilities. To him, and to my other friends, who have felt solicitous that Hinton's United States should be rendered the more valuable by the labours of the American editor, and to all who have contributed to this object, I beg to return my thanks.

The paper from the pen of Dr. Metcalfe, which was not ready for its proper place in the volume, the editor is obliged to bring in at the close of his labours. He does not feel himself sufficiently qualified in this department of philosophy to express a decided opinion in the matter ; but he has no hesitation in saying, that the reader will find in this article many interesting facts, with novel and ingenious observations, worthy the profound attention of the man of science, and the curious observer of the laws of nature in every walk of life.

Whatever the fastidious critic may observe, I cannot but remark, that the volumes now sent forth will be found to embrace a stock of information which eminently places the work among the most available as a book of reference, as well as for popular reading.

S. L. K.

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A new theory of terrestrial magnetism.—An attempt to prove that caloric is the most subtle exhibition of matter; and is the same as electricity.—Caloric of fluids the cause of capillary attraction.—The circulation of sap in trees accounted for.—Caloric the cause of chemical affinities.—Oxidation and combustion promoted by moderate heat, and arrested by cold.—The doctrine that those bodies have the strongest attraction for caloric which contain the least of it.—The second part of the work is devoted to the theory of terrestrial magnetism, which is connected with the subject of climatology.—His 14 positions as the basis of his theory.—Dr. Franklin's observations.—Aerial condensation witnessed at New York, June 2, 1832.—Caloric the only cause of evaporation.—Errors in the science of electricity corrected.—The globe itself the grand laboratory of nature.—Theory of rain.—Trade winds.—The cause of hail storms—a descent of cold air from the upper regions.—A remarkable instance occurred at Cuba, May 24, 1809.—Oxygen a portion of all the varieties of rocks.—It is an error to suppose that there are two distinct electricities.—Sir Humphrey Davy's error on this subject.—Projectile forces.—Facts illustrating the positions assumed in regard to electricity.—The whole earth surrounded by an ocean of unseen and living fires.....p. 477 to 500.



HEAD WATER OF THE JUNIATA ALLEGANY MOUNTAINS, PENNSYLVANIA.

singular tide river or bay of the Hudson. At the efflux of the Hudson the Atlantic waves almost reach the base of the Appalachian mountains, but are again repelled by the sandy border of Long Island, which, through a distance of one hundred and sixteen miles, shelters an inland gulf, differing in character from the other sounds or bays on the Atlantic Slope only in having two outlets into the ocean. The outer coast of Long Island may therefore be regarded as the continuation of that of the Atlantic, and what is called Long Island Sound as the recipient of the Houssatonick and Connecticut rivers. The beautiful and richly variegated bays of Narraganset and Buzzard close the fine indentings of the Middle Bay of the United States, which terminates with the sandy point of Malabar. Similarly to that of the South-west, the chord of the Middle Bay is very nearly the course of the Gulf Stream, though, in its advance to the north-east, that great current increases in width, but diminishes in rapidity.

Cape Cod, the eastern extremity of Massachusetts, is a promontory which constitutes another of those geographical limits on each side of which strong contrasts in natural phenomena present themselves. Here the coast curves rapidly inwards by an abrupt sweep to the south, thence west, gradually winding to the north-east, and finally to the south-east; enclosing on three sides a sheet of water in the form of a parallelogram, extending two hundred by one hundred and eighty miles. Into this north-eastern recipient are poured the rivers Charles, Merrimack, Piscataqua, Saco, Kennebeck, Penobscott, St. Croix or Passamaquoddy, St. John's, and it might be added, the Bay of Fundy. The shores of Cape Cod are low and sandy, but with it terminates the low and alluvial coast of the United States. The high land now approaches the ocean, and the bays and rivers of north-east Massachusetts, and those of New Hampshire and Maine, open to the ocean between bold and swelling hills. The harbours of this section of the United States are numerous, deep, and spacious, and the two extremes of the Atlantic Slope present a complete contrast in scenery and in commercial facility.

Along the Gulf of Mexico, in a line of 1100 miles, scarcely a hill of any perceptible elevation rises, to break the dull monotony of the coast. The rivers enter their recipient by narrow and shallow channels, and even the mighty Mississippi on no one bar has thirteen feet water. The best harbours are bays into which no great rivers are discharged.

Looking inland from the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, one vast and very gently rising plain seems emerging from the waters. At first almost an

undeviating level, it is imperceptibly broken into hill and dale; the hills being first humble, but swelling into majesty as they approach the mountains. The long chains of the Appalachian system stretch from south-west to north-east. They are irregular, and plainly different from the hills, yet arranged, as a whole, with remarkable symmetry. They cross the line of the river sources, which singularly follows the deflections of the coast, at an angle of about 30 degrees. Touching the ocean in the New England states, they penetrate more and more deeply into the continent in their course to the south-westward. Taken under a comprehensive survey of its physiognomy, the Appalachian system comprises an undetermined number of chains, extending in collateral ranges; each chain is formed of ridges which interlock with each other, and are frequently cut by the rivers; the ridges extend in most instances in the same direction with the chain which they contribute to form; the chains differ very materially in relative elevation and continuity, and the whole system is, with a few exceptions, in a remarkable manner devoid of peaks. No unequivocal appearance of volcanic eruption has been anywhere detected. The elevation of the Appalachian mountains is by no means considerable, and that of the table land giving origin to the Atlantic rivers may be said to be very trifling: the former never exceeds 6000 feet, and rarely approaches that elevation; while the latter, at its highest point, which is near the Gulf of Mexico, does not exceed 1800 feet, and in the northern states is less than 500. The chasms by which the rivers penetrate this mountain system are not the least remarkable of its features. The most extraordinary is that occupied by the River Hudson, by means of which the tide flows for 160 miles through the very heart of the mountains, and pierces the entire mass. This glen is continued to the St. Lawrence, the northern part of it being occupied by Lakes George and Champlain, and an elevation of only 140 feet dividing them from the tide level in the Hudson.

A rocky obstruction giving occasion to a fall, is a general, and almost a uniform occurrence in all considerable rivers which flow into the Atlantic between New York and the Mississippi. It is found that a line passing through these falls in succession would very nearly observe the deflections of the coast, and it is believed that they are all occasioned by a ledge of rock passing continuously through the whole country connected with the mountains. In most instances the tide advances up to this rocky ledge, and within a short space above and below it the face of the country is strongly contrasted. Below the river falls

the aspect becomes more and more monotonous, until the whole sinks to a level scarcely more broken, in many places, than that of an ocean in a calm. The rivers, except from the tides, are without current, or flow gently; and marshes, overflowed by the tides and land floods, are extensive near the coast. Above the falls all is different, and not only to the mountain bases, but in their expansive valleys, the hills meet the traveller's eye in considerable elevation, round, bold, and swelling. The rivers wind through vales, rich, variegated, and gently undulating, and now, under the influence of cultivation, smiling in all the gayety of field, garden, orchard, and meadow. This fine hill tract spreads, if the expression may be used, round the Appalachian masses, and extends from the mouth of the St. Lawrence nearly to that of the Mississippi. It comprises the best peopled and best cultivated part of the north-eastern, middle, and southern states; and the largest and most wealthy cities of the republic have risen on its margin.

Let us now turn to the west, and examine the tract between the Chippewayan Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. The extent of coast here possessed by the United States is small in comparison with the Atlantic, being only about 600 miles; but the mountains are at a mean distance of 500 miles from the sea, giving to this region a much greater breadth than that of the Atlantic Slope. The Chippewayan Mountains appear to be altogether of a different character from the Appalachian. They are of a much greater altitude, some of them rising to the height of nearly 12,000 feet, and much more distinguished by conical peaks, and marks of volcanic agency. They are not broken through by the numerous rivers which rise in them, but constitute the dividing ridge of the respective waters. The rivers which flow towards the ocean do not, as on the eastern side, enter it in considerable numbers, indenting the coast with frequent estuaries; this being obstructed by a second, and as yet nameless, chain of hills running along the coast, and supposed to be a continuation of the range which constitutes the peninsula of California. The district of Oregon, therefore, (for such is its name,) is not properly a slope from the mountains to the sea, but a valley enclosed by two mountain ranges, the western being occasionally opened for the escape of the enclosed waters. Four principal rivers traverse this territory: the Multnomah, coming about 900 miles from the south; Lewis River, perhaps 1100 from the south-east; Clark's River, 1000 from the eastward; and the Columbia, an equal distance from the north. These rivers, among which it is difficult to determine the principal, unite at various distances

from the ocean, and flow into it under the general name of the Columbia, N. Lat. 46°. In relative height, the surface of the Oregon basin falls from the plateau of the Chippewayan, at least 3,370 feet, to the level of the Pacific Ocean, and down this rapid descent the rivers are precipitated over numerous falls and cataracts. The tide penetrates inland through the western system of mountains, following the windings of the stream upwards of one hundred miles, the bay at the mouth opening between Capes Adam on the south-east, and Disappointment on the north-west. The entrance, with about twenty-six feet water, runs easterly about twenty miles, and thence south-easterly to the mouth of Multnomah, sustaining thus far a depth of at least twenty feet. The face of the Oregon basin, as far as explored, is far from promising. Much of the country is broken by mountains, or stretches in naked plains, though some fine valleys, of confined extent, spread between the chains.

Between the Chippewayan and the Appalachian Mountains stretches an extensive tract, which, as a whole, may be called a valley, and, not improperly, the valley or basin of the Mississippi, as drained principally by that river and its confluent streams.

In looking at the upper or northern part of this region, we are immediately struck with the unparalleled series of lakes or rather inland seas, which empty themselves into the Atlantic by the river St. Lawrence. It will be proper, in the first place, to glance at this interesting tract, which may be described as the St. Lawrence Basin. This great basin is naturally subdivided into three unequal parts, which may be with propriety designated upper, lower, and middle. The higher basin, the bottom of which is occupied by Lake Superior, lies in form of a rhomb; its length from north-east and south-west is 300 miles, and its breadth from south-east to north-west is nearly equal. Its area is about 90,000 square miles, one third of which is contained in the lake. Into this reservoir are poured upwards of fifty rivers, none of which are of much importance. Though individually small, the quantity of water supplied collectively by the numerous confluent of Lake Superior must be very great, and it differs materially in different seasons of the year. The whole mass, composing a large river, is precipitated through the straits and down the falls of St. Mary. The surface of the lake is, by measurement, 641 feet above the Atlantic level. With a slight depression of twenty-three feet, the second or middle sub-basin of the St. Lawrence is spread below that of Lake Superior. The middle basin extends over a quadrangular area of at least 160,000 square miles, hav

ing the three great central lakes of Michigan, Huron, and Erie, as its lower valleys. Lake Michigan is an immense chasm, at least 900 feet deep, and 270 miles long, by about fifty mean width. The confluent of both this and Huron, like those of Superior, are inconsiderable individually, but very numerous; and when swelled by spring rains and melted snows, they exert a sensible influence on the relative height of their recipients. The sides of the lakes, and, indeed, the whole peninsula of Michigan, present little elevation. Lake Huron is an expanded triangular body of water, second in mass and extent only to Lake Superior. Receiving the vast discharge of both Superior and Michigan into its north-western angle, Huron protrudes the accumulated waters from its southern extremity. A few detached islands lie scattered over the surface of Lake Superior, and a few of still more diminutive size checker the northern part of Michigan; but Huron is almost subdivided by a regular chain. A peninsula is projected into this lake from its south-east side, from which, in a direction south-west by west, and nearly parallel to the northern side of the lake, the Manatoulin islands follow entirely across the lake to about midway between the mouths of Michilimackinack and St. Mary's Straits. Between the Manatoulin group, and the northern shore of the lake, extends a strait of about 200 miles in length, with a mean width of about thirty miles, also much checkered with islands. The residue of Huron towards the Michigan coast sinks to an almost unfathomable depth; nine hundred or a thousand feet would be a moderate estimate. The prodigious depth of the three upper Canadian lakes is a very interesting phenomenon in physical geography. Though the surface of the two lowest of the three, Michigan and Huron, is 618 feet above the Atlantic level, their bottoms are nearly 300 feet below it. It is therefore probable that some parts of Lakes Michigan or Huron are the deepest chasms on the continental surface of the earth. Lake Erie constitutes the most southern section of the middle sub-basin of the St. Lawrence. It is elevated 565½ feet above the Atlantic surface, and consequently lies 52½ feet below the level of Michigan and Huron. It is 230 miles long, from south-west to north-east. The form is elliptical, but much elongated, the breadth but little exceeding fifty miles at the widest, and not averaging more than thirty-five. The bottom of Lake Erie appears to be composed of an alluvial deposit of sand and mud, resting on a secondary sandstone, the depth seldom exceeding 200 feet, and in few places being so much. In the course of the river from Lake Erie occur the cele-

brated and truly magnificent falls of Niagara, by which it descends into the lower sub-basin of the St. Lawrence, and expands into Lake Ontario. This lake is 334 feet lower than Erie, and a very marked change is perceptible in the natural physiognomy of the country. This portion of the St. Lawrence basin is composed of two very unequal inclined planes. That of the right, or south-east, about 750 miles in length, does not exceed a mean width of sixty miles; but that of the north-west extends over 900 miles in length, with a mean width of nearly 270, with an area of 287,000 square miles. Lake Ontario is the lower stage of an enormous chasm on the earth's surface. The rivers on every side pour into its bosom by rocky and precipitous channels; and not one is navigable to any considerable distance without interruption from rapids, or, in most instances, from direct falls. The north-east part of Ontario is a congeries of islands, which are continued down the St. Lawrence about fifty miles. This part of the river is from ten to two miles wide, without much current, and known by the local name of The Thousand Islands. The number actually amounts, if every naked little rock is taken into the list, to upwards of 1500. The peninsula of Prince Edward, and the small islets outside of Sackett's Harbour, are the higher eminences of this group, which, as extended into Lake Ontario, exceeds one hundred miles in length.

These magnificent lakes, which have justly been called the Canadian Sea, are deemed the most extensive repository of fresh-water upon the globe. They are so in consequence of their immense depth, however, and not of their surface, which is only 72,900 square miles, little more than half the superficial area of the Caspian Sea. The attempts that have been made to estimate the quantity of water contained in them are necessarily embarrassed with many difficulties. It appears, from the united testimony of every person who has made the necessary experiments, that Lakes Superior, Huron, and Michigan, are vast, and in some places unfathomable gulfs; that of all the great lakes, Erie is the most shallow, not exceeding a mean depth of 120 feet; and that Ontario varies from 450 to 534 feet. According to Darby, who takes a mean depth of 900 feet for the three upper lakes, the contents of the St. Lawrence basin may be computed at 1,547,011,792,360,000 cubic feet of water.* The amount is certainly stupendous. It would form a cubic column of nearly twenty-two miles each side; or, if spread

* Darby, p. 231.

round the earth equally on each side of the equator, at a depth of one foot, it would nearly cover the torrid zone, and would actually envelope the whole earth to upwards of three inches in depth. In positive mass, it may be assumed on very solid grounds, that the St. Lawrence basin contains more than one half of all the fresh water on this planet. The writer above quoted calculates the water discharged by the St. Lawrence at 1,672,704,000 cubic feet per hour.* In making its way to the ocean, the St. Lawrence, like the Hudson, penetrates an extensive mountain mass, frequent rapids alternating with lake-like expansions, and finally enters the sea, after a course very nearly parallel to the Atlantic coast. In its progress it receives from the United States the waters of Lake George and Lake Champlain, two fine sheets of water, occupying the northern part of the great glen by means of which the Hudson pierces the mountain chains. The length of Lake Champlain is 109 miles, and its breadth varies from half a mile to twelve miles. Its depth, like that of the higher lakes of the St. Lawrence, is in many places prodigious. It is in reality the lower plateau of a deep vale.

As a basin of inland commerce, it may be truly asserted that the St. Lawrence stands alone on the globe. In its main channel the ocean tides penetrate 432 miles, or about midway between Quebec and Montreal. Above tide water to Ogdensburg, the channel is much impeded by shoals and rapids, but in no place actually impassable with vessels, either ascending or descending. Ships of the line of the first class are navigated to Quebec, and vessels of 600 tons to Montreal, upwards of 500 miles from the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Again passing from the river we merge into an inland sea. At the lower extremity of the first expanse of that central sea, Lake Ontario, two ports present their deep recesses to the most unwieldy vessels of war; these are Kingston and Sackett's Harbour. Beyond those spacious havens the harbours of the Canadian Sea are generally shallow, but no region of the earth presents such varied, contrasted, and peculiar scenery. Even the majestic Niagara is but the principal object of interest on this expanded canvass. Above the falls of Niagara it is generally only in the rivers that safe anchorage can be found, and in many parts, for great distances, no kind of shelter is offered by the lake shores. Round all the lakes, ridges of sand and shingle are traced, which indicate various subsidences of their level, to the depth, in Lake Ontario, in

which the occurrence is most strongly marked, of 160 feet.

In the remainder of the central valley of the United States, of which the St. Lawrence basin constitutes, to a great extent, the northern boundary, it is a prominent and obvious feature that the whole of it is drained by one set or system of rivers. Many of them come from very remote distances, and are themselves of great magnitude; but instead of finding their own way to the sea, they mingle their waters in a common receptacle, and enter the Gulf of Mexico by the mouths of the Mississippi. We have already seen that no considerable rivers run into the lakes of the St. Lawrence; and this may prepare us for the fact, which is obvious upon the maps, that many of the streams which pour themselves into the Mississippi arise very near to the lakes themselves. The Ohio, for example, rises within five miles of Lake Erie, and there are many similar cases. But we should scarcely have expected that rivers which have a course of 3000 miles to run, would rise from grounds elevated only a few hundred feet above the level of the ocean. Yet such is the remarkable fact. No mountains, nor grounds of considerable elevation, divide the tributaries of the lakes from those of the Mississippi valley. On the contrary, the waters of Lake Michigan are so nearly on a level with those of the River Illinois, which flows into the Mississippi, that, in flood seasons, their waters not only mingle, but boats of seventy or eighty tons are navigated from the one into the other. The preceding remark may be further extended, and may be applied to the immense inflected line, of upwards of 2000 miles, from the sources of the Susquehannah, Genessee, and Allegany, to those of Saskasawin of Hudson's Bay, Maria's River of Missouri, and Clark's River of Columbia. The latter line may be considered as that by which the slope of the Mississippi basin declines from that of the St. Lawrence and Hudson basins. It is entirely destitute of mountains. We may, therefore, consider the basin of the Mississippi as the southern declination of the great central valley of North America; and as limited on the east by the table land, and not by the actual chains of the Appalachian system, and on the west, by the chains of the Chippewayan.

This central valley may be divided into four parts. First, the portion between the lakes and the Appalachian Mountains; this is traversed by the Ohio, and its numerous confluent. Second, the portion between the lakes and the Missouri; this is traversed by the Mississippi proper. Third, the portion occupied by the Missouri itself, including the course of

* Darby, p. 233.



Mount Hood, Ore.



the river Platte. Fourth, the valley of the Lower Mississippi, with the Arkansas and Red rivers.

The Ohio valley is subdivided by the river into two unequal sections, leaving on the right or N. W. side, 80,000, and on the left or S. E. side, 116,000 square miles. The Ohio River flows in a deep ravine, and forms a common recipient for the water poured down from both slopes. The length of the ravine, in a direct line from the city of Pittsburgh to the Mississippi River, is 548 miles, but by the meanders of the stream 948 miles. "The hills," says Mr. A. Bourne,* "are generally found near rivers or large creeks, and parallel to them on each side, having between them the alluvial valley, through which the stream meanders, usually near the middle, but sometimes washing the foot of either hill. Perhaps the best idea of the topography of this region may be obtained by conceiving it to be one vast elevated plain, near the centre of which the streams rise, and in their course wearing down a bed or valley, whose depth is in proportion to their size, or the solidity of the earth over which they flow. So that our hills, with some few exceptions, are nothing more or less than cliffs or banks, made by the action of the streams: and although these cliffs or banks on the rivers or larger creeks, approach the size of mountains, yet their tops are generally level, like the remains of the ancient plain." The confluent of the Ohio which flow from the Appalachian Mountains are, from their sources, precipitous torrents, and pursue their courses in deep channels; whilst those streams which derive their fountains from the north-western slope, although sluggish towards their sources, gain velocity as they approach the Ohio. In its natural state, the valley of Ohio was for the most part covered with a dense forest, but the central plain presents an exception. As far east as the sources of the Muskingum commenced open savannahs, covered with grass and devoid of timber. Like the plain itself, those savannahs expand to the westward, and on the Illinois open into immense natural meadows, generally known under the denomination of prairies. The Ohio, from Pittsburgh to the Mississippi, a course of nearly a thousand miles, falls only about 400 feet, or about five inches in a mile. This river, and its principal branch, the Allegany, are in a striking manner gentle as respects current; and from Hamilton, in the state of New York, to the Mississippi, over a distance of 1158 miles, following the streams, at a moderately high flood it meets, excepting the rapids at Louisville, with not a single serious natural impediment. The

Monongahela, more impetuous than the Allegany, is yet navigable, without falls or rapids, by both branches, far into Virginia. On the north-west side of the valley the rivers are extremely rapid. Rising on a table land from 300 to 1000 feet above their mouths, and in no instance having a direct course of 300 miles, the streams, though falling gradually, are almost torrents. The Big Beaver, Muskingum, and Hockhocking, have direct falls; but the Sciota, Miami, and Wabash, though rapid, have neither falls nor cataracts to impede navigation.

The Ohio valley may be regarded as a great plain inclining from the Appalachian system to the N. W., obliquely and deeply cut by the Ohio and its numerous confluent, into chasms from an elevation of 460 feet to nearly the level of the streams. In the higher part of the valley, when on the rivers, the banks, with the exception of comparatively narrow flats near the margins, rise by bold acclivities which have a mountainous aspect. This boldness of outline imperceptibly softens in descending the Ohio, and on approaching the Mississippi an extent of level woodland bounds the horizon. Ascending the rivers of the south-east slope, the scenery becomes more and more rugged, until it terminates in the ridges of the Appalachian chains: on the contrary, if the rivers of the north-west slope are followed, we find the landscape broken and varied near the Ohio, but around their sources flat and monotonous. In our survey of the Ohio valley, we have reached the verge of those wide spread prairies, savannahs, or steppes, which, more westward, dilate until forests dwindle to mere clumps or narrow lines of trees along the streams, while in the intermediate spaces extend grassy wastes, which seem to lengthen as the traveller speeds over their tedious surface. In its natural state, an almost unbroken forest spreads over and around the Appalachian system of mountains, reaching to the Atlantic Ocean, Gulf of Mexico, and stretching over the St. Lawrence towards Hudson's Bay, and westward beyond the Mississippi and Ohio. This is, perhaps, the most extensive continuous forest which exists on earth. The human hand has, indeed, marked its surface by opening a few spots, but the far greater part remains the empire of trees. Beyond this wooded region, to the west, follows another, far more extensive, but of very different character. The second or grassy tract is not separated from the wooded by any definite limit; in passing from one to the other, the features are so blended as to render the transition imperceptible. In general, the prairie region is less hilly, mountainous, or rocky, than that of the forest; but exceptions in both cases are frequent. Plains of

* Darby p. 298.

great extent do exist in the latter, while mountains of great elevation, mass, and extent, checker the former.

The Mississippi rises in Turtle Lake and Lake Lebeish, about N. Lat. $47^{\circ} 47'$, and pursues a course of about 1200 miles, previously to its junction with the Missouri. The Ohio, in its north-eastern extreme sources, we have found issuing from an elevated, mountainous, and highly variegated country; whilst those of the Mississippi, on the contrary, ooze from an immense marshy plain, in great part devoid of timber. The space intervening between Lake Superior and the great inflection of the Missouri and the Mandan villages, rises by a rapid acclivity to nearly 700 feet above the lake, and thence spreads towards the Missouri in a level, with a very gentle descent. In this plain the Mississippi rises. It is a circumstance peculiar to this river, that the physiognomy of nature around its head bears so strong resemblance to that of its estuary. A difference of nineteen degrees of latitude precludes much similarity in vegetable or stationary animal production; but according to Mr. Schoolcraft, who visited the sources in the month of July, the migratory water fowl found there at that time of the year are very nearly the same which flock in countless millions over the delta, in December, January, February, and March. "It is also deserving of remark," says Mr. Schoolcraft, "that its sources lie in a region of almost continual winter, while it enters the ocean under the latitude of perpetual verdure."

On a view of the particular valley of the Mississippi, its general monotony first strikes the eye. No chains or groups of mountains, or elevated ranges of hills, rise to vary the perspective. Over so wide a space as 180,000 square miles, some solitary elevations indeed exist, which, for want of contrast, are dignified by the name of mountains; but few continuous tracts of equal extent afford so little diversity of surface. The upper part of the Mississippi itself is traversed by numerous falls of inconsiderable perpendicular descent; many places along the banks are high, broken, and precipitous; but taken as a whole, there is a sameness strikingly in contrast with the ever-varying landscapes along the higher part of the Ohio, and upon the Appalachian streams.

The Missouri rises in a part of the great Chipewyan mountain system. As viewed from the course of this river, the mountains rise abruptly out of the plains, which lie extended at their base, and tower into peaks of great height, which renders them visible at the distance of more than one hundred miles eastward from their base. They consist of ridges, knobs, and peaks, variously disposed, among which are interspersed many broad and fertile val-

leys. The more elevated parts of the mountains are covered with perpetual snows, which contribute to give them a luminous, and, at a great distance, even a brilliant appearance, whence they have derived the name of Shining Mountains. They are clad in a scattering growth of scrubby pines, oak, cedar, and furze, and exhibit a very rugged and broken aspect. The Missouri rises far within the bosom of the mountains, and is divided by a single ridge from the waters of the Columbia, which terminate in the Pacific Ocean. In its early course it flows through small but beautiful and fertile valleys, deeply embosomed amidst the surrounding heights, and forms a variety of islands in its progress, till at length it issues from these verdant recesses by a rocky pass, which has not unaptly been called by Lewis and Clarke, the Gates of the Rocky Mountains. "The rocks,"* say these enterprising travellers, "approach the river on both sides, forming a most sublime and extraordinary spectacle. For five and three quarter miles these rocks rise perpendicularly from the water's edge to the height of nearly 1200 feet. Nothing can be imagined more tremendous than the frowning darkness of these rocks, which project over the river, and menace us with destruction. The river, of three hundred and fifty yards in width, seems to have forced its channel down this solid mass; but so reluctantly has it given away, that, during the whole distance, the water is very deep, even at the edges, and for the first three miles there is not a spot, except one of a few yards, in which a man could stand between the water and the towering perpendicular of the mountain; the convulsion of the passage must have been terrible, since at its outlet there are vast columns of rock torn from the mountain, which are strewed on both sides of the river, the trophies as it were of the victory. Several fine springs burst out from the chasms of the rock, and contribute to increase the river, which has now a strong current, but very fortunately we were able to overcome it with our oars, since it would be impossible to use either the cord or the pole. We were obliged to go on some time after dark, not being able to find a spot large enough to encamp on; but at length, about two miles above a small island in the middle of the river, we met with a spot on the left side, where we procured plenty of lightwood and pitchpine. This extraordinary range of rocks we called the Gates of the Rocky Mountains." The stream called by pre-eminence Missouri, is not the main branch, if the documents hitherto published

* Lewis and Clarke's Travels up the Missouri, chap. xii.

are correct; the Yellow Stone River appears to be longer than its rival above their junction, and to receive larger and longer confluent. It rises in the Chippewyan mountains, more to the southward. At the junction of the Yellow Stone and the Missouri, the river, estimated by either branch, has flowed upwards of a thousand miles, and it is little if any less, either in width or depth, than it is at its junction with the Mississippi. A few miles below the influx of the Yellow Stone, the Missouri has reached its utmost northern bend, in N. Lat. $48^{\circ} 20'$; and curves by a regular sweep of two hundred miles to the Mandan villages. The Platte and Kansas are two great confluent of the Missouri rising in the same mountains, and flowing generally to the eastward, the former 700, and the latter 600 miles. The Platte derives its name from the circumstance of its being broad and shoal; its average width being about twelve hundred yards, exclusive of the islands it embosoms; and its depth, in a moderate stage of water, so inconsiderable, that it is fordable almost every where. The river in several places expands to the width of many miles, embosoming numerous islands, some of which are broad and considerably extensive, and all of them covered with a growth of cotton wood and willows. These are the only woodlands that make their appearance along the river, and in travelling westward these become less numerous and extensive, till at length they entirely disappear. The Platte is seldom navigable, except for skin canoes, requiring but a small depth of water, and for these only when a freshet prevails in the river. No attempts have ever been made to ascend the river in canoes for any great distance, the prevalence of shoals, and the rapidity of the current, discouraging such an undertaking. The bed of the Platte is seldom depressed more than six or eight feet below the surface of the bottoms, and in many places even less, and spreads to such a width that the highest floods pass off without inundating the bottoms, except in their lowest parts, the rise of the water on such occasions being no more than five or six feet. The Kansas is navigable only in high freshets for boats of burden, and on such occasions for not more than one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles, the navigation being obstructed by shoals. The character of this river and its several branches is similar to that of the Platte and its tributaries. After a direct course of 1870 miles, and a meandering one of 3000, the Missouri falls into the Mississippi. The greatest length of the valley of the Missouri, from the mouth of that stream to the head of Maria's River, is 1200 miles; its greatest breadth, from the

sources of the Platte to a short distance south-east from the Mandan villages, is 700 miles; with an area of 523,000 square miles, equal to 334,000,000 of statute acres. Three remarkable features exist in it; first, the turbid character of the water; second, the very unequal volumes of the right and left confluent; and third, the immense excess of the open prairies over the river lines of forest. In the direction of the western rivers, the inclined plane of the Missouri extends 800 miles from the Chippewyan mountains, and rather more than that distance from south to north, from the southern branches of the Kansas to the extreme heads of the northern confluent of the valley. Ascending from the lower verge of this widely extended plain, wood becomes more and more scarce, until one naked surface spreads on all sides. Even the ridges and chains of the mountains partake of these traits of desolation. The traveller in those parts who has read the descriptions of central Asia by Tooke or Pallas will feel, on the higher branches of the Missouri, a resemblance at once striking and appalling. He will regret how much of the earth's surface is doomed to irremediable silence; and, if near the Chippewyan heights in winter, he will acknowledge that the utmost intensity of frost in Siberia and Mongolia has its full counterpart in North America, on similar if not on lower latitudes. But of all the characteristics which distinguish the Missouri and its confluent, the few direct falls, or even rapids, is certainly the most remarkable. Between Dearborn's and Maria's rivers the stream leaves the Chippewyan range by rolling over ledges of rock for a distance of eighteen miles, after which this overwhelming mass of water, though every where flowing with great rapidity, nowhere swells into a lake, or rolls over a single cataract, in a distance of at least 3500 miles to the Gulf of Mexico. If therefore the Amazon is excepted, the Missouri and its continuation, the Mississippi, afford the most extended uninterrupted line of river navigation which has ever been discovered.

After being joined by the Missouri, the Mississippi makes a direct course of 820, or an indirect course of 1265 miles to the Gulf of Mexico. In no circumstance is the physical geography of the United States more remarkable, than in the extreme inequality of the two opposing planes down which are poured the confluent of the Mississippi below the influx of the Ohio. The western inclined plane, falling from the Chippewyan mountains, sweeps over upwards of eight hundred miles, whilst the eastern, sloping from the Appalachian, has not a mean width of one hundred miles. The rivers which drain the two slopes

are, in respective length, proportionate to the extent of their planes of descent. Whilst Red River exceeds a comparative course of 800 miles, the Arkansas of 1000, and White River of 400, the longest stream from the opposite slope falls short of 200 miles. The alluvion brought down by such volumes of water as those of White, Arkansas, and Red rivers, explains satisfactorily the reason why the Mississippi infringes so often on the eastern, and nowhere below the Ohio touches the western bluffs. The lower valley of the Mississippi is the most variegated section of the United States. Every form of landscape, every trait of natural physiognomy, and an exhaustless quantity, with an illimitable specific diversity, of vegetable and metallic productions, are found upon this extensive region. It is flanked on the east by a dense forest, and on the west by the naked ridges and spines of the Chippewayan mountains; while the deep entangled woods of the Mississippi stand in striking relief against the expansive prairies of the Arkansas and Red rivers.

The principal confluent of the lower Mississippi is the Arkansas, which is longer, and drains more surface, than either the Mississippi proper, the Platte, or the Ohio. It rises in the Chippewayan Mountains, and has a direct course of 1400, and an indirect course of 2000 miles. This great river is navigable about 600 miles; but issuing from an elevated and mountainous region, its main volume and numerous branches are much impeded by shoals and cataracts; below the mouth of Canadian Fork, however, though passing through a minor chain of mountains, the Arkansas rolls its stream of about 600 yards wide, with great depth, to the Mississippi. Next in volume and length of course to the Arkansas is Red River, which, like its rival, flows from hidden fountains in the mountains of Santa Fe. By a direct course this stream flows over about 1000, but by its meanders it exceeds in length 1500 miles. Both the Arkansas and Red rivers have their periodical annual swell, and enter their recipient in seasons of flood with immense volumes, which contribute largely to that enormous mass of water which every spring flows over Louisiana into the Gulf of Mexico. Impregnated by saline particles, and coloured by ochreous earth, the waters of these two rivers are at once brackish and nauseous to the taste, particularly near their mouths; that of Red River is so much so, that at Natchitoches, at low water, it cannot be used for culinary purposes.

The Mississippi makes its way to the sea through a tract of low country, consisting of forest, of prairie, and of marsh land. By its immense deposits of

earthy matter, it has formed in the course of ages an extensive delta, distinguished from those of all other rivers by the protrusion of a cape, or head-land, into the sea. This peculiarity arises from its having but one principal course through the delta itself, so that the debris continually brought down is always driven forward in one direction. The cape projects at present thirty miles into the Mexican Gulf, and has extended itself twelve or thirteen miles since the colonization of the country. The river has three main outlets, all of them shallow; the two deepest of them have only twelve feet water on the bar at ordinary tides. The shallow water, however, is only on the bar. At New Orleans the depth of the Mississippi is one hundred and sixty-eight feet.

Having taken this general view of the Mississippi, we may for a moment compare it with the other great river with which it is so nearly connected. Rising from the same vast table land, and having such an extended line of interlocking sources, it is worthy of remark, that no two rivers on earth so essentially differ in their general features, as do the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence. The former is turbid in many places, even to muddiness; the waters of the latter, and of its lakes, are highly limpid. The channel of one river is checkered with innumerable lakes, some of which are of immense extent, whilst in the other no lakes of any note occur. Annually the Mississippi swells and overleaps its bed, inundating the adjacent shores; a casual rise of three feet once or twice in any given fifty years is considered a great elevation of the waters of the St. Lawrence. The Mississippi, flowing from north to south, passes through a great variety of climes, whilst its rival, winding from its source in a south-east direction to nearly N. Lat. 41 turns gradually to the north-east, and again flows into its original climate of ice and snow. The Mississippi, before its final discharge into the Gulf of Mexico, divides itself into a number of channels having their separate egress; the St. Lawrence imperceptibly expands to a wide bay, which ultimately opens into the gulf of the same name. The banks of the Mississippi, particularly near the mouth, present a level scarcely rising above the highest spring floods of that stream; those of the St. Lawrence generally slope from the river margin by an elegant acclivity, and when cleared from timber, have the aspect of a most delightful basin. Much of the surface within the Mississippi valley is occupied by open grassy plains, where few shrubs or trees break the monotony of the landscape; nearly the whole of the St. Lawrence basin, in a state of nature, is covered with a continuous and almost impervious forest. Such are the

leading and contrasted features of these two great North American rivers.

The spring floods to which the Mississippi is subject are remarkable for their long and steady continuance; a circumstance highly favourable to inland navigation. Considering the immense extent and the incalculable number of the rivers implicated, this fact has been considered anomalous; but without just cause. It is obvious, on a glance at the different regions from whence the waters are drawn, that the rivers must be high at different periods of the year. It is evident also, that, in the breaking up of winter, the water of the same valley is drawn from its recesses gradually; more particularly when, as in the case of the Mississippi, the river flows from the poles towards the equator. It is a general fact that such rivers are never so destructive in their inundations as those whose courses are in a different direction. Red River, the most southern, is also the first of the great branches of the Mississippi which discharges its waters on the delta, and it is followed by the Arkansas. It is remarkable that the Ohio and the Arkansas, remote as they are from each other, are the two streams of the whole basin which most uniformly emit their flood at the same time; and they are the streams, which, with some addition from Mississippi proper, give the highest and most durable flood to the delta. The Mississippi proper flowing so nearly north and south, spring thaws in it commence near the mouth, and retrograde slowly towards the source, and consequently the discharge is gradual; similar remarks apply to the Ohio and the Arkansas; so that the duration of the flood season is thus lengthened, while the quantity of water in a given time is moderated. In common years, Red River flows out in February or early in March, but occasionally it continues high from December until late in the ensuing spring; the great flood from the Arkansas, the Ohio, and the Mississippi proper, commences generally early in March, and attains its full height about the middle of June; abating from the latter period, it has greatly subsided by the end of July or the beginning of August, when the retarded overflow of the Missouri arrives to complete the annual inundation.

The importance of this inundation may be estimated from the following view of the navigable character of the principal rivers in their ordinary state. The navigation of the Mississippi has fewer obstructions between Natchez and its mouth than above this part of the river, having so great a depth of water that snags, bars, &c. are sunk below the reach of any kind of water-craft employed upon it. From Natchez upward to its confluence with the

Missouri, the river presents impediments that become more and more numerous and difficult to pass; although still the main channel, though intricate in many places, affords a sufficient depth of water in all stages for boats of five or six feet draft to ascend to the mouth of the Ohio. From this point to the Missouri, a distance of more than two hundred and twenty miles, the navigation is partially obstructed, during a very low state of the water, by shoals, so that it is navigable only for boats of moderate burden, requiring but about three feet of water. At the distance of about thirty miles above the mouth of the Ohio there are two rocky bars extending across the Mississippi, called the Big and Little Chains, which, in the deepest channel across them, afford no more than five or six feet of water when the river is low, and occasion a great rapidity of current. The obstructions to the navigation of the Missouri, although they are of the same character with those of the Mississippi, are far more numerous and formidable than those of the latter; the channel is rendered exceedingly intricate by means of sand-bars and islands, and the navigation in many places is very hazardous on account of the multiplicity of rafts, snags, sand-bars, &c. with which the channel is beset. No part of the river is exempt from these obstructions for any considerable distance, particularly when the water is low. During the flood there is a sufficient depth to admit boats of almost any burthen; but during the residue of the year it can hardly be called navigable, except for boats drawing no more than twenty-five or thirty inches. The obstructions to the navigation of the Ohio are sand-bars, some few rafts and snags, and rapids, to which the intricacy of its channel in several places may be added. During a middle and high state of water the obstructions entirely disappear, and an accelerated current is the only difficulty to be encountered; but during the rest of the year, when there is no freshet, boats of inconsiderable burthen meet with numerous obstructions in their progress from the lowness of the water, and in many places no channel can be found of sufficient depth to admit their passage. At the distance of about seventeen miles from its mouth is the first serious obstruction to its navigation, consisting of a lime-stone bar extending across the river, denominated the Big Chain, and three miles above is another of a similar description. The range of rocks, of which these appear to be a portion, seems to extend across the point of land situated between the Ohio and the Mississippi, presenting itself again on the latter, at the Big and Little Chains before mentioned. The

falls of the Ohio at Louisville are impassable for boats of burden, except in the higher states of the water. Le Turt's Falls, and numerous other rapids, denominated ripples, are also impassable for boats of heavy burden, when the river is at its lowest stages. In this state the river is fordable in numberless places.*

Connected with the general inundation is the very unfounded, but general opinion, that the Mississippi river can, and does occasionally, change its bed, and that it flows on a comparative ridge. On the contrary, the bed of the Mississippi, like that of all other rivers, is the lowest depression of the country through which it flows. As high as the efflux of La Fourche the stream is one hundred and thirty feet deep at low water, and, in a similar state, it is seventy-five or eighty at Natchez. At New Orleans the depth exceeds 160 feet. From the immediate margin of this great mass of water, indeed, the country falls by a very slow depression; but the bottom of the deepest lakes, Pontchartrain, Maurepas, Quacha, Chetimaches, and others, varies only from four or five to eighteen or twenty feet below the general level of the delta, leaving the bottom of the Mississippi upwards of 100 feet below that of any lake of Louisiana, except those formed by the river itself, in the following manner: The sweeping bends of the Mississippi cause the volume of its water to recurve upon itself, till by the double abrasion on its opposite side, a neck or isthmus is cut through, and thus far a new channel is formed, the ancient bend assuming the aspect of a lake, though still attesting its origin by its great depth, as well as its proximity and perfect resemblance to the bends of the parent stream. Of the latter species of lakes, Fausse Riviere, Homochitta, and Yazoo, were produced within the range of history; those of Concordia, St. John's, St. Joseph's, Providence, and Grand Lake, were found in their existing state when Louisiana was colonized by the French. With the exceptions stated, the Mississippi can no more recede from its channel than could the Hudson, the Delaware, or the Susquehanna; the barriers which confine the latter to their channels are more prominent, but not less irremovable or impenetrable, than is the extended alluvion which spreads from the former.

Though we have described the whole of the Mississippi basin as a valley, with reference to the two mountain chains by which it is enclosed, there are comprehended in it not only undulations of hilly country, but two distinct, though subordinate, mountain

ranges. The most considerable of these is called the Maserne, or Ozark mountains. These mountains extend from the sources of the Rio Colorado of Texas on the south-west, to the confluence of the Mississippi and the Missouri on the north-east, and are continued in a low range from this point towards Lake Superior. They are widest in the south-west, and in that quarter they mingle with some low tracts, extending from near the Gulf of Mexico to the base of the eastern extremity of the Rocky Mountains. This range consists of low ridges, irregular in direction, rarely rising to an elevation of more than 1500 or 2000 feet. The mountainous country commences immediately west of the Mississippi bottoms, and extends westwardly about 400 miles. This section, with the exception of the river bottoms, and tracts of valley land scattered in various directions throughout the whole, is extremely hilly, broken, and mountainous, the hills and mountains rising from five to 1500 feet above the water-level of the country in which they are situated. They are exceedingly numerous, and are divided into a multiplicity of knobs and peaks, having rounded summits, and presenting perpendicular cliffs and abrupt precipices of sandstone. Their surfaces generally are covered with rocks of this description, or flinty fragments strewed in profusion upon them. The growth upon them is, almost exclusively, pitch pine, cedar, scrubby oaks, hickory, haw, and bramble; the poverty of the soil in some instances, and the scarcity of it in others, excluding the more luxuriant vegetable productions common to the more level country in their vicinity. These mountains are penetrated by White and Red Rivers and the Arkansas. The other range is called the Black Mountains, or rather hills, and is so placed as to occupy the northern bend of the Missouri, between that river and the Yellow Stone. These are of still lower elevation than the Ozarks, and of a different structure, though likewise perfectly distinct from the general character of the valley. They appear to extend from the bend of the Missouri to the river Platte, upwards of 400 miles, by about seventy or eighty in breadth. This hilly region is traversed by the Little Missouri river, running north-east into the Missouri at its northern bend, while it furnishes all the western confluent to that vast recipient, after its turn to the southward, so low as the River Platte.

The brief notice which our author has given of the physical aspect of this important country, demands an augmentation. Much might be added from the observations of several distinguished travellers of a

* Report of Major Long, in James's Account of the Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, vol. iii.

recent date, particularly Mr. Flint, who has given us a number of facts touching the valley of the Mississippi, in his works, to which the reader is referred. In a paper, little known, entitled, *Observations on certain Phenomena of the Great Lakes of America*, drawn up by the late governor of New York, Dewitt Clinton, and published in the *Transactions of the New York Literary and Philosophical Society*, vol. ii. part 1, some curious speculations may be found, and as they come recommended both by their novelty, and by the distinguished character of the author, they are deemed worthy of insertion, as a suitable termination of this chapter. Phenomena similar to those mentioned by Governor Clinton have been noticed as occurring in the waters of other inland seas.

"It has been until within a few years generally understood that there are no tides in the great lakes of America; and that the Mediterranean, Black, Caspian, and Baltic seas, and other great waters of the old world, are also exempt from their influence. More accurate observation has however indicated that this opinion is in some respects erroneous, and it is now considered doubtful whether it is not altogether so. It is confidently said that there are tides in the Mediterranean. At Toulon, three hours and fifteen minutes after the moon has passed its meridian, the tide rises one foot; and in the highest spring tides, augmented by the concurrence of other causes, it swells as high as two feet.* The Lake of Geneva and the Lake of Constance are subject to an occasional rising and falling of their waters three or four feet, several times in succession, by a sort of oscillating motion, which phenomenon is denominated *seiches*.† There are certain appearances connected with our lakes that resemble the operation of tides, and there are others of a character entirely dissimilar. As the western lakes contain the greatest collections of fresh water in the world, all the phenomena connected with them are deeply interesting in relation to geography, agriculture, trade, and natural science: I shall therefore devote this memoir to this subject.

"1. In our lakes there is, apparent to every observer, a sort of flux and reflux, which we would naturally attribute to the wind, and might therefore pass it over without particular attention. But a more discriminating view has resulted in a conviction with many accurate and distinguishing observers, that the peculiar motion of the waters is entirely independent of the winds; that it occurs within stated periods; that it is not subject to the irregularities of occasional

or accidental causes, but that it depends for its existence upon a power operating with unceasing vigour, and with unintermitted regularity, at the same place, although varying as to the quantum of its influence at other places. On the other hand, it is supposed by some that these appearances are occasional and irregular, and do not result from uniform causes. I shall now refer to some prominent authorities on this subject.

"La Hontan is the first writer who touches on this phenomenon.‡ 'On the 29th of May, 1689, we came,' said he, 'to a little deep sort of a river, which disembogues at a place where the water of the lake (Michigan) swells three feet high in twelve hours, and decreases as much in the same compass of time. Our tarrying there three or four days, gave me an opportunity of making the remark.' An appearance of this nature could not escape the observing eye of Charlevoix, the most sagacious, able, and learned of the French writers on America. Speaking of Lake Ontario,§ 'I observed,' said he, 'that in this lake, and I am told that the same thing happens in all the rest, there is a sort of flux and reflux almost instantaneous, the rocks near the banks being covered with water and uncovered again several times in the space of a quarter of an hour, even if the surface of the lake was very calm, with scarce a breath of wind. After reflecting for some time on this appearance, I imagined it was owing to the springs at the bottom of the lakes, and to the shock of their currents, with those of the rivers which fall into them from all sides, and thus produce those intermitting motions.'

"Pownall|| says, 'Lake Ontario, like the Mediterranean, the Caspian, and other large invasated waters, has a small rising and falling of the water, like tides, some twelve or eighteen inches perpendicular.'

"These are the only authorities of an old date to which I have had access. Those which I now refer to are of recent observation, and some are derived from oral communication. Mr. Benjamin Wright, a very judicious and intelligent gentleman, and one of the principal engineers on the Western Canal, informs me, that at a place called Mexico, about twenty miles from Oswego, Lake Ontario ebbs and flows every hour and a half about six inches, and that the flood is highest when the wind is from the shore.

"A gentleman of veracity and intelligence, who resides at the mouth of Genesee River, says that, this lake rises and falls four times each in every hour, whether there be a wind or not; that the smallest

* Forster's *History of the Voyages in the North*.

† De Saussure's *Voyages dans les Alpes*. Kinlock's *Letters from Geneva and France*. Coze's *Switzerland*. Simond's *Switzerland*.

‡ La Hontan's *North America*, vol. ii.

§ Journal Historique, d'un voyage, de L'amerique, Letter xiii.

|| Topographical description of part of North America.

tide is four, and the highest twenty-eight inches, and that this occurs during a perfect calm.

"A similar appearance occurs on Lake Champlain. Captain Winans, one of the proprietors of the steam boats, who resides at Burlington, in Vermont, assures me, that in summer, when there has been a perfect calm for several days, he has observed at that place a flux and reflux of the lake four times every hour, with great regularity, and at every access rising four inches, as was obvious from a mark made on a log.

"Captain Storrow, a gentleman of talents, says, in a printed letter to General Brown, 'while at Green Bay, I made observations on the ebb and flow of a lake tide. At eleven o'clock A. M. I placed a stick perpendicularly in the water—at half past nine P. M. the water had risen five inches—at eight next morning it had fallen seven inches—at eight same evening it had risen eight inches. During this period the wind was in the same direction, blowing generally against the flow of the tide.'

"Judge Woodward, of Michigan, in a letter to Doctor Mitchill, states, that Mr. Benjamin F. Stickney, who resides on the Miami River of Lake Erie, some miles below the rapids, and a few miles from the mouth of the river, made observations on this subject for more than a fortnight, in June, 1820, the result of which is a conviction in his mind that there is a regular tide in Lake Erie—that it flows and ebbs twice in twenty-five hours, at intervals of about six hours and eleven minutes, and that it is greatest at the new and full moons, and least at the quarters. The minimum of rise within the period during which the observations were made, was as much as eight inches. The maximum of rise within the same period, was as much as forty inches. Mr. Lecuyer, a gentleman equally intelligent, expressed the same opinion as to a tide at Green Bay.

"If these exhibitions of a flux and reflux of the lakes were only occasional and incidental, not uniform, and periodical, there would be perhaps no great difficulty in assigning satisfactory causes. The *seiches* of the Lake of Geneva have been ascribed by Mr. Bertrand to the influence of electrical clouds which attract and raise the waters of the lake, and he supposes that this water afterwards falling produces those undulations of which the effect, like that of the tides, is most sensibly felt where the shores are most approximated.

"A more probable cause may be the unequal pressure of the atmosphere on the waters, which will of course rise higher as the weight of the incumbent air is less, and fall as it becomes greater; and these changes being almost always in operation, may ac-

count for the almost continual ebb and flow of the lakes.

"The cause assigned by Charlevoix is entirely unsatisfactory; and it is premature to form a theory on the subject. Facts and experiments ought to precede speculations; and we must leave it to future inquirers to ascertain the facts in extenso—to investigate the causes, and to determine whether this phenomenon be owing to the pressure of the atmosphere—the influence of the moon—the attraction of the clouds—the convexity or motion of the globe, or any other assignable agency.

"2. There is an annual rise and fall of Lake Erie. The rise generally commences in March, and terminates about the middle of July; and this is the case sooner or later with the other lakes. It is owing to the great accession of water produced by the melting of snow and ice, and by the vernal rains; and the fall is occasioned by the failure of most of these sources of supply in summer.

"3. There is, besides the annual rise of the lakes, a more extended periodical one, at least every three years, and then a correspondent declension. Some extend the time to five, and others to seven years. Some say that the highest rise is seven feet, and others differ as to the exact altitude; but there can be no doubt of the general certainty of the fact. Lake Erie began to rise in 1811, and continued to increase until 1815, when it was two feet higher than was ever known. The overflowing of the waters destroyed trees on the low lands more than two hundred years old, and the inhabitants of Detroit, which is an ancient settlement, had never seen or heard of such a rise before. It fell a little in 1816, rose again in 1817, and decreased until 1822. It was in June last on the rise, and one and a half feet higher than usual. In 1810 I walked on Bird Island; an island situate at the outlet of Lake Erie. In 1816 it was almost covered with water, and was scarcely visible. I am informed by an intelligent ship-master on the lakes, 'that when he visited Detroit in 1797, the waters were at their height. He went to the south the following year, and did not return to that place until 1802, when he found the waters considerably lower. Having understood that there was a rise and fall every seven years, he determined to ascertain how great it was; for which purpose he caused marks to be made on a solid wharf that had been built more than twenty years before, and was perfectly firm and immoveable; and he found that the water declined on an average about an inch a year for nine years. What the fall was for five years during his absence he did not know, but it may be fairly stated at three

times as much yearly; that is, fifteen inches, if compared with subsequent occurrences of a similar character. The lake began to rise again in 1811, in the spring of which it rose six inches, but during the summer it fell two inches. In 1812 it rose fourteen inches, and subsided three inches, leaving a nett gain of fifteen inches in two years. The surrender of Detroit to the British, in October, 1812, compelled him to leave the country; but in October, 1813, he returned with the fleet, and the water was then at its greatest altitude, having in that year gained twelve inches—in all twenty-seven inches. In 1814 and 1815 it was stationary. In 1816 and 1817 it fell at least eighteen inches. And he further supposes, from appearances at Michilimackinack, that the whole town of that island was formerly under water, and that one of the ancient outlets of the lakes was by Chicago, which he states at only thirteen feet above the present level of the lake; and he says that every spring you may pass up the Chicago River and carry in the shoalest place five feet water into the Illinois, and from thence into the Mississippi.

“Mackenzie, in his account of his voyages through the continent, to the Frozen and Pacific oceans, in 1789 and 1793, says, that ‘along the surrounding branches of Lake Superior, there are evident marks of the decrease of its waters by the lines observable along them. The space, however, between the highest and the lowest is not so great as in the smaller lakes; as it does not amount to more than six feet; the former, or highest lines, are very faint.’

“4. The lakes are subject to extraordinary swells and risings. On the 18th of October, 1764, Colonel Bradstreet, who had been on an expedition against the Western Indians, broke up his camp at Sandusky to proceed on his return to Albany by Lake Erie. In the evening, as he was going to land the troops, a sudden swell of the lake, without any visible cause, destroyed several of his boats, but no lives were lost. This extraordinary event was, however, looked upon as the precursor of a storm, and accordingly one soon occurred which lasted several days. Mackenzie, before quoted, states that ‘a very curious phenomenon was observed some years ago at the Grand Portage in Lake Superior, for which no obvious cause could be assigned. The water withdrew with great precipitation, leaving the ground dry that had never before been visible; the fall being equal to four perpendicular feet, and rushing back with great velocity above the common mark. It continued thus falling and rising for several hours, gradually decreasing until it stopped at its usual height.’

“The following occurrence, equally extraordinary,

took place on the British side of Lake Erie, on or about the 30th May, 1823, which is thus described. ‘A little after sunset Lake Erie was observed to take a sudden and extraordinary rise, the weather being fine and clear, and the lake calm and smooth. It was principally noticed at the mouths of Otter and Kettle Creeks, which are twenty miles apart. At Otter Creek, it came in, without the least previous intimation, in a swell of *nine feet perpendicular height*, as was afterwards ascertained, rushed violently up the channel, drove a schooner of 35 tons burden from her moorings, threw her upon high ground, and rolled over the ordinary beach into the woods, completely inundating all the adjacent flats. This was followed by two others of equal height, which caused the creek to retrograde a mile and a half, and to overflow its banks, where water was never before seen, by seven or eight feet. The noise occasioned by its rushing with such rapidity along the winding channel, was truly astonishing. It was witnessed by a number of persons.

“‘At Kettle Creek several men were drawing a fish net in the lake, when suddenly they saw the water coming upon them in the manner above mentioned; and, letting go their net, they ran for their lives. The swell overtook them before they could reach the high bank, and swept them forward with great force; but, being expert swimmers, they escaped unhurt. The man who was in the skiff pulling in the sea line, was drove with it a considerable distance over the flat, and grounded upon a small eminence until the water subsided. There were three successive swells, as at Otter Creek, and the effects up the creek were the same, with this difference, the water only rose seven feet. In both cases, the lake, after the three swells had spent their force, gradually subsided, and in about twenty minutes was at its usual height and tranquillity. It was observed at other places along the shore, but the high steep banks did not admit of the same observation. In all, however, there was a general correspondence as to the height of the rise.

“‘Conjecture will doubtless be awake as to the cause of this most remarkable phenomenon; but it must only be conjectured, for it was unattended with any circumstance that could remotely hint at a probable cause. But such was the fact, and it must furnish its own comment.’

“Some have supposed that the occasional rise of Lake Erie is owing to the strong south winds in Lake Michigan; but this hypothesis cannot account satisfactorily for this appearance. Volney supposes that Lake Ontario is the crater of a volcano. Mackenzie

says, that many of the islands of Lake Superior, display a conformation of lava, intermixed with round stones of the size of a pigeon's egg. The western country abounds with what are called burning springs, consisting of volumes of hydrogen gas, issuing from spiracula in the earth, and it is underlaid with sulphur, coal, bitumen, and other inflammable substances. In boring for salt at Rocky Hill, in Ohio, about a mile and a half from Lake Erie, after proceeding to the depth of one hundred ninety-seven feet, the auger fell, and salt water spouted out for several hours. After the exhaustion of this water, great volumes of inflammable air issued through the aperture for a long time, and formed a cloud; and by ignition by the fire in the shops of the workmen, consumed and destroyed every thing in the vicinity.

"Whether the country round the Great Lakes is volcanic or not, is not material to the present inquiry. We know that the bowels of the earth are stored with inflammable materials, and that there exist strong indications of subterranean communications at enormous distances. Indeed, every thing in earthquakes seems to indicate the action of elastic fluids seeking an outlet to spread themselves in the atmosphere. At the period of the last, and the preceding destruction of Lisbon, according to Humboldt,* the sea was violently agitated as far as America. For instance, at the Island of Barbadoes, more than twelve hundred leagues from Portugal, and on Lake Ontario, strong agitations of the water were observed in October, 1755. The first destruction of Lisbon took place on the first day of November, 1755, and the last on the thirty-first day of March, 1764, the very year in which the sudden swelling of Lake Erie overwhelmed some of Colonel Bradstreet's vessels.

"Bakewell, in his Geology, states, that 'during the earthquake at Lisbon, in 1775, almost all the springs and lakes in Great Britain, and in every part of Europe, were violently agitated, many of them throwing up mud and sand, and emitting a fetid odour. The morning of the earthquake, the hot springs at Toplitz, in Bohemia, suddenly ceased to flow for a minute, and then burst forth with prodigious violence, throwing up turbid water, the temperature of which was higher than before. The hot wells at Bristol were coloured red, and rendered unfit for use for some months afterwards. Even the distant waters of Lake Ontario, in North America, were violently agitated at the time. The connexion which earthquakes continue (Bakewell) have with distant volcanoes, and their

frequency at particular periods, are truly remarkable. The tremendous earthquakes in 1812, in the Carracas, were followed by an eruption in the Island of St. Vincents, from a volcano that had not been burning since 1718, and violent oscillations of the ground were felt, both in the islands and on the coast of America.'

"The late swell of Lake Erie has been followed by shocks of earthquakes, as well at a distance, as in the vicinity. Have we not therefore reason to believe, that the extraordinary agitations which sometimes occur in the lakes, are connected with earthquakes, and produced by the same causes?"

CHAPTER II.

CLIMATE, SOIL, &c.

THE United States are most desirably situated. They are placed in the northern temperate zone, and occupy just that portion of it which is most likely to yield a salubrious climate with a fertile soil. Happily removed alike from the consuming heats of the torrid zone, and the perpetual frosts of the polar regions, the republic is nevertheless of such an extent as almost to touch upon them both. The climate of a country stretching through nearly five and twenty degrees of latitude cannot but be of great diversity. In this respect, it has been divided into five regions, which may be denominated the *very cold*, the *cold*, the *temperate*, the *warm*, and the *hot*.†

1. The *very cold*, in the north-east, may be defined by running a line from St. Regis, on the St. Lawrence, along the high lands in the state of New York to Tioga Point, in Pennsylvania; thence to Stony Point, on Hudson River, and thence to Cape Cod, in Massachusetts. In this region the winters commence in November and end in April, and the summers commence in June and end in August. Both heat and cold go to great extremes, but the country is generally healthy. To the westward, north of a line drawn from the southern extremity of Lake Huron to the Rocky Mountains, the climate is also very cold, and the northern extremity is in winter excessively so. In this region the heat and cold go to still greater extremes than to the eastward. The highest, lowest, and mean heat for each month, at different situations, will be shown by the following table:

* Humboldt's Personal Narrative.

† Melish's Description of the United States.

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE.

	Portsmouth, N. H. 43 5 N. Lat. 6 16 E. Lon.*			Boston, Mass. 42 22 N. Lat. 5 48 E. Lon.			Mackinaw. 45 55 N. Lat. 17 30 W. Lon.			St. Peter's. 45 0 N. Lat. 15 30 W. Lon.		
1820.	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.
January	35	9	21	35	5	23	..	..	..	29	-30†	0
February	48	3	20	50	1	29	..	..	..	45	-14	21
March	62	12	34	74	4	34	..	..	..	68	10	46
April	64	24	42	75	27	48	..	..	..	85	10	39
May	72	45	55	78	51	56	..	..	..	82	26	61
June	94	52	67	88	50	67	..	..	..	82	52	71
July	89	63	67	87	57	67	..	..	..	93	54	69
August	92	55	73	73	53	62	..	..	..	92	53	68
September	88	40	60	75	43	58	..	..	..	89	30	62
October	65	32	49	58	33	48	70	58	45	..	..	..
November	49	18	37	54	15	39	50	10	32	56	-7	31
December	38	12	25	42	8	27	34	4	21	32	-20	11
Mean of the year	45° 8'			47° 3'			incomplete			43° 9'		

The range of the thermometer in this region is not less than 128°, viz. from 30° below zero to 98° above it, including great extremes both of heat and cold. The most intense cold and the lowest average temperature are at St. Peter's, the point most remote from the ocean and from the principal lakes.

2. The *cold* region comprehends a great and very unequal range of country. In the eastern division it extends from the foregoing line to Lakes Ontario and Erie westward; and south on the Atlantic coast, to about Cape Henlopen on the Delaware. Thence a line may be protracted to Washington, along by the foot of the first mountains in Virginia to about Morgantown, North Carolina; thence through the mountains to Kenaway River, and north-east on the west side of the mountains to the upper part of Chestnut Ridge, in Pennsylvania. In the westward, the southern boundary of the very cold region before

mentioned may be assumed as the northern boundary of the cold; and the southern boundary of the cold may be protracted westward from the head of Chestnut Ridge to the high lands dividing the waters falling into the Ohio from those falling into the St. Lawrence, and along in a northern and western direction, crossing the Mississippi about thirty miles below Prairie des Chiens, thence south and west crossing the Missouri about thirty miles below the Platte River; thence southward to the west of the Great Osage village, and then eastward to the Arkansas River, above the Hot Springs. In this division the winters commence in December and end in March, and the heat of summer commences in May and ends in September. The heat and cold here also go to great extremes; but the weather is very changeable, particularly in winter, so that neither severe heat nor severe cold lasts long at a time. The country in this division is also generally healthy.

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE.

	New York. 40 43 N. Lat. 3 10 E. Lon.			Philadelphia. 39 57 N. Lat. 1 52 E. Lon.			Washington. 38 52 N. Lat.			Sackett's Har. 43 55 N. Lat. 1 0 E. Lon.			Detroit. 42 30 N. Lat. 5 48 W. Lon. 1818.			Prairie des Chiens. 42 36 N. Lat. 14 38 W. L.			Council Bluffs. 41 31 N. Lat. 19 45 W. Lon.		
1820.	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.
January	48	2	28	48	5	26	42	14	32	30	12	23	44	4	24	..	..	..	40	-22	9
February	42	0	34	64	6	37	66	16	48	57	0	32	42	2	17	..	..	..	71	-8	30
March	68	16	38	70	22	41	68	26	44	64	9	33	61	0	32	..	..	..	70	0	34
April . . . . .	..	..	..	89	20	53	88	29	57	74	22	48	62	18	41	88	12	57	94	24	58
May . . . . .	..	..	..	82	45	60	84	51	63	70	22	52	81	34	53	90	39	61	90	50	69
June . . . . .	..	..	..	95	56	76	92	56	74	84	50	65	85	51	70	99	50	75	99	55	74
July . . . . .	..	..	..	98	70	78	88	70	81	87	58	73	92	65	69	90	54	74	97	58	75
August . . . . .	..	..	..	96	64	78	87	71	78	85	54	71	94	62	75	94	54	72	105	59	75
September . . . . .	..	..	..	94	44	71	85	51	71	87	44	66	92	47	71	90	32	64	92	42	68
October . . . . .	..	..	..	76	36	52	72	48	56	76	30	52	74	30	51	70	30	44	80	22	47
November . . . . .	..	..	..	60	22	40	64	34	50	60	20	41	60	24	40	60	-6	33	59	-4	34
December . . . . .	..	..	..	45	27	33	58	32	43	58	9	26	48	6	27	33	-14	16	50	-5	18
Mean of the year	incomplete			53° 7'			58 1'			48° 6'			47° 4'			incomplete			49° 2'		

* The longitude in these tables is reckoned from the meridian of Washington.

† - signifies below zero.

In this region it may be observed that the most intense cold occurs at the most inland stations, Prairie des Chiens and Council Bluffs; but that the lowest average temperature is on the borders of the lakes.

3. The *temperate* region is situated between the cold and a line drawn from Morgantown, North Carolina, south-westward, along the foot of the mountains to their termination in Georgia, thence in a north-west direction by Florence, in Alabama, and crossing the Mississippi River about the upper part of the Chickasaw Bluffs, thence north-west to the Delaware towns, on White River, and thence south-west

to the Arkansas, above the Hot Springs. The region described within these limits lies in the very heart of the country, the whole being on a considerable elevation. It comprehends Kentucky and Missouri, with nearly the whole of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Tennessee, the south part of Pennsylvania, the western part of Virginia, and small portions of North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. This climate is distinguished from the foregoing principally by having an earlier spring, and the weather is generally more settled and serene, although both heat and cold occasionally go to as great extremes.

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE.

Mo.	Pittsburg. 1820.			Zanesville. 1819.			Marietta. 1819.			Chillicothe. 1819.			Cincinnati. 1819.			Jeffersonville. 1819.			Gallatin. 1819.			Huntsville. 1819.		
	40 32 N. Lat. 2 46 W. Lon.			39 59 N. Lat. 4 58 W. Lon.			39 30 N. Lat. 4 28 W. Lon.			39 20 N. Lat. 5 45 W. Lon.			39 6 N. Lat. 7 31 W. Lon.			38 12 N. Lat. 8 34 W. Lon.			36 23 N. Lat. 9 38 W. Lon.			34 36 N. Lat. 9 55 W. Lon.		
	High.	Low.	Mean	High.	Low.	Mean	High.	Low.	Mean	High.	Low.	Mean	High.	Low.	Mean	High.	Low.	Mean	High.	Low.	Mean	High.	Low.	Mean
Jan.	42	10	29	68	10	40	67	16	42	64	18	40	70	20	37	66	20	47	74	20	47	70	27	51
Feb.	62	10	42	64	18	39	62	13	39	66	15	40	64	16	42	64	18	44	72	20	48	70	28	53
Mar.	54	21	42	62	10	39	67	15	40	68	14	41	63	10	40	68	19	44	80	12	46	76	26	50
Apr.	81	30	60	83	21	56	89	28	54	78	30	57	79	30	57	78	28	58	82	28	60	81	32	63
May	82	40	58	88	42	65	80	34	61	86	44	69	86	42	66	88	50	69	90	38	67	87	42	69
June	90	54	71	90	50	74	86	56	73	98	60	77	94	51	74	97	60	80	92	54	75	92	62	81
July	92	64	76	93	51	75	88	62	72	74	62	77	91	58	74	94	60	79	90	53	76	90	66	81
Aug.	89	60	72	96	50	78	93	56	78	72	60	80	92	52	77	99	56	82	90	58	75	87	69	79
Sep.	89	41	64	92	41	69	88	48	69	89	52	70	90	45	69	94	50	70	94	42	71	86	60	76
Oct.	76	40	54	76	25	55	81	30	52	86	32	56	83	29	55	72	34	60	..	..	..	83	38	62
Nov.	62	32	46	71	20	49	72	22	48	72	32	59	76	28	51	68	30	53	80	22	54	79	36	58
Dec.	48	28	37	59	6	30	57	12	35	60	16	39	63	12	38	58	4	37	..	..	..	64	18	42
Mean	54° 2'			55° 7'			55° 6'			58° 8'			56° 8'			60° 3'			incomplete			63° 7'		

4. The region possessing a *warm* climate lies between the temperate and a line drawn from Cape Henry in a circular direction below Annapolis, and passing above Tarboro, and through Fayetteville, Columbia, Augusta, Milledgeville, and Fort Jackson, in Alabama, and thence a little south of west across the Mississippi, and on to the Sabine River, in the

latitude of Nacogdoches, in Texas. In this region the winters commence about the 1st of January, and end about the 1st of March; and the summers commence about the 1st of May, and end about the middle of October. The weather is pretty settled and steady, and except in swampy or marshy situations, the country is generally healthy.

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE.

Months.	Norfolk. 1820. 36 53 N. Lat. 00 47 E. Lon.			Augusta. 1818. 33 15 N. Lat. 5 00 W. Lon.			Milledgeville. 1819. 32 55 N. Lat. 6 10 W. Lon.			Monroe. 1819. 32 23 N. Lat. 9 38 W. Lon.		
	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.
January	..	..	..	71	19	51	70	17	48	72	38	63
February	..	..	..	74	20	48	68	31	45	78	29	57
March	..	..	..	79	34	54	70	32	57	85	30	63
April	..	..	..	83	22	61	84	42	65	87	48	72
May	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	92	51	73
June	..	..	..	..	..	..	92	61	82	94	57	76
July	89	70	80	100	72	85	95	78	87	92	63	79
August	89	74	79	..	..	..	92	78	86	94	65	80
September	83	71	78	..	..	..	92	62	79	..	..	..
October	80	50	67	..	..	..	..	..	..	90	35	62
November	79	41	56	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
December	65	40	50	..	..	..	..	..	..	76	21	39
Mean of the year	incomplete.			incomplete.			incomplete.			incomplete.		

5. The *hot* region extends from the southern extremity of the warm to the Atlantic Ocean and Gulf of Mexico. In this climate the summers commence in April and end in November, and the heat is often very oppressive; the winters are often very variable, but generally pleasant and healthy. The whole of this district being on the alluvial formation, there

are many swamps and marshes interspersed through it, and near these the summers are very unhealthy, but in high and dry situations the climate is favourable. The diseases particularly incident to this district are bilious fever, and fever and ague; but, on the other hand, pulmonary complaints, and many others which prevail in cold countries, are hardly known.

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE.

Months.	Fort Johnson. 1820. 33 51 N. Lat. 1 10 W. Lon.			Savannah. 1819. 32 8 N. Lat. 4 15 W. Lon.			Fernandina, FL. 1820. 30 37 N. Lat. 4 45 W. Lon.			Fort Scott. 1820. 30 43 N. Lat. 7 23 W. Lon.			New Orleans. 1820. 30 00 N. Lat. 13 10 W. Lon.			Baton Rouge. 1820. 30 36 W. Lon. 15 14 N. Lat.			Camp Ripley. 1820. 31 18 N. Lat. 16 50 W. Lon.		
	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.
	63	32	47	75	28	53	79	35	55	74	32	55	..	..	..	78	51	64	..	..	..
January	63	32	47	75	28	53	79	35	55	74	32	55	..	..	..	78	51	64	..	..	..
February	79	40	55	79	32	57	78	50	65	72	31	61	..	..	..	78	32	61	..	..	..
March	62	34	60	87	30	60	70	50	64	78	38	67	..	..	..	78	32	61	..	..	..
April	82	32	67	89	34	64	85	45	72	89	44	68	78	58	73	86	42	70	87	55	76
May	82	50	69	93	56	74	86	61	74	88	56	74	87	72	79	90	58	75	88	54	76
June	84	64	75	97	64	78	87	67	78	91	50	78	91	72	86	94	60	81	92	57	78
July	89	75	81	94	68	78	87	71	80	91	60	79	90	80	82	90	70	79	93	72	81
August	90	72	83	91	68	78	88	70	79	92	68	80	92	78	85	92	74	83	94	65	82
September	86	67	78	92	60	76	87	73	80	90	65	75	88	71	81	88	64	77	92	56	77
October	84	50	67	87	41	66	85	50	69	89	60	70	84	45	67	88	40	67	85	49	66
November	79	40	61	..	..	..	76	43	64	78	40	60	75	39	57	84	36	61	84	32	60
December	70	51	57	..	..	..	75	50	61	84	32	59	77	39	60	76	40	60	79	28	53
	66° 7'			incomplete.			70° 1'			68° 7'			incomplete.			incomplete.			incomplete.		

It is worthy of remark, that the heat, though it is of longer duration in the warm and hot regions, is not of greater intensity than in the cold and very cold. In the latter the thermometer reaches 98°, or even 99°;

while in the former the summer heat is generally below that line, and only once appears in the tables above it, namely, at 100°. We add a table, giving a more general view of the subject under consideration.

General Abstract from all the Observations made at the Military Posts of the United States for 1820; Thirty-seven posts, extending from 30° to 45° 55' North Lat. and 6° 46' East to 19° 45' West Longitude.

Months.	Average at			General Average.	Highest, and place of observation.	Lowest, and place of observation.	Range.
	7 A.M.	2 P.M.	9 P.M.				
January	25	33	44	29	79 Fernandina	+30 St. Peters	109
February	33	46	32	42	79 Fort Johnson	-17 Plattsburgh	96
March	41	49	44	45	78 Belle Fontaine	-10 St. Peters	88
April	56	66	60	61	94 Council Bluffs	10 Ditto	84
May	61	71	65	65	90 Montpelier	22 Ditto	68
June	70	84	74	76	99 Prairie des Chiens	50 Ditto	49
July	74	82	75	77	98 Fort Mifflin, Phila.	54 Ditto	44
August	73	81	75	76	*105 Council Bluffs	53 Boston	52
September	67	76	70	71	99 Ditto	30 St. Peters	69
October	52	60	56	56	88 Baton Rouge	20 Prairie des Chiens	68
November	42	50	46	46	84 Camp Ripley	-7 St. Peters	91
December	34	41	37	37	84 Fort Scott	-30 Ditto	114
General Mean	52	62	56	57	*105 Sunday, 13th Aug.	+30 Sunday, 30th Jan.	135

Mr. Melish informs us, that the observations from which his tables were compiled were taken, as we believe similar observations have generally been, at the hours of seven A. M. and two and nine P. M.; but we agree in the opinion that this method gives a mean temperature much too high. It is obvious that the coldest portion of the twenty-four hours, that between nine in the evening and seven in the morning, is wholly excluded from the calculation.

It appears also, as might have been expected, that, by taking the morning observations very early, Messrs. Brantz and Haines have produced tables with a mean temperature lower, and doubtless more correct, than others. As a specimen of the deductions to be made on this ground from Mr. Melish's tables, which we have given above, our readers may refer to the city of Washington, in the second region, the mean temperature of which is stated to be 58°, while Mr

Brantz reduces it to 52° and $\frac{1}{2}$, Mr. Haines to 49° , and Mr. Darby finally adjudges it to 53° and $\frac{1}{2}$. Climate, however, is not to be determined by the mere use of the thermometer. Great as the importance of this instrument is, when accurately constructed and properly employed, it is liable to so much error and unskilful use, and has yielded, in point of fact, so many irreconcilable and obviously mistaken results,

that little dependance can be placed on it alone. Hence arises the necessity of taking into the account prevailing winds, the freezing of rivers, vegetable indications, and whatever else may be auxiliary to a correct judgment. The following table, exhibiting the course of the winds and the state of the atmosphere at various places in the United States, is given by Mr. Melish, as compiled from official information :

Places.	Winds.									Atmosphere.			
	N.	N. W.	N. E.	E.	S. E.	S.	S. W.	W.		Clear	Cloudy	Rain	Snow
Portsmouth	16	147	40	32	22	35	28	41	208	116	23	18	In the very cold climate
Boston	30	64	43	32	16	37	88	49	224	84	35	22	
Mackinaw, Oct. Nov. Dec.	7	16	13	7	17	6	9	17	12	24	33	23	
St. Peters, eleven months	19	74	21	12	71	34	70	53	223	32	57	31	
New York, Jan. Feb. March	7	37	8	0	3	0	28	6	54	15	14	11	Cold
Philadelphia	19	76	65	39	31	28	65	43	216	85	55	9	
Washington	56	87	35	16	24	40	55	56	222	58	72	13	
Sackett's Harbour	48	58	47	14	42	25	88	38	186	93	54	37	
Prairie des Chiens, nine months	11	80	9	2	26	8	81	27	138	51	46	9	Temperate Warm
Council Bluffs	41	62	34	23	113	46	27	16	236	73	48	11	
Detroit, six months	21	10	9	13	18	76	17	20	84	86	12	2	
Pittsburgh	26	54	36	25	58	28	71	42	210	55	45	20	
Norfolk, six months	6	33	55	11	21	2	51	5	123	39	21	3	Hot
Fort Johnson	44	37	45	30	35	108	40	25	216	78	64	0	
Fernandina	15	32	82	25	145	6	41	20	257	68	40	0	
Fort Scott	39	7	11	59	16	71	15	146	209	88	68	0	
Baton Rouge, eleven months	15	69	35	23	65	17	103	8	162	76	97	0	Hot
Camp Ripley, nine months	17	27	31	13	46	20	74	28	129	66	71	0	

In this table the state of the atmosphere deserves notice, for the very large proportion of dry and clear weather. This is a highly characteristic and important feature of the North American continent, as contrasted,

at least, with our own country, and contributes much to diminish the rigour and increase the salubrity of the climate. For the further illustration of the prevailing winds, we insert two tables given by Mr. Darby :

Abstract of the prevailing Winds at various points of the United States, above North Latitude 35° . The whole numbers reduced to proportions of 1000.

Places of Observation.	N. E.	N.	N. W.	W.	S. W.	S.	S. E.	E.
Polar Sea	122	100	394	794	132	32	112	28
Fort Brady	32	58	159	274	79	86	241	73
Basin of Columbia	130	20	118	44	401	33	200	53
Valley of Missouri	117	58	294	73	244	21	141	48
Council Bluffs	71	196	151	53	101	246	134	61
Fort Howard	384	23	23	26	535	13	3	6
Fort Crawford	33	186	250	53	101	190	137	10
New Harmony	101	131	124	165	221	155	65	33
Cincinnati	164	22	211	77	343	22	135	26
Washington City	165	65	257	72	238	96	90	14
Baltimore	194		303		208		295	
Philadelphia	196	49	227	120	255	58	69	32
Germantown	97	48	194.3	301	167	49	64	78.5
New York	116	24	301	69	210	130	134	29
Newport, Rhode Island	112	101	218	61	335	66	89	33
Eastport, Maine	68	109	229.7	159	123	224	26	69
	2102	1190	3454	1638	3693	1231	1929	593.5

Abstract of the prevailing Winds at various points of the United States, below North Latitude 35°. The whole reduced to proportions of 1000.

Places of Observation.	N. E.	N.	N. W.	W.	S. W.	S.	S. E.	E.
Baton Rouge	236	5	133	83	208	94	153	100
Pensacola	417	36	97	47	83	25	250	58
Cantonment Jessup	146	79	99	65	151	109	235	127
Tampa Bay								
St. Augustine	416	35	97	47	83	25	250	58
Charleston, South Carolina	228	59	38	57	127	169	186	195
Smithville, North Carolina	42	293	109	141	52	299	21	53
Amount	1485	508	573	440	704	721	1095	522

The general result deducible from these tables, which are in harmony with many other observations, is, that westerly winds prevail above N. Lat. 35°, and easterly winds below it. In the former table, out of 15,830 decimal numbers, 8785 are from the N. W., W. and S. W.; in the latter, out of 5048 decimal numbers, 3102 are from the N. E., E. and S. E. This course of the winds is conceived by Mr. Darby to be owing to no circumstances peculiarly affecting the North American continent, but rather to some more general, though little understood, causes which give a similar determination to the air in similar latitudes over the whole earth. He connects the ascertained facts with the ingenious theory, that the winds uninfluenced by local interruptions, follow a parabolic curve from the polar to the tropical regions of the earth, with the sweep of the curve eastward.

Comparing with each other the several parts of the United States in the same latitudes, two diversities of climate may be noticed. The maritime district on the Pacific Ocean is much warmer than corresponding latitudes on the Atlantic. At the mouth of the river Columbia, in N. Lat. 46°, the thermometer is seldom below the freezing point; while on the eastern part of the continent the winters in this parallel are excessively cold. This seems to arise from the prevalence of westerly winds in the latitudes in question, a cause which makes all western coasts in similar parallels of milder climate than the eastern. In addition to this, it has been *supposed*, also, that the country in the valley of the Mississippi has milder winters than the Atlantic shores. Many persons seem to have been influenced to go into the interior by this idea, which was strongly maintained by the French traveller, Volney; but which, after exciting much diversity of opinion, is now shown to be as contrary to fact as it was in the first instance to probability. Mr. Darby thus sets the question at rest. Referring to the growth of vegetables, he says,*

"I surveyed southern Louisiana from the Sabine eastward, and found the live oak, *quercus sempervirens*, flourishing along the rivers in the delta and its vicinity; but when the great body of woods which bounds the delta above the marshes and prairies is passed, and the north-west winds from Texas have full sweep along the Calcasieu and the Sabine, the live oak ceases. In the delta this production is found as high as N. Lat. 30° 22', rising to the majesty of a forest tree; yet in their utmost range in the basin of Mississippi this and the chaemerops, or dwarf palm, cease far south of their limit on the Atlantic coast. The large palm (cabbage tree) is not found in Louisiana. The live oak rises to considerable height and column as high as the mouth of Cape Fear River, N. Lat. 34°, full 3½° beyond its greatest northern residence in the central basin. In Louisiana the orange tree cannot be cultivated to much advantage above N. Lat. 30°, and it ceases altogether about a degree farther north; the sugar cane, with a slightly higher locality, does not flourish beneficially much above the orange; but both these vegetables are profitably cultivated along the Atlantic coast as high as N. Lat. 33° 30'. We thus find tender vegetables either indigenous, or cultivated as objects of emolument, on latitudes along the Atlantic coast where no art could produce a similar effect directly west on the Mississippi. Natchez stands on a hill, or series of hills, about one hundred feet above the ordinary level of the Mississippi at N. Lat. 30° 33', almost directly west from Sapelo island; but at Natchez, and even on the low banks of the Mississippi opposite that city, neither the orange nor cane could be cultivated. The thermometer, whilst I myself resided in the vicinity, fell to 12° above zero near that city, in December, 1799. No winter passes at Natchez without severe frost, and snows are there annual and not seldom deep, and resting on the ground from five to ten or twelve days. I once, in January, 1812, witnessed at Opelousas snow eleven inches deep, which did not entirely disappear in less than

* View of the United States, p. 421.

seven or eight days. The Ohio and all its branches, as well as other rivers more westward, are more deeply, more frequently, and longer frozen, than those on the Atlantic Slope by a difference of three or four degrees of latitude." It is obvious, therefore, that the supposed mildness of the Ohio Valley, so much insisted on by Volney and others, has really no existence; but that, on the very contrary, the cold of winter is several degrees more severe in the interior than on the Atlantic border of the United States upon any given latitude.

3. In addition to the general division of the climate of the United States which we have already given, we may add the following view of that of the Mississippi Valley, for which we are indebted to the industrious observation of Mr. Flint.* We may conceive four distinct climates between the sources and the outlet of the Mississippi. The first, commencing at its sources and terminating at Prairie du Chien, corresponds pretty accurately to the climate between Montreal and Boston, with this difference, that the amount of snow falling in the former is much less than in the latter region. The growing of gourd seed corn, which demands a higher temperature to bring it to maturity, is not pursued in this region. The Irish potato is raised in this climate in the utmost perfection. Wheat and cultivated grasses succeed well. The apple and pear tree require fostering and southern exposure to bring fruit to perfection. The peach tree has still more the habits and the delicacy of a southern stranger, and requires a sheltered declivity with a southern exposure to succeed at all. Five months in the year may be said to be under the dominion of winter. For that length of time the cattle require shelter in the severe weather, and the still waters remain frozen.—The second climate prevails over the opposite states of Missouri and Illinois in their whole extent, or the country between 41° and 37°. Cattle, though much benefited by sheltering, and often needing it, here seldom receive it. It is not so favourable for cultivated grasses as the preceding region. Gourd seed corn is the only kind extensively planted. The winter commences with January, and ends with the second week in February; the ice in the still waters after that time thaws. Wheat, the inhabitant of a variety of climates, is at home, as a native, in this. The persimon and the pawpaw are found in its whole extent. It is the favoured region of the apple, the pear, and the peach. Snows neither fall deep, nor lie long. The Irish potato succeeds to a certain extent, but not as well as in the former climate; but

this disadvantage is supplied by the sweet potato, which, though not at home in this climate, with a little care in the cultivation, flourishes. The grandeur of the vegetation, and the temperature of March and April, indicate an approach towards the southern regions.—The third climate extends from 37° to 31°. Below 35°, in the rich alluvial soils, the apple tree begins to fail in bringing its fruit to perfection; apples worth eating are seldom raised much below New Madrid. Cotton, between this point and 33°, is raised, in favourable positions, for home consumption, but is seldom to be depended upon for a crop. Below 33° commences the proper climate for cotton, and here it is the staple article of cultivation. Festoons of long moss hang from the trees, and darken the forest, and the palmetto gives to the low alluvial grounds a grand and striking verdure. The muscadine grape, strongly designating climate, is first found here. Laurel trees become common in the forest, retaining their foliage and their verdure through the winter; wheat is no longer seen as an article of cultivation, but the fig tree brings its fruit to full maturity.—Below this limit to the gulf, is the fourth climate, the region of the sugar cane and the sweet orange tree. It would be, if it were cultivated, the region of the olive. Snow is no longer seen to fall, except a few flakes in the coldest storms; the streams are never frozen; winter is only marked by nights of white frosts, and days of north-west winds, which seldom last longer than three days in succession, and are followed by south winds and warm days. The trees are generally in leaf by the middle of February, and always by the first of March. Bats are hovering in the air during the night, and fire-flies are seen by the middle of February. Early in March the forests are in blossom; the delightful white flowers of the *cornus florida*, and the brilliant red tufts of the redbud, or *cereis canadensis*, are unfolded; the margins of the creeks and streams are perfumed with the meadow pink, or honeysuckle, yellow jessamine, and other fragrant flowers. During almost every night a thunder storm occurs. Cotton and corn are planted from March to July. In these regions the summers are uniformly hot, although there are days when the mercury rises as high in New England as in Louisiana; the heat, however, is more uniform and sustained, commences much earlier, and continues much later. From February to September thunder storms are common, often accompanied with severe thunder, and sometimes with gales, or tornadoes, in which the trees of the forest are prostrated in every direction, and the tract of country which is covered with the fallen trees is

* Geography and History of the Western States.

called a 'hurricane.' The depressing influence of the summer heat results from its long continuance, and its equable and unremitting tenor, rather than from the intensity of its ardour at any given time; it must, however, be admitted, that at all times the unclouded radiance of the vertical sun of this climate is extremely oppressive.

The winters, through the whole extent of the country, are variable, passing rapidly from warm to cold, and the reverse. Near the Mississippi, and where there is little to vary the general direction of the winds, they ordinarily blow three or four days from the north. In the northern and middle regions, the consequence is cold weather, frost more or less severe, and perhaps storm, with snow and sleet; during these days the rivers are covered with ice. When the opposite breeze alternates, there is immediately a bland and relaxing feeling in the atmosphere; it becomes warm, and the red-birds sing on these days in January and February, as far north as Prairie du Chien. These abrupt and frequent transitions can hardly fail to have an unfavourable influence upon health. From 40° to 36° N. Lat. the rivers almost invariably freeze, for a longer or shorter period, through the winter. At St. Louis on the Mississippi, and at Cincinnati on the Ohio, in nearly the same parallels, between 38° and 39° , the two rivers are sometimes capable of being crossed on the ice for eight weeks together.

Although the summers over all this valley must be admitted to be hot, yet the exemption of the country from mountains and other impediments to the free course of the winds, and the circumstance that the greater proportion of the country has a surface bare of forests, together probably with other unexplained atmospheric agents, concur to create, during the sultry months, almost a constant breeze; it thence happens that the air on these wide prairies is rendered fresh, and the heats are tempered in the same manner as is felt on the ocean. The same degree of heat in the spring does not advance vegetation as rapidly in the south as in the north. "We have seen a brilliant sun, and felt the lassitude of warm spring days continued in succession," says Mr. Flint, "and yet have remarked the buds to remain almost stationary, and the development of vegetation to be almost imperceptible; while the same amount of heat at Quebec would have completely unfolded the foliage, and clothed the earth with verdure."

It is a very prominent feature of the climate of North America, that it is much colder than similar latitudes in Europe; as appears strikingly from the fact that the New England states, which fall within

the very cold or coldest section of the republic, are in the same latitude as Italy. The principal cause of this difference is to be found, doubtless, in the vast extent of land which, with little intermission, stretches into the north-polar regions, and forms an immense deposit of ice and snow for the refrigeration of the southern lands. The changes of the seasons are for the most part abrupt; and on the Atlantic coast it appears that very sudden and extensive changes of the weather are of frequent occurrence.

One of the causes operating on the climate of the United States, in a direction contrary to that which we have just noticed, is the oceanic current, commonly known as the Gulf Stream. It is now well ascertained that a current exists in the ocean, by which the whole body of water, for as much as 28° on each side of the equator, flows towards the west. This current setting in from the coast of Senegal, in Africa, is borne against that of central America, where a very large division of it forces its way into the Gulf of Mexico, whence it issues through the Bahama Channel, along the shore of the United States to Cape Hatteras, and towards Cape Cod. Mr. Darby shows, by tables constructed with great care, that the surface of this current is considerably warmer than that of any other part of the ocean. In 3° N. Lat. it was found by Humboldt at a temperature of 83° , gradually, and almost uniformly, cooling at greater distances from the equator, and at 40° N. or S. standing at 55° and 57° , a difference of 28° . From a variety of observations, it appears also that the temperature of the water of the Gulf Stream exceeds that of the air above it, generally by several degrees, and sometimes by nearly 20° . It is obvious, therefore, that this immense current, running always with considerable rapidity, and in the Bahama Channel with the force of a torrent, reaching sometimes the rate of five miles an hour, must have a great effect in diffusing caloric through the atmosphere, and especially upon the eastern and south-eastern shores of the United States. Allied to this oceanic current is the aerial one, the trade wind, which is known to flow in the same direction, and probably originates in the same cause, namely, the diurnal revolution of the earth. This current moves through the West Indies and the adjacent seas until it meets the American continent, which, in consequence of being slanted off from S. E. to N. W., impels the current of air in a similar course, and the current which passes towards the North American continent diverges over it in different directions. One branch takes a N. W. direction, and passing over New Mexico, and thence between the Stony Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, spends its force probably

about N. Lat. 50°. Another branch takes a N. E. direction, and blows partly over the mountains, but principally between the mountains and the Atlantic Ocean; it seems to spend its force about the Potomac, although it sometimes reaches as far as Philadelphia and New York. A third branch passes up the valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio, having often all the characteristics of the original trade wind, and is so strong that it frequently passes over the large lakes, and sometimes reaches Montreal, and even Quebec.

With respect to the climate of the United States, two ideas have been entertained, which still demand briefly to be noticed. It has been conceived by some persons to have undergone a considerable change for the better since its colonization by Europeans. This idea may have originated perhaps in the same causes as a similar one respecting the climate of Europe; and it appears to be equally without foundation. On the contrary, there seems sufficient reason to conclude that, with whatever local and temporary variations, the climate is substantially unchanged. The winter, cold over the United States, as every where else on earth, is in direct intensity with height, latitude, and exposure; the interior states being more exposed to the influence of a central, elevated, and frozen table land, have winters much more severe than are experienced on similar latitudes on the Atlantic Slope; and the interior summers are equally in excess. But if the general climate has not altered, it has been confidently believed, that as the country was cleared and the timber removed, the winters have become milder. That the clearing and improvement of a region may contribute to its *salubrity*, we entertain no question, the ways being obvious by which such a result must be produced; but we agree with Mr. Darby in thinking that it leads to no elevation of temperature. "Employed," says this gentleman, "ten or twelve years in exploring the prairies of Louisiana, I had ample means to test the seasons of a country naturally devoid of forest trees; and in the frequent, and sometimes not slight, snows of Opelousas; N. Lat. 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ °; I, as early as 1805, became convinced that removing timber must produce the very reverse of melioration, and then suspected, what is now proved, that in very open countries the range of the thermometer must be augmented." To this testimony may be added that of Mr. Dunbar, of Natchez, a close and very competent observer, respecting land which had been partially cleared. "It is with us a general remark, that of late years the summers have become hotter, and the winters colder, than formerly. Orange trees, and other tender exotics, have suffered more

in the neighbourhood of New Orleans within these four or five years than before that period; the sugar cane also has been so much injured by the severity of the first of the two last winters as greatly to discourage the planters, whose crops, in many instances, have fallen to one third, or less, of their expectations. In former years I have observed the mercury of the thermometer not to fall lower than 26° or 27°; but for a few years past it has generally, once or twice in the winter, fallen as low as from 17° to 20°, and on the 12th December, 1800, it was found sunk to 12°, which has hitherto had no parallel in this climate, and indicates a degree of cold which in any country would be reckoned considerable, and which probably may never again be produced by natural means in Lat. 31° 30'. As this apparent alteration of climate has been remarked only for a few years, and cannot be traced up to any visible, natural, or artificial change of sufficient magnitude, it would be in vain to search for its physical cause. Dr. Williamson and others have endeavoured to show that clearing, draining, and cultivation, extended over the face of a continent, must produce the double effect of the relaxation of the rigours of winter, and an abatement of the heats of summer. The former is probably more evident than the latter; but, admitting the demonstration to be conclusive, I would inquire whether a partial clearing, extending thirty or forty miles square, or to 300,000, or 3,000,000, may not be expected to produce a contrary effect, by admitting with full liberty the sunbeams on the uncovered surface of the earth in summer, and promoting during winter a free circulation of cold northern air."* To us it appears that Mr. Dunbar might have spoken with much greater confidence, and that the partial clearing of the country is a sufficient physical cause for the diminution of the temperature.

Many distinguished philosophers have maintained, that a great amelioration of the climates, both of Europe and Asia, has taken place within the period since correct observations have been made on the subject. This opinion has been supported by Buffon, Hume, Gibbon, the Abbe Du Bos, and others; and as it regards America, a similar opinion has been supported by Jefferson, Williams, and Holyoke. Within the last century, the temperature of our winters, says these American authorities, has been greatly mitigated, and Dr. Williamson himself, as cited already, has given us proofs of the beneficial results of clearing and cultivation in relaxing the rigours of winter, and diminishing the ardent heats of summer. A closer

* Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. vi p. 40.

investigation of facts, however, we are inclined to believe, will demonstrate, that the improvements in our climate have not corresponded with the progress of cultivation and settlement; and the elaborate investigations of Noah Webster, render it more than questionable that such a view is unphilosophical. See his remarks on the supposed change in the temperature of winter, in vol. i. of the Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. From this interesting paper, the following extracts are made.

"John Megapolensis, a Dutch clergyman, who resided at Albany, and wrote an account of the Mohawks, in 1644, a translation of which is in Hazard's Collection, vol. i. p. 517, says, of the climate, 'the summers are pretty hot, and the winters very cold. The summer continues till All Saints' Day, (Nov. 1,) but then the winter sets in, in the same manner as it commonly does in December, and freezes so much in one night that the ice will bear a man. The freezing commonly continues *three months*—sometimes there comes a warm and pleasant day, yet the thaw does not continue; but it freezes again till March, and then commonly the river begins to open, seldom in February." According to this account, the winters have not moderated; for the Hudson, at Albany, usually freezes early in December, and continues closed till March. A common winter is of three months duration.

Professor Kalm, who came to America in 1748, was very particular in his inquiries on this subject; and to the best information he could obtain, he added his own observations. He relates, vol. i. p. 21. Lond. 1772, that at Newcastle, the Delaware seldom froze in winter so as to obstruct navigation; but at Philadelphia, that river was, almost every winter, covered with ice, so as to interrupt navigation for some weeks together. In page 36, he says, the climate of Philadelphia was then temperate; the winter was not over severe, and its duration short—September and October were like August in Sweden, and the first days in February frequently as pleasant as the end of April and beginning of May in the middle of Sweden.

"In page 38 he says, the only disadvantage which the trade of Philadelphia suffers, is, the freezing of the river almost every winter for a month or more. In page 83 he states, that the winters he spent in the country were none of the coldest, but common ones, and that during his stay, the Delaware was not covered with ice strong enough to bear a carriage. In the next page, he adds, that the winters, though severe, did not continue above two months, and at

Philadelphia, sometimes less. Cherries were ripe about the 25th of May—(probably old style.)

"In page 197, the author, speaking of New York, states that the *harbour is good, and never froze except in extraordinary cold weather*; but he says, page 208, the winters at New York are much more severe than in Pennsylvania. He says afterwards, that the ice *stands on the Hudson several months*, by which he must mean the ice on that river in the interior country. January 21, 1749, people walked over the Delaware at Philadelphia on the ice; but no one ventured to ride over on horseback. But in page 362, the author informs us, that the river was covered with ice soon after new year, and the ice became so strong that people rode over on horseback—the ice continued to the 8th of February, when the river was cleared.

"The old men, of whom Kalm made inquiries respecting a change in the seasons, all agreed in the fact, that when the country was first settled, the weather was more uniform than it was in their time. Most of them were of opinion, that more snow fell when they were young; that the winters began earlier; and that the springs were also earlier. It was a saying among the old Swedes, that they had always grass at Easter, whether early or late.

"Mr. Norris, one of the first settlers of Philadelphia, and a merchant, related, that in his younger years, the Delaware was usually covered with ice by the middle of November, old style. One old Swede, who remembered the very severe winter of 1697–8, was of opinion, there had been little change in the winters—that there were as great storms and as cold winters in his old age as in his childhood.

"Kalm, however, in his second volume, page 43, institutes a comparison between Old and New Sweden, as he terms the two countries, in which he mentions, among the disadvantages of New Sweden, or Delaware and Pennsylvania, that the nights are darker than in Old Sweden, where they are in part illuminated by snow and the lumen boreale. In this paragraph he says expressly, that the winters bring no permanent snow in Pennsylvania, to make the nights clear and travelling safe. The cold, he says, is often intense as in Old Sweden; but the snow which falls lies only a few days, and always goes off with a great deal of wet.

"From a careful comparison of these facts, it appears that the weather, in modern winters, is more inconstant, than when the earth was covered with wood, at the first settlement of Europeans in the country; that the warm weather of autumn extends further into the winter months, and the cold weather

of winter and spring encroaches upon the summer ; that the wind being more variable, snow is less permanent, and perhaps the same remark may be applicable to the ice of the rivers. These effects seem to result necessarily from the greater quantity of heat accumulated in the earth in summer, since the ground has been cleared of wood, and exposed to the rays of the sun ; and to the greater depth of frost in the earth in winter, by the exposure of its uncovered surface to the cold atmosphere."

"But we can hardly infer, from the facts that have yet been collected, that there is, in modern times, an actual diminution of the aggregate amount of cold in winter, on either continent.

In addition to these remarks, the observations of Dr. Williamson on the Climate of North Carolina might be inserted. Dr. Williamson observes, "There are not many countries, in which the state of health differs so much as it does at present in the different parts of North Carolina. At the distance of sixty or seventy miles from the coast, the land begins to rise into small hills, stones appear on the surface, and the streams ripple in their course. As we advance a little further to the westward, we find all the variety of hills and dales that may consist with a fertile country, fit for cultivation. In that happy climate, where the soil is good, and the water pure ; where the inhabitants enjoy the desirable effects of winter, without suffering by the rigorous severity of cold ; there are few of the diseases which are most painful and destructive in cold climates ; neither are the inhabitants wasted by the more fatal diseases of warm climates. There are not many parts in the United States, perhaps there is not any part of the world, in which families increase faster than in the western part of Carolina. When we consider, that the inhabitants are seldom affected by coughs, consumptions, or inflammatory complaints, for the winters are temperate ; that intermitting, bilious, or putrid fevers, are seldom found among them ; we naturally infer, that the climate must be healthy. It is not denied, that people, in many other climates or countries, are equally healthy with those in the western part of Carolina ; but the winters in other regions, that are deemed healthy, are more severe, or the land is less fertile, or it is not so cheap, or the means of supporting a family, from one cause and another, are more difficult than in Carolina ; whence it follows, that early marriages are not so frequent, and the increase of families is not so great. We have not the means of comparing the increase of people in Carolina with that in foreign countries, but it has been compared with the increase in other states. It appears by the

census taken in the year 1791, that the number of inhabitants above sixteen years old, exceeded the number under sixteen in all the northern and middle states, including Maryland. In the southern states there was a difference in favour of those under sixteen, and this difference was greater in North Carolina than in any other state, except Kentucky. This difference might be explained by supposing that the duration of human life is shorter in the southern states, and that sixteen years is nearer the middle of the general extent ; but this solution cannot be admitted, because in the most healthy parts of the southern states, the difference was greatest in favour of the class under sixteen. The greater proportion of people below sixteen must be the combined effect of early marriage and a good climate. Families are easily supported where the lands are good, and the winters mild. In this case people marry young, and have many children ; but early marriage alone will not produce a great proportion of children when compared to that of grown persons, because sickly climates are not less fatal to infants than to those who are more advanced in years. This distinction is fully supported by the census in North Carolina. The number of males in the whole state, below sixteen, was to that above sixteen, nearly as eleven to ten ; but this difference cannot be the effect of early marriage alone, or the facility of maintaining a family ; it depends very much on the salubrity of the climate. People live in the district of Edenton with more ease than in the district of Salisbury ; for their cattle require less feeding in winter, and they have a plentiful supply of fish ; but the proportion of persons under sixteen, was to that above sixteen, in Salisbury district, compared to that in Edenton district, nearly as three to one. In Salisbury district there were fifteen thousand eight hundred and twenty-six males under sixteen, and thirteen thousand nine hundred and eight above sixteen. The difference is nearly equal to a seventh part of the whole number of the older class. In Edenton district, the number of males under sixteen, was eight thousand six hundred and ninety-six, and the number above sixteen, was eight thousand three hundred and ninety-four. The difference being less than a twenty-seventh part of the number of the older class. This remarkable excess, in favour of Salisbury district, can only be explained by the greater salubrity of the climate. There are some very old people in the western parts of Carolina, but they were not born in that country ; they are older than the settlement. After the country shall have been planted two or three centuries, and the natives shall have attained the length of years that corres-

ponds with the climate, a greater proportion of the inhabitants above sixteen years will doubtless be found."

To find the probable mean temperature of any place by comparing it with another of which the temperature is known, Mr. Darby suggests that one degree of Fahrenheit may be allowed for one degree of latitude, and the converse; and that 400 feet of elevation may be assumed to lower the thermometer one degree: he adds, however, very justly, that so many circumstances contribute, slightly, to influence the thermometer, that only general results can be expected from such comparisons, and that when the difference of latitude

becomes considerable, they would be altogether delusive.

The rains of the United States are represented as occurring very irregularly, not only in the course of a single year, but through a succession of years. No sufficient data have yet been provided for the formation of philosophical views on this subject; but Mr. Darby has furnished us with tables of the monthly quantity of rain in several successive years at Baltimore, Germantown, and New Harmony, of which we avail ourselves. The Baltimore table we shall insert entire, adding to it the monthly mean quantities of the other two places.

Table of the monthly depth in inches of rain at Baltimore, from Mr. Brantz's Tables.

Months.	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	Mean.	Mean at German- town.	Mean at New Har- mony.
January	2.25	.9	.7	2.8	3.3	1.8	5.6	2.3	2.85	2.18	4.31
February	2.8	2.0	1.9	2.2	5.4	4.8	.7	5.9	3.225	3.58	4.04
March	4.5	3.0	4.55	3.3	1.7	1.3	7.1	4.3	3.71	3.07	3.38
April	1.5	2.1	2.7	1.1	2.1	2.1	1.8	4.7	2.20	2.62	4.52
May	2.6	6.45	4.1	4.4	5.1	1.5	2.1	2.95	3.65	2.87	2.61
June	9.1	1.15	1.3	4.6	1.8	1.5	1.6	5.03	3.66	3.22	4.41
July	3.5	4.1	2.2	2.2	7.5	4.35	3.6	3.37	3.85	4.25	3.54
August	10.4	2.0	4.3	8.0	0.3	.8	4.1	4.5	4.3	3.48	4.84
September	3.3	3.2	3.0	1.5	10.7	2.25	5.8	2.94	4.45	3.27	2.80
October	1.8	3.1	.7	7.8	3.4	2.5	2.8	1.77	2.975	3.50	2.84
November	3.7	2.0	1.1	2.7	5.6	5.1	3.1	2.27	3.2	3.01	1.62
December	3.6	2.6	2.2	1.9	2.3	1.2	6.25	2.25	2.9	3.05	3.94
Amount	48.55	32.6	28.75	40.5	50.2	29.2	44.55	42.28	39.97	38.10	42.85

The SOIL of the United States is naturally enough represented as comprehending every kind, from the very best to the very worst. Of course it is not to be supposed that it divides itself into such spaces as to render possible an accurate general estimate of it; we may nevertheless throw out a few hints of somewhat general application, leaving the minuter details for the account which we shall subsequently give of individual states. We may first notice that portion of the republic with which our readers are by this time familiar, under the name of the Atlantic Slope; we mean the country east of the Apalachian Mountains, from Cape Cod to Louisiana. Next to the ocean are salt meadows, or marshes, nearly level, sloping a very little towards the water, above which their surfaces have but little elevation wherever they are found. They are covered with a peculiar kind of grass, which is from six to twelve inches high, of a reddish colour, and grows very thick, the roots of which form a very compact turf or sward, and which requires a sharp instrument and considerable force to cut it. They are overflowed by the salt water a few inches deep several times in a year by the spring tides, and this appears to be necessary to the retention of their peculiar character; for if the water is kept from them

by dykes, the upland grasses take root, the turf moulders away or loses its tenacity, and in a few years their appearance is completely changed. As the surface of these meadows lies a little above common high-water mark, there is generally a slope of about six feet in two or three rods, to low-water mark; and this slope is covered with a coarse tall grass called sedge, which requires a partial inundation every tide, or twice in twenty-four hours, to bring it to maturity. Adjoining the salt meadows, on the same level, and at the farthest extent to which the salt water flows at spring tides, fresh meadows commence by an almost imperceptible line of distinction, and they generally extend to the upland; but sometimes there is wet ground covered with bushes or a swamp between them and the upland. They are wet and soft, and few will bear a wagon. Similar meadows are sometimes found several miles from any salt meadows or salt water, and generally at the heads of rivers, where the face of the country is level. The general appearance of all these meadows is the same; being covered with wild grass of different kinds from twelve to thirty-six inches high, according to the quantity of water in the soil, and the more water there is, the coarser and taller the grass will be, until flags and

rushes take its place. The meadows are much lower than the upland, and were evidently formed by the agency of water, which has deposited an alluvial soil, composed of the finer particles from the higher grounds, and of decayed vegetable substances. If they are drained by a large ditch round them at the foot of the upland, and one through the lowest part of them, so that the water from it may soon run off, they become hard, will produce cultivated grass and even trees, and will in a few years lose all their former features, except their low situation and level aspect.

The soil of this section is to a great extent sandy; very light, therefore, and sometimes barren, more especially near the coast, where also is much marsh land, with extensive swamps. These swamps are in many places to an immense extent covered with an impenetrable growth of timber, especially of the cypress and some species of pine, the maturity of which is favoured by the deep clayey soil, augmented by a fresh deposit every year; Louisiana, towards the sea, exhibits a great breadth of this character through its whole reach. Along the rivers there is found a considerable quantity of rich clay; many fertile spots likewise are interspersed among the sands, and the land generally improves as it approaches the mountains. The central portion of the slope between the mountains and the sea possesses the best soil, the change of which is particularly discernible along the course of the rocky ridge which has already been described in our account of this region. In the alluvial district of Louisiana, the soil is for the most part deep and rich; it is also strong and vigorous on the Red River. Along the range of the Apalachian Mountains a thin and poor soil prevails, mingled, however, with many rich and productive valleys. In the northern portion of it are a large number of boulders, which give to the country a very stony and barren appearance, even where the soil is fertile.

When we cross the mountains, and come to the great plain descending from them to the Mississippi, we survey an immense extent of almost universally fertile country. The general surface of the Mississippi Valley may be classed under three distinct aspects,—the thickly timbered, the barrens, and the prairie country. In the first division, every traveller has remarked, as soon as he descends to this valley, a grandeur in the form and size of the trees, a depth of verdure in the foliage, a magnificent prodigality of growth of every sort, that distinguishes this country from other regions. The trees are large, tall, and rise aloft, like columns, free from branches. In the rich lands they are generally wreathed with a drapery

of ivy, bignonia, grape vines, or other creepers. Intermingled with the foliage of the trees are the broad leaves of the grape vines, with trunks occasionally as large as the human body. Sometimes the forests are as free from undergrowth as an orchard; at others, the only shrub that is seen among the trees is the pawpaw, with its splendid foliage and graceful stems; but often, especially in the richer alluvions of the south, beneath the trees there are impenetrable cane brakes, and a tangle of brambles, brier vines, and every sort of weed; which constitute the safe retreats of bears and panthers. This undergrowth universally indicates a rich soil.

The country denominated barrens has a very distinct and peculiar configuration. It is generally a country with a surface undulating with gentle hills, characterized by long and uniform ridges. The soil is for the most part of a clayey texture, of a reddish or grayish colour, and is covered with a tall and coarse grass. In addition to a peculiarity of aspect more easily felt than described, the trees are generally thinly scattered, seldom large or very small. They are chiefly of the different kinds of oaks, and the trees of the barrens have an appearance and configuration appropriate to the soil they inhabit. The land never exceeds second rate in quality, and is more generally third rate. It is favourable, in the proper latitudes, to the growth of wheat and orchards. The barrens are found in a level country, with here and there a gentle rise, only a few feet higher than the land around it. On these little elevations, for they are not hills, trees grow, and grass also; but grass and weeds are the only occupants of the soil where there is no rise of ground. The soil is alluvial to a greater or less depth in the barrens, though on some of the highest points there is little or none; the lower the ground the deeper the alluvion. On these elevations, where there is no alluvion, is stiff blue clay, without pebbles. Under the alluvial soil in the lower grounds are pebbles. On the little ridges, wherever the land is not too moist, the oak or the hickory (walnut) has taken possession, and there grows to a moderate height in clusters. It would seem, that whenever the land had become sufficiently dry for an acorn or a hickory nut to sprout, take root, and grow, it did so; and from one or more of these trees, in time, others have grown around them in such clusters as we now behold; where the land is lower, and the soil deeper, more moist and more fertile, the grass was too thick, and the soil too wet, for such kind of trees to grow as were found in the immediate vicinity. Imagine, then, natural meadows of various dimensions, and of every figure which the imagination can

conceive, with here and there a gentle rise of ground, decked with a few scattered trees or a thick cluster of them, and bearing a tall coarse grass, which is thin on the elevated parts, but on the lower grounds thick and luxuriant; imagine, also, a rill of a reddish colour, scarcely meandering through ground a little lower than the surrounding plain—and you will have a very correct idea of the appearance of these barrens. On the whole, the barrens have an aspect so peculiar and appropriate, that no person at all used to this country is in doubt for a moment when he enters on the region occupied by them. There are large districts of this kind in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama; it is common in Illinois and Missouri, and is seen with more or less frequency over all the valley of the Mississippi. In this region, and in the hazel or bushy prairies, are most frequently seen those singular cavities called sink-holes. They are generally in the shape of funnels, or inverted cones, from ten to seventy feet in depth, and on the surface from sixty to three hundred feet in circumference. There are generally willows and other aquatic vegetables at their sides and bottoms; there is little doubt that they are caused by running waters, which find their way through the limestone cavities beneath the upper stratum of soil.

The remaining, and by far the most extensive surface, is that of the prairies. Although they have no inconsiderable diversity of aspect, these may be classed under three general divisions; the healthy, or bushy; the alluvial, or wet; and the dry, or rolling prairies. The healthy prairies seem to be of an intermediate character between the alluvial prairies and the barrens. They have springs. They are covered with hazel and furze bushes, small sassafras shrubs, with frequent grape vines, and in the summer with an infinite profusion of flowers; the bushes are often overtopped with the common hop vine. Prairies of this description are very common in Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, and they occur among the other prairies for a considerable distance towards the Chipewyan Mountains. The dry or undulating prairies are for the most part destitute of springs, and of all vegetation, but weeds, flowering plants, and grass. To the sight they are so nearly level, and the roundings of their undulations so gentle, that the eye, taking in a great surface at a single view, deems them a dead level; but the ravines made by the water-courses through them, sufficiently indicate that their swells and declinations communicate a quick motion to the waters that fall on them. This is by far the most extensive class of prairies. These are the plains over which the buffaloes range; and it is these plains,

without wood or water, in which the traveller may wander for days, and see the horizon on every side sinking to contact with the grass. The alluvial or wet prairies form the last and smallest division. They generally occur on the margins of the great water-courses, although they are sometimes found, with all their distinctive features, far from the pools where waters now run. They are commonly basins, as regards the adjacent regions, and their outlines are marked by regular benches. They are for the most part of a black, deep, and very friable soil, and of exhaustless fertility. In the proper latitudes they are the best soils for wheat and maize, but are ordinarily too tender and loamy for the cultivated grasses, though they rear their own native grasses of astonishing height and luxuriance. An exact account of the size and rankness of the weeds, flowering plants, and grass, on the richer alluvial prairies of Illinois and Missouri, would seem to those who have not seen them an idle exaggeration. Still more than the rolling prairies, they impress the eye as a dead level; but they still have their slight inclinations and depressions, where their waters are arrested and carried off: yet, from their immense amount of vegetation, and from the equality of their surface wherever they are considerably extensive, they have small ponds, and bayous, which fill from the rivers and from rains, and are only exhausted during the intense heats of summer, by evaporation. These ponds, in the alluvial prairies that are connected with the rivers, when they overflow by bayous, are filled in the season of high waters with fish of the various kinds; as the waters subside, and their connecting courses with the river become dry, the fish are taken by cart-loads among the tall grass, where the water is three or four feet deep. When the waters evaporate, during the heats of summer, the fish die, and although thousands of buzzards prey upon them, they become a source of pollution to the atmosphere; hence these prairies, beautiful as they seem to the eye, and extraordinary as is their fertility, are very unfavourable positions, in point of salubrity. Flocks of deer are seen scouring across these rich plains, or feeding peaceably with the domestic cattle. In the spring and autumn innumerable flocks of water-fowls are seen wheeling their flight about the lakes and ponds of these prairies, and they find copious pasture in the oily seeds of the plants and grasses that have seeded during the summer. During the months of vegetation no adequate idea could be conveyed by description of the number, forms, varieties, scents, and hues of the flowering plants, or of the various flowers of the richer prairies. In the barrens are four or five varieties of la

dies' slippers, of different and the most splendid colours, but the violets, and the humbler and more modest kinds of garden flowers, are not capable of competing with the rank growth of grass and weeds that choke them; some of the taller and hardier kinds of the liliaceous plants struggle for display, and rear themselves high enough to be seen. Most of the prairie flowers have tall and arrowy stems, and spiked or tassellated heads, and the flowers have great size, gaudiness, and splendour, without much fragrance or delicacy. The most striking of these flowers we may notice further in another place; only remarking here, that during the summer the prairies present distinct successions of dominant hues as the season advances. The prevalent colour of the prairie flowers in spring is bluish purple; in midsummer, red, with a considerable proportion of yellow; in autumn the flowers are very large, many of them of the helianthus form, and the prairie receives from them such a splendid colouring of yellow, as almost to present to the imagination an immense surface of gilding.

The northern shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie, the western shore of Lake Huron, (the eastern shore of Lake Michigan is sandy and barren,) and the general surface of the valleys of the Ohio, the Illinois, and the Mississippi, afford a highly productive soil. The extended valley of the Tennessee, also, more to the southward, is one of the most fertile portions of the republic. The same character of fertility extends itself beyond the Mississippi, below the Missouri, until it is checked by the Ozark Mountains, the productive portion of which is confined to the valleys. On the banks of the Missouri, likewise, and for some distance up its tributary streams, rich soil is found. The same may be said of the Mississippi above its junction with the Missouri; but towards the sources of these rivers the ground is extremely barren. The southern coast of Lake Superior is either sandy or rocky, and generally sterile. To the west of the Ozark Mountains and of the Missouri the soil becomes less and less fertile, till at length we reach an immense tract of sand and barrenness, extending the whole way to the Chippewayan Mountains. This portion of the United States is rendered more desolate by the large quantity of salt and magnesia contained both in the soil and the rivers; it has been, not unjustly, called the Great Desert of North America, and bears no inconsiderable resemblance to the tract of the same denomination in Africa. It never can be permanently inhabited. Eastward of the Mississippi there is a copious natural growth of timber; but the region westward of that river is marked

by the gradual diminution and final disappearance of this important production, a circumstance by which the country is rendered unfit for settlers, independently of the quality of the soil. Lumber is almost totally absent from the banks of the Missouri above the River Platte, although the soil still continues rich.

With the Chippewayan mountains commences a change. The summits of these mountains, of course, are sterile, being rugged rocks, and covered with snow the greater part of the year; but among them are sheltered and fertile valleys. The timber in the mountains is pine, spruce, fir, and the other terebinthines. The terrace plains below generally have a fine soil, but are very deficient in timber. The prairies, like those in the Mississippi valley, are covered with grass, and a profusion of most beautiful flowers. Among the prairie plants are two or three kinds of edible roots, which furnish vegetable food to the savages, as an accompaniment to the great proportion of salmon which they devour. Wild sage is also an abundant herb; it grows of a size and height like a small tree, and on these extensive plains is one of the principal articles of fuel. The sea shore, for a considerable distance to the interior, is skirted with deep and thick forests of evergreens, such as pine and hemlock. On the whole, it is believed that few countries on the earth have a more fertile soil and agreeable climate than the valleys of the region west of the Rocky Mountains.

When a farmer clears the land of the United States, under the trees he finds a stratum of black vegetable mould, more or less thick in proportion to the original properties of the soil, the time that the trees have been dropping their manure upon it, and the declivity which obstructs or facilitates its washing away; for this mould is lighter than water, and runs off rapidly from the sides of the hills, and seldom or never lays long on the steep descents of mountains. While this bed of vegetable mould remains, the labour of the farmer is rewarded by rich and abundant crops, for when he sows and reaps from such a soil, four or five years before he exhausts it, he not only expends as many years' natural production, but he consumes many hundred or perhaps thousand years' accumulation of natural manure, which it would require a very long time for the common operations of production and decomposition to replace. While this vegetable mould is in sufficient quantities on the surface, the land is more or less fertile, independently of the nature of the earth on which it lies; it is when this coat of manure is gone, and the land worn out by constant cropping, that

the soil shows its fertility, as depending on the nature of the rock of the country, and the species of earth or loam resulting from their decomposition. It is at that time that the difference between a granite and limestone soil appears, and any one can see the effects, though few ever think of inquiring into the cause; yet it is evident that the washing and decomposition of a granite soil, can only afford sand mixed with a small proportion of clay, from the mode in which the rocks divide in their process of decomposition; and even this small quantity is liable to filter through the interstices left in the aggregates of gravel, by the form of their crystalline particles. The limestone, on the contrary, by its easy solution and facility of decomposition, furnishes to the exhausted soil, with every rain, a quantity of food, fitted by solution for vegetable absorption, as well as a great quantity of mould divided and triturated into impalpable powder, which forms an excellent pabulum, through which the vegetable can receive the other fluids necessary for its growth. Meantime this mould forms a retentive base or soil, which prevents the filtration of the smaller particles, and even retains the water in its pores, so as to give it out by regular evaporation to the surface, when necessary for the increase and support of the plants that may be sown on the land.

In such a variety of climate and exposure, in a country alternately covered in one point with the thickest forests, and in another spreading out into grassy plains, in one section having a very dry, and in another a very humid atmosphere, and having every shade of temperature, from that of the Arctic regions to that of the West Indies, there must necessarily be generated all the forms and varieties of disease that spring simply from climate. Emigrants will always find it unsafe to select their residence near stagnant waters and creeping bayous, on the rich and heavy timbered alluvions; yet these, from their fertility, and the ease with which they are brought into cultivation, are the points most frequently selected. The rich plains of the Scioto were the graves of the first settlers; but they have long since been brought into cultivation, and have lost their character for insalubrity. A thousand places in the west, which were selected as residences by the first emigrants on account of their fertility, and which were at first regarded as haunts of disease and mortality, have now a character for salubrity. On the lower courses of the Ohio, the Wabash, the Tennessee, the Mississippi and its southern tributaries,—in short, wherever the bottoms are wide, the forests deep, the surface level and sloping back

from the river, and the vegetation rank; wherever the rivers overflow, and leave stagnant waters that are only carried off by evaporation; wherever there are in the bottoms ponds and lagoons, to catch and retain the rains and the overflow, it may be assumed as a general maxim, that such positions will be unhealthy, and more or less so as more or fewer of these circumstances concur. Wherever these causes of disease exist, there is no part of the country which has not a summer of sufficient heat and duration to quicken them into fatal action. The very rich and extensive alluvial prairies of the upper Mississippi and of the Illinois, which are covered with a prodigious growth of grass and weeds, generally contain marshy basins, small lakes, and ponds, where the water from the bluffs and the high lands is caught and retained. They will ordinarily prove unhealthy, some think more so than the timbered country, until these reservoirs of stagnant waters are all drained, and the surplus vegetation is burned off, or otherwise removed by the progress of cultivation. These places strike the eye with delight. Their openness and exposure to be swept by the winds seem to preclude them from the chance of sickness; their extraordinary fertility, and their being at once ready for the plough, held out allurements to emigrants; but there seems to be in the great plan of providence a scale in which the advantages and disadvantages of human condition are balanced. Where the lands are extremely fertile it seems to be appended to them, as a drawback to that advantage, that they are generally sickly. Emigrants have scarcely ever paused long enough, or taken sufficient elements into the calculation, in selecting their residence, with a view to its salubrity. When the choice is to be made, they are often encumbered with families, generally feel stinted both for time and money, and are in a hurry to commence operations for the supply of their wants; they are thus apt to give too little weight to the most important motive of all which ought to determine their election. A deep bottom, a fertile soil, a position on the margin of a navigable stream; these are apt to be the determining elements of their choice. The heavy forest is levelled; a thousand trees moulder and putrify about the cabin; the stagnant waters which, while shielded from the action of the sun by the forest, had remained comparatively innocuous, exposed now to the burning rays of the sun, and rendered more deleterious by being filled with trunks and branches of decaying trees and all kinds of putrid vegetation, become laboratories of miasma, and generate on every side the seeds of disease

When it is known that such have been precisely the circumstances, in which a great portion of the emigrants to the western country have fixed themselves, in open cabins that drink in the humid atmosphere of the night through a hundred crevices, in a new and untried climate, under a higher temperature, under the operation of a new diet and regimen, and, perhaps, under the depressing influence of severe labour and exposure, need we wonder that the country has acquired a general character of unhealthiness? With every allowance, however, there can be no doubt, that in the southern and middle regions of this valley, the wide, level, and heavy timbered alluvions are intrinsically more or less unhealthy; neither can it be disguised, that in these situations the new resident is subject to bilious complaints, to remitting fevers, and, more than all, to intermitting fever, or fever and ague. This complaint is the general scourge of the valley.

It is an undoubted fact, explained in different ways and by different theories by the people, that even in the most unfavourable positions, on the lower waters of the Ohio, or even the bayous of the Arkansas or Red River, the emigrant is not so much exposed to disease while his cabin is still under the shade of the unbroken forest. The most dangerous period is, after the trees have been levelled a year or two, and while they are still decaying about the dwelling. This well-known fact would seem to give plausibility to the doctrine, that these deep and grand forests feed their foliage with an atmosphere that is adverse to the life of man; and that when the timber is cleared away, the miasma, the noxious air, that used to be absorbed and devoured by the redundant vegetation and foliage of the forest, and incorporated with its growth, thus detached and disengaged, and inhaled by the new residents, becomes a source of disease. Another fact, in relation to the choice of a residence, with a view to its salubrity, has been abundantly and unanswerably proved by experience. It is, that bluffs on the margins of wide bottoms and alluvial prairies are more unhealthy than situations in the bottom, or prairie, which they overlook. This fact has been amply demonstrated on the Ohio bottoms and bluffs, on the margins of the alluvial prairies of the upper Mississippi, and, in short, wherever a high bluff overlooks a wide bottom. The inhabitants on the airy and beautiful bluffs that bound the noble prairies of the upper Mississippi, in an atmosphere apparently so pure as to preclude all causes of disease, are far more subject to fever and ague than the people that live below them on the level of the prairies; the same has been re-

marked of the Chickasaw bluffs, Fort Pickering, or Memphis, Fort Adams, Natchez, Baton Rouge, and the bluffs generally along the great water-courses. Yet, though such is the uniform lesson of experience, so deceptive is the salubrious aspect of these airy hills, which swell above the dun and murky air that seems to lie like a mist over the wide bottoms below them, that most people, in choosing their residence, will be guided by their senses in opposition to experience. We know not whether the theory by which this fact is explained is a sound one or not. It is said that the miasma or noxious air from putrid vegetation and stagnant water in the swamps and bottoms, is specifically lighter than atmospheric air; that, of course, it rises from the plains, and hovers over the summits of the bluffs, here finding its level of specific gravity; and that, were it coloured, it would be seen overlaying the purer strata of air beneath it.—The slopes of the Alleghanies, the interior of Ohio and Kentucky, of Tennessee and Indiana, where the forest is cleared away, and the land has been for a sufficient time under cultivation, and where it is sufficiently remote from stagnant waters—the high prairies of Illinois and Missouri, the dry pine woods of the lower and southern country, parts of the plains of Opelousas and Attakapas, considerable portions of Alabama and Mississippi, and generally the open country towards the Chippewayan Mountains, may be considered as healthy as any other country. It is a very trite, but a true and important remark, that in proportion as the country becomes opened, cultivated, and peopled, in proportion as the redundancy and rankness of natural vegetation is replaced by that of cultivation, the country becomes more healthy.*

This section of the work of Mr. Hinton deserves to be enriched with further observations on the climate and diseases of the United States. Several American writers have favoured the public with their observations on this subject. Among the earliest of those who have largely contributed to the store of information on this important matter, might be cited Dr. Lionel Chalmers, whose work appeared in 1776. In the *Journal of Andrew Ellicot*, the reader will find much information on the same head. Dr. Rush's *Medical Inquiries and Observations*, also contain a large amount of valuable facts, touching the diseases of the American states, for a very considerable period. The remarks of Volney, on the same subject, though evincing much of the philosophical spirit of that eminent author, are wanting in accuracy, and seem

* Flint's Western States.

to have been dictated by preconceived theory. A document of very considerable value, by the late Lieutenant Governor Colden, printed in Hosack and Francis' American Medical and Philosophical Register, vol. i. deserves also a careful perusal, both for the interesting character of the facts which it contains, and the distinguished reputation of the writer. This article furnishes an account of the climate and diseases of the city of New York, as they prevailed there nearly a century ago: and as very few observations, relative to this country, of a similar kind, and written at so early a period, are known to exist, they are inserted here. It will be noticed, that Dr. Colden affirms, that the air of the country being always clear, and its spring strong, we have few consumptions or disorders of the lungs. If so, how shall we account for the extraordinary mortality occasioned by this disease at the present day? If our climate, as the editors of the Register remark, was at that early period so conducive to health, and particularly well calculated for the relief of pulmonic affections; and if, as many suppose, the changes which have been effected in it be for the better, we must attribute it principally to the increase of luxury, dissipation, and the great imprudence in dress; and not to what many have asserted, the very nature and vicissitudes of our seasons. But not to dwell upon a vexed question, we here insert the excellent paper of Dr. Colden:

"The city of New York (says Dr. Colden) lies nearly in 40 deg. and 40 min. of north latitude, and about five hours west from London. The climate partakes of the extreme climates; sometimes the summer is as hot as in the torrid zone, and the winter often is not less cold than in the northern parts of Europe. The heat and cold depend very much upon the winds, and, for that reason, in the same season of the year, are very various. In the summer, when the wind blows from the north-west, (which frequently happens,) the air is agreeably cool, but in the winter it is piercing cold. A southerly and south-westerly wind, if it continue any time, in summer, becomes very hot, and if we want winds, which sometimes happens in July and August, the air becomes sultry. Southerly winds in winter make the cold very moderate. We have much less rain or snow than in England, and the heaven is seldom overcast with clouds. The north-west wind being so extremely cold, even so far south as North-Carolina, I believe is owing to the high ridge of mountains which lies to the westward of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and this province, though it be generally attributed to the great lakes which lie to the north-westward of this province:

for it is observed in all other countries, that the winds which come from any great quantity of water, are not so cold as those that come from mountains, and are always accompanied with rain or moisture, whereas the north-west winds here are very dry; besides, the winds from the lakes must be stopped in their course by these high mountains which lie betwixt us and the lakes. This is confirmed by what I am told by those who have continued some time in the Sennekas country near Iagara, on the west side of these mountains, that the north-west winds there are always accompanied with rain as the easterly winds are here.

"Though there be so great a variety of weather in this country, the height of the mercury in the barometer does not suffer so great changes as in England. I have had a barometer by me about six years, and never observed the mercury lower than 29 inches and 7 or 8 tenths of an inch, and it is generally betwixt 30 and 30 and an half inches high, though I have sometimes observed it 31 inches high, which is as high as it is ever observed in England or I think any where else; but it is so high only in the time of very hard frost.

"The spring is much later than in England: we perceive but very little of it before the latter end of April: March is generally cold and windy, though for the most part the latter end of February be mild and warm. The winds in March are generally northerly, and they as well as the cold are owing to the melting of the snow to the northward of us; for these winds are always preceded by some warm weather either in the latter end of February or beginning of March. The lateness of the spring is owing to the whole country being covered with wood, so that the sun cannot easily dissolve the snow which lies under the trees, or warms the earth. The lateness of the spring makes it short, the hot weather succeeding the cold very quickly. In the spring the people are subject to pleurisies and inflammatory fevers, as in all other countries, upon the breaking up of hard winters; but not so much as in Pennsylvania and in the countries to the southward. The country people, and such as are most exposed to the cold, are most liable to these distempers. Perhaps the reason of the southern countries being more subject to pleurisies is, that in those countries the poorer sort are not so well clothed and have not such warm houses as in this.

"The summer begins in the end of May, and continues hot to the beginning of September. July and August are the most sultry months, and very often rainy. The air in these two months is always

full of moisture, so much that the doors and windows are observed then to be more swelled than at any other time of the year, and iron rusts so much that it is difficult to keep any instrument clean which is made of that metal, though the weather be extremely hot at the same time. A far greater quantity of dew likewise falls in these months than at any other time, and begins to fall a considerable while before sun-set. The mornings are frequently foggy, especially near the river and marshes, after sun-rising. This proceeds from the quantity of vapour which falls in the night, and is easily raised, but it is generally dissipated before ten in the morning. The heat in these months is a great deal more uneasy than in June, though a greater quantity of the sun's rays falls upon the earth in that month than in these. This is owing to the quantity of vapour in the air, which retains the heat and becomes in a manner scalding. For it is always observed, that the heat is a great deal more uneasy before rain (though the sun does not shine clear) than it is after a shower, when it shines with its greatest brightness; and a burning-glass before rain does not burn so vehemently as it does after rain. If the air continues sultry after rain, we expect more rain speedily, or a great quantity of dew that night. The air is frequently fanned in the hot months with sudden gusts of north-west winds. They commonly arise in the afternoon, and blow violently for half an hour or a little more, with heavy showers of rain and thunder-claps, and leave the air agreeably cool and serene. When the country was first settled, these gusts were very frequent, hardly a day in the hot seasons passing without them: but now, since the country begins to be cleared, the summer is not so sultry, and these gusts are not near so frequent. They are likewise much more frequent in the provinces to the southward of us than in this.

"The thermometer (mine is of Mr. Patrick's make) in the summer, within doors, where the sun cannot reach, is generally about 20, though at sometimes it is above 15, and at other times below 30. In June, I tried the difference betwixt what it was in the house and the open air, where it was exposed to the sun's rays betwixt 2 and 3 in the afternoon, which is generally the hottest time of the day, and found the spirit rise 36 degrees, or parts, marked on the thermometer, above what it was in the house. The thermometer in the house stood at 26, and exposed to the sun rose 5 degrees above the place marked 0.

"The months of July, August, and beginning of September, are the most sickly months in the year; more people being sick and more children dying than in all the rest of the year. The epidemical diseases

are intermitting fever, cholera morbus, and fluxes. The intermitting fevers are not near so frequent in this province as in those more to the southward, but I think fluxes are more frequent in this town than in Philadelphia. Two reasons may be assigned for this: first, the poor people at this time eat abundance of water-melons and other such kinds of fruit more than they do in Philadelphia: the other is, that the water in the town is not near so good as there, being brackish and so hard (as it is commonly termed) that it will not dissolve soap.

"The fall in this country (and all over the main of America) is most agreeable from the beginning of September to the middle of November; the weather being mild and dry, the sky always serene, and the people healthy.

"We reckon the winter from the middle of November to March, though the violent frosts do not usually begin till about Christmas, and then to the middle of February it is extremely cold; the great river, during that time, being frozen so hard, that horses and sleds pass daily upon it. However it does not every year freeze within several miles of the city, but in that time there is often so much ice floating that it is not safe for vessels to go to sea or to come in. The winter is above six weeks longer at Albany than at New-York, that place being 160 miles further up Hudson's river. It is likewise longer at Philadelphia than here, though that town be above a degree and a half more to the southward. This is owing to that place being situated upon a fresh-water river, which more easily freezes, and to its distance from the sea.

"The thermometer in the month of January is generally about 80. I observed it twice at 100, and once at 103; then the frost and cold were excessive: all liquors, except spirits, froze. I found Madeira wine (which is a very strong wine) frozen in the morning in a room where there had been a good fire all day till eleven at night. Hudson's river was then frozen over at the town, where it is about two miles broad, and the water very salt, so that people passed over upon the ice in crowds; but the ice did not continue fast at this place above three days. In the beginning of winter people are in danger of rheumatic pains, and in February of bastard pleurisies.

"The air of the country being almost always clear, and its spring strong, we have few consumptions, or diseases of the lungs. I never heard of a broken-winded horse in this country. People inclined to be consumptive in England, are often perfectly cured by our fine air, but if there be ulcers formed they die in a little time.

"The climate grows every day better as the country is cleared of the woods, and more healthy, as all the people that have lived long here testify. This has even been sensible to me, though I have been but about twelve years in the country; I therefore doubt not but it will in time become one of the most agreeable and healthy climates on the face of the earth. As it is at present, I prefer it to the climate of England, and I believe most people that have lived any considerable time here, and are returned to England, will confirm this."

We would further refer the reader, solicitous of information on this interesting topic, to several papers printed in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, to the New York Medical Repository, the medical works of Dr. Edward Miller, Currie on the Diseases of the United States, and to Hosack's Essays, chiefly on Medical and Philosophical subjects. This last named writer has furnished us with an important series of clinical observations on the diseases of New York for a series of years, and by his long and ample experience satisfactorily demonstrated the specific character of many of the epidemics with which the United States, at different periods, have been visited, and proved, to the conviction of the unprejudiced, that the American climate is not the *latitude of pestilence*. In another portion of this work we have embodied the observations of an American writer on the causes and consequences of the cholera. Whether the United States will again be visited by this dreadful scourge remains yet to be seen. The affirmative inference might be drawn from the notices which have been taken of it by several medical observers. See the Cholera Gazette, published by Carey & Lee, Philadelphia; Dr. Paine's Letters on the Cholera of New York; and Professor J. W. Francis' Letter on the Cholera Asphyxia. From this last named author we make the following extract:

"I purpose saying a few words, says Dr. Francis, on the peculiar character of this pestilence. It is conceded by all, that the origin of epidemic diseases is still enveloped in great obscurity; and the theories on this subject, whether referring to a distempered state of the atmosphere, to exhalations from putrid animal or vegetable matter, or to specific contagion, have been alike conjectural and unsatisfactory. The cholera, like all preceding epidemics, has exercised, but without any very useful results, the ingenuity of the speculative and philosophical observer. Whether the materies morbi of cholera claims a siderial or a telluric origin, the atmosphere is the medium through which it operates. It prevails in all climates and at

all seasons; it exists in every variety of soils; on mountains and in valleys, in marshes and on rocks, in dryness and in humidity. Unlike influenza and some other specific diseases, its ravages are independent of winds and currents; neither the analysis of the gases of the atmosphere, nor barometrical or thermometrical investigations, solve the difficulty of its birth, and we are baffled in reviewing its progress to ascertain the peculiar influence of localities in producing it. The inhabitants of the dense city and the barren plain are subjected to its devastating power. Such, it must be admitted, is the fact, as relates to cholera asphyxia: yet so many anomalies appear in the career of this disease, that future observation and research are demanded, the better to discover its concealed cause, and the principles of its inter-communication. We must admit a distempered atmosphere, from whatever modifying agencies, and where men most do congregate, and local impurities most abound, there we infer an atmospheric condition from which cholera derives aid, to give strength to its venom, and wings to its extension. Deviations or extraordinary vicissitudes in the state of the seasons, and unfavourable localities, are perhaps conspicuously to be classed among the pestilential and co-operative causes. It follows in the track of human intercourse. Predisposition to the disease is acquired, and the exciting causes which call it forth embrace the innumerable circumstances connected with the economy of man in every state and condition: errors in diet and regimen; poverty, and its concomitants; wealth, with its indulgences; ill ventilated situations or apartments; the influence of fear, and whatever undermines the physical energies. The cholera courts the inebriate and the imprudent; the sober and the temperate are not exempt from its grasp; it attacks infantile existence, manhood, and old age; the voluptuary and the ascetic; both sexes, and all colours; the unacclimated stranger, and the native citizen. To record its numerous occasional and exciting causes would require pages. Our prophylactics, therefore, must be summarily stated: the earliest attention is to be given to the premonitory diarrhoea; and among the essential requisites are pure air, personal cleanliness, food for the hungry, raiment for the naked, the avoidance of extremes of temperature, rigid dietetics, great moderation in the use of ardent drinks, or rather their total prohibition; the mind sustained by conscientious resolution, and a fixed confidence in a protecting Providence.

"That localities influence the character and extent of the pestilence, and aggravate its type in particular places in New York, we have multiplied proofs; but

there is something in the march of this disease which eludes our powers of detection. As if to add to its mysterious career, it has recently made its appearance in the village of Harlem, situate about seven miles from this city, where its malignancy and fatality have, within the period of a few days, far surpassed the worst results we have encountered among the most wretched and depraved of our population. I am credibly informed, that of sixty cases there was not a recovery. Three of the doctors, all I believe the place could boast of, fell beneath its stroke. Our latest account of its progress shows that it has propagated itself through our beautiful western country, from Albany on the Hudson to Buffalo on Lake Erie. Its extensive ravages give but a too well-grounded apprehension that it is destined to pervade our land.

"I have expressed the opinion, that the physiognomy of cholera asphyxia renders it, when once practically known, indelible on the memory; and I would, with all due deference, guard you against adopting the belief that the epidemic disease now prevailing, is only a modification of the usual cholera morbus of the United States. In whatever attire it approaches, you will find it a stranger. Equally earnest would I be to caution you in too hastily supposing that the malignant cholera is the same, or a disease similar to the spotted fever, or malignant pleurisy, or sinking typhus, as certain disorders have been termed. Nosology cannot classify a more distinctive disease than the prevailing cholera; and the confounding the spotted fever, the malignant pleurisy, and the sinking typhus of some of our northern and eastern states, with this strikingly characteristic disease, is discarding the leading principles which govern in the classification of morbid phenomena. You may deem these remarks superfluous; but, inasmuch as some have pronounced an identity in these diseases, and extolled, as the best method for the treatment of cholera, the almost unmeasured internal use of the diffusible stimuli, such as brandy, ether, and the like, and the excessive employment of opium, and other narcotics, I have no hesitation to add, that a like fatality would follow such practice in cholera as was witnessed from this empirical method many years ago, when spotted fever prevailed extensively among us. See the report of the Massachusetts Medical Society on the treatment of the spotted fever by this unwarrantable practice.

"Medical records abound in the declaration, that upon the invasion of pestilential diseases, the first cases are generally of most malignancy and fatality; and facts of this sort are sometimes explained on the

principle that those unfortunate individuals were most susceptible of the action of the noxious cause. In the progress thus far of the epidemic cholera among us, we still meet with examples marked by as formidable symptoms, and of as rapid termination, as at the commencement of the disease; and hence it is to be regretted, that some of our authorities have promulgated the opinion that the complaint is already of a mitigated type. Whatever our hopes, we have as yet no such grounds of congratulation. Look, too, at the history of the Montreal pestilence.

"There is another error, fraught with much hazard, which has lately received the sanction of authority. The medical council of our board of health have invited our absent citizens to an early return, and assert that those who have fairly passed through one attack of the disease, in the form of diarrhœa or of malignant cholera, may expect exemption from another. Be assured, this declaration is wholly untenable. There is no such immunity from a second attack of cholera, and our proofs establish a contrary doctrine. Cases are within the experience of several of our practitioners, of persons who had fairly gone through a first attack, and have fallen victims to a second. Very lately an individual had a protracted recovery from a third attack.

"On no former occasion has New York, frequently visited by the direful ravages of the yellow fever, exhibited a more melancholy spectacle. Of a resident population of two hundred and twenty thousand, and of transitory inhabitants more than twenty-five thousand at the time of the first occurrence of this pestilence, at least one third are now dispersed in every direction. It is impossible to give you at present any just view of the number of cases and deaths; the former are but too imperfectly reported to our board, and hence the number of interments seems extraordinary when compared with the reported cholera cases. About the middle of July the disease was most rife, and on one day of that month we had three hundred and eleven cases in public and private practice—interments one hundred and fifty-six. When we advert to the situation of the larger portion of those dependent on their daily labour for their daily food, it requires no effort of the imagination to picture the consequent distress. To the medical faculty, let me observe by the way, the inhabitants of this city are most deeply indebted at this moment. A small part, indeed, have fled, recreant to their honour and their duty; but the great body of them have, thus far, evinced to my own personal knowledge, a degree of courage and industry, which no hazard or difficulty has overcome. To no class of our citizens are pesti-

lential diseases more injurious in their prudential consequences: exposure to disease and death, with no other remuneration than the consciousness of duty, is the necessary attendant on every epidemic pestilence. When this formidable disease shall have disappeared from among us, and its history be recorded by the faithful historian, the skill and humane exertions of the medical profession, the munificence of the affluent, and the disinterested benevolence of all classes, will not be forgotten."

BOOK II.

NATURAL HISTORY.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

THE discovery of the continent of America was, emphatically, the discovery of a new world. Although possessing, of course, many things in common with the other parts of this globe, and exhibiting proofs not only of a community, but of an identity of origin, and similarity of general character, it presented striking and interesting novelties in every department of nature's works. Many of its productions in the animal and vegetable worlds are not only peculiar, but both beautiful and useful in no ordinary degree, and have done much to enlarge the menagerie, to adorn the shrubbery, and to augment the resources of trade; while, though in some instances latest in attracting regard, the bosom of the earth contains not only ample treasures of metallic wealth, but splendid, if not unique specimens for the cabinet of the mineralogist, and new facts of no little curiosity for the geological inquirer. This extended and engaging field of scientific research has attracted, in part, the observation of which it is worthy; but up to the present period the examination of it is far from being complete in any direction. That portion of this immense continent to which our attention is directed, namely, the territory of the United States, possesses in its full proportion the interest which attaches to the whole; and we shall endeavour to collect, from all the authentic sources to which we have access, the matters of principal importance, so that our pages shall contain a summary view of the existing state of natural science as it respects this portion of the globe. We shall treat of the mineral, the vegetable, and the animal kingdoms, under the titles Geology, Mineralogy, Botany, and Zoology.

CHAPTER I.

GEOLOGY.

CONSIDERING the comparatively recent date of geology as a European science, it is not surprising

that earlier attention was not paid to in America. The first considerable attempt towards a scientific view of the character and relations of the strata in the United States was made by Mr. Maclure, a short time previous to the year 1812. His work, though small, and necessarily general in its statements, was a very valuable commencement, and has served both as a guide for subsequent inquirers, and a kind of *carte blanche*, on which their corrections or their discoveries may be inscribed. The field of geological research having been so well opened, the number of these subsequent labourers has been by no means small, and their investigations have been conducted with much skill and success. It has been our endeavour, in the necessarily condensed account we have prepared of the geology of the United States, to avail ourselves of the most recent information, and to illustrate this interesting subject by a map as accurate and complete as the fragments of knowledge in this department would enable us to compile. We have added such other drawings as appeared most material.

In order to obtain a view of the general geological formation of the territory of the United States, it will be advantageous to recall the features of its physical geography—the Appalachian Mountains on the east, with the slope from them to the Atlantic Ocean; the Chippewayan mountains to the west, with the valleys intervening between them and the Pacific Ocean;* and the extended valley between these elevated ranges, with the Ozark Mountains dividing it in the centre, and the Black Mountains occupying its north-western angle. The geological structure of the country is intimately connected with these natural features.

To begin with the Chippewayan, as by far the most elevated range.† The summits of this chain of mountains are formed entirely of primitive rocks, and almost exclusively, not merely of the granitic

* Observations on the Geology of the United States, by W. Maclure.

† See James's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, vol. iii.

family, but of granite itself. The primitive clay-slate and limestone appear to be entirely wanting, together with mica-slate, while gneiss occurs in small quantity, and the granite passes into it by imperceptible gradations. As many members of the primitive class are here absent, the transition rocks of the Wernerians are altogether so. Immediately upon the granite rests a red and saline sandstone; and this through the whole length of the mountain chain, so far as it has been examined, without the intervention in any case of any other rock. We discover here, therefore, comparatively few traces of that magnificent profusion of animal and vegetable life, which in other parts of the globe has reared mountains of limestone, clay-slate, and those other aggregates, which if not entirely, are often in a great measure made up of the exuviae of living beings.

The western boundary of this formation of sandstone corresponds to the side of the easternmost granitic ranges. From the Platte towards the south, the sandstone increases in width, and on the Canadian it extends more than half the distance from the sources of that river to its confluence with the Arkansas. It consists of two members. 1. *Red sandstone*.—This rock, which is the lowest of the horizontal or *flötz* rocks met with in this part of the country, is very abundant in all the region immediately subjacent to the mountains. It occurs at intervals along their base, reposing against the primitive rocks in an erect or highly-inclined position. It varies in colour from bright brick-red to dark brown, and is sometimes found exhibiting various shades of yellow and gray; it is, however, almost invariably ferruginous; and the predominance of red in the colouring certainly entitles it to the distinctive appellation of red sandstone. The lowest part of the stratum has frequently least colour, and is also the most compact and hard. This is not, however, invariably the case; for in the neighbourhood of the Platte, that part of it which lies immediately upon the granite is white, and contains beds of coarse conglomerate or puddingstone. At the lowest points which could be examined, are found embodied large oval or irregular masses of hornstone, usually of a yellowish white or bluish colour; and near the surface of these masses, are found the few well-marked organic relics the stratum can be said to contain. Higher up the rock becomes much softer, and usually of a browner colour. It is disposed in immense horizontal laminæ or strata, which, when broken transversely, exhibit some tendency to separate into fragments of a rhombic form. The character which most particularly distinguishes this rock from the old red sandstone of

Werner, pointed out by Maclure in New York and New Jersey, appears to be the constant accompaniment of gypsum and muriate of soda. 2. *Argillaceous or gray sandstone*.—Immediately above the red sandstone where any rock rests upon it, a gray or yellowish-white sandstone, is found, which is the second variety. It most frequently contains a large proportion of argillaceous earth in the cement, and has a more or less slaty structure. The line of separation betwixt the two is often manifest and well defined, and in other instances they pass by imperceptible gradations into each other. The upper or gray sandstone is usually more compact and homogeneous than the red; it breaks, like the former, though more rarely, into large cubic or rhombic masses, which, on account of the more compact texture of the stone, retain their form longer than those of the other variety. The precipices formed by both are often lofty and perpendicular; but the projections and angles of the red are more worn and rounded than those of the gray. The narrow defiles and ravines which the streams of water have excavated, are less tortuous when they are made entirely in the gray sandstone than in other instances; and the springs of water flowing from it are more free of mineral impregnations than such as are found in the other variety.

The sandstone formation just described, though it must be supposed to have been at one time horizontal and uniform, is now found in a state of entire disruption and disorder. This may be best described, perhaps, by supposing oneself to be approaching the mountains from the valley of the Mississippi. The surface of the sandy plain rises perceptibly towards the base of the mountains; and becoming constantly more and more undulating, is at length broken, disclosing some cliffs and ledges of micaceous sandstone. This sandstone occurs in horizontal strata, sometimes divided by the beds of the streams, and forming low ridges parallel to the mountains. They are separated from the first range of primitive by more elevated cliffs of a similar sandstone, having its strata in a highly inclined position. Behind these, occur lofty but uninterrupted ranges of naked rocks, destitute of any covering of earthy or vegetable matter, and standing nearly perpendicular. At a distant view, they present to the eye the forms of walls, towers, pyramids, and columns, seeming rather the effect of the most laborious efforts of art, than the productions of nature. When surveyed from the more elevated summits of the first granitic range, these immense strata of sandstone standing on edge, and sometimes inclining at various angles towards

the primitive, resemble the plates of ice often seen thrown into a vertical position in the eddies and along the banks of rivers. The position of the strata of sandstone varies in the distance of a few miles from nearly horizontal to an inclination of more than sixty degrees, and that without any very manifest change of character, or the interposition of any other stratum. The laminæ most distant from the primitive, occupying the eastern sides of the first ridges, though lowest in actual elevation, may with propriety be considered the uppermost, as resting on those beyond. At the level of the surface of the great plain, they sink beneath the soil, and in the neighbourhood of the river Platte they are no more seen. This tract of sandstone, which skirts the eastern boundary of the Chippewyan Mountains, and appears to belong to that immense secondary formation which occupies the valley of the Mississippi, abounds in scenery of a grand and interesting character. The angle of inclination of the strata often approaches 90°, and is very rarely less than 45°. That side of the ridges next the primitive appears to have been broken off from a part of the stratum beyond, and is usually an abrupt and perpendicular precipice, sometimes even overhanging and sheltering a considerable extent of surface; the face of the stratum is usually smooth and hard, and both sides are alike destitute of soil and verdure. Elevations of this description are met with, varying from twenty to several thousand feet in thickness. Neither are they by any means uniform in height; some of them rise, probably, three or four hundred feet; and considering their singular character, would appear high, were they not subjected to an immediate and disadvantageous comparison with the stupendous Andes at whose feet they are placed. Their summits in some instances are regular and horizontal, and are crowned with a scanty growth of cedar and pine. Where the cement and most of the materials of the sandstone are silicious, the rock evinces a tendency to break into fragments of a rhombic form; and in this case the elevated edge presents an irregularly notched or serrated surface. Sandstones consisting of siliceous with the least intermixture of foreign ingredients, are the most durable; but in the region of which we speak, the variations in the composition, cement, and characters of the sandstone, are innumerable; clay and oxide of iron enter into its composition in considerable proportions, and render it unfit to withstand the attacks of the various agents whose effect is to hasten dissolution and decay. Highly elevated rocks of this description may well be supposed in a state of rapid and perceptible change. The sharp angles and asperities of surface which

they may have originally presented, are soon worn away; the matter constantly removed by the agency of water from their sides and summits is deposited at their feet; their elevation gradually diminishes, and even the inclination of their strata becomes at length obscure or wholly undiscoverable. This appears to have been a part of the process by which numerous conical hills and mounds have been interspersed among the highly inclined naked rocks above mentioned; they are often clothed with considerable verdure to their summits, and add greatly to the beauty of the surrounding scenery. The contrast of colours in this rude but majestic region often produces the most brilliant and grateful effects. The deep green of the small and almost procumbent cedars and junipers, with the less intense colours of various species of deciduous foliage, acquires new beauty from being placed as a margin to the glowing red and yellow seen on the surfaces of many of the rocks. The sandstone along the base of the mountains, though apparently not very recent, contains the remains of marine animals and plants, and embraces some extensive beds of puddingstone.

Overlying the red sandstone, southward of the Arkansas, are rocks of basaltic origin. They present a striking contrast, by their dark colour, by the vastness and irregularity of their masses, to the smooth, light, and fissile sandstone on which they rest. Sometimes they are compact and apparently homogeneous in their composition, and in many particulars of structure, form, hardness, &c. more analogous to the primitive rocks than to those recent secondary aggregates with which they are associated. In other instances, black and shapeless masses of porous and amygdaloidal substances are seen scattered about the plains or heaped in conical masses, but having no immediate connexion with the strata on which they rest. Most of the rocks belonging to this class were observed in the neighbourhood of the sources of the Canadian; and may be distinguished into two kinds, referable to the two divisions called greenstone and amygdaloid.

1. *Greenstone.* It appears in this district under almost every variety of form and character noticed by mineralogists. Sometimes it is nearly or quite free from any intermixture of hornblende, is of a fine dark green colour, and closely resembles some varieties of serpentine; sometimes its colour is a dull gray, graduating into brown and black of various shades and intensities. It forms numerous conical hills, of considerable elevation, scattered without order, or grouped in various directions. These hills are usually of a regular and beautiful form. The great plain on

which they repose is elevated, and destitute of timber or water, but ornamented with a carpet of thick and verdant grasses; and the hills, though steep and high, are sometimes smooth and green to the summit, the surface on all sides being unbroken by trees or rocks, and covered with thick turf. The whole forms a scene of singular beauty. "During our journey across the district now under consideration," says Dr. James, "we had constantly occasion to admire the freshness and abundance of the grasses and other herbaceous plants. The plains of the Platte and Arkansas we had seen brown and desolate, as if recently ravaged by fire; but here we passed elevated tracts, where for many miles, we could find no water for our own necessities, yet the vegetation possessed the freshness of spring in the most fertile regions." But the conic hills just mentioned are not the only form under which the greenstone appears. It sometimes rises in low irregular ridges, extending a considerable distance, and sloping on both sides into the level of the plain. In the narrow channels which the streams of water have sunk in it, may be seen perpendicular precipices of great elevation, but the valley between them is usually almost filled with large broken masses of the rock, which frequently exhibit a prismatic form. It falls readily into large masses, but seems strongly to resist that progress of disintegration which it must undergo before it can be removed by the water. The face of the perpendicular precipices is almost invariably marked by distinct and large seams running nearly parallel to each other, and at right angles with the horizon. Following the water-courses, which are sunk a considerable distance below the surface, the line of separation from the sandstone on which the greenstone rests at length becomes visible.

2. *Amygdaloid*, a porous or vesicular rock, of a very dark gray, greenish, or black colour, usually found near the greenstone, but sometimes in connexion with the sandstone. In its ultimate composition it resembles greenstone, but there were never seen in it such large fragments of feldspar and scales of mica as were observed in that rock. The amygdaloidal cavities which every where penetrate this rock are of various sizes, some of them appearing like bubbles which have been formed in a semifluid mass, and afterwards lengthened and variously distorted by the motion of the contiguous matter. Near the surface they contain a soft white or yellowish-white substance, very different from the rock itself, usually a soft chalk-like carbonate of lime. This gives the recent surface a mottled appearance; but on surfaces which have been for some time exposed to the air, this soft

substance has been removed, and the pores and vesicles are found empty. Amygdaloid does not appear to occupy any very great extent of the country near the mountains. It was not met with imbedded in, or surmounted by, any other rock. Like the greenstone, it forms conical hills, which sometimes occur in deep water-worn valleys, bounded on both sides by perpendicular walls of sandstone; it is likewise seen in the high plains, sometimes in the form of narrow and crooked ridges, apparently following what were anciently the beds of small brooks. When either of the two rocks last mentioned occur, it is not uncommon to find detached masses of a stone somewhat resembling the pumice-stone of commerce. It is usually of a faint red or yellowish-white colour, but sometimes it is brown, or nearly black. It feels less harsh than the pumice-stone which is used in the arts, and seems to consist in a great degree of clay. It appears to be entirely similar to the substance brought down the Missouri by the annual floods, and by many considered as a product of pseudo-volcanic fires, said to exist on that river. With regard to the soils resting upon the rocks of this trap formation, it may be worthy of remark, that gravel and water-worn pebbles rarely occur, except in situations where it is easy to see that they may have been derived from the substratum of sandstone. Pieces of charred wood were found in the sandstone underlying the trap rocks; but the travellers of Major Long's party did not observe any thing analogous to the *whin-dykes* of Europe, nor do they notice an altered character in the trap and sandstone at their junction.

Before we advert to any other object in the field we are now viewing, the valley immediately to the eastward of the Chippewayan range claims our attention, on account of its close geological connexion with those mountains. We have seen already that the sandstones of this region, diminishing in their elevation as they recede from the granite, dip at a moderate angle under the bed of the valley. After they are lost sight of, the valley itself consists of an immense accumulation of sand, the apparent debris of the mountains. The soil to an unknown depth is constituted of gravel made up of rounded granitic fragments, varying in dimensions from the size of a six-pound shot to finish sand. This great mass of granitic fragments, evidently brought down by the agency of water from the sides and summits of the mountains, slopes gradually from their base, and appears, as far as examinations have extended, to correspond, in some measure, to the elevation and extent of that part of the mountains opposite which it is placed. The minute particles derived from the

quartzose portions of the primitive aggregates, being least liable to decomposition, have been carried to the greatest distance, and now form the almost unmixed soil of the eastern margin of the great sandy desert : the central portions are of a coarser sand, with which some particles of feldspar and mica are intermixed ; nearer the mountains, pebbles and boulders become frequent, and at length almost cover the surface of the country. It is probable that many parts of this extensive desert may differ from that traversed by the Platte, in having the surface more or less covered with horizontal strata of sandstone and conglomerate, instead of loose sand and pebbles ; indeed, there are many appearances indicating that a formation of this kind formerly extended down the Platte much farther than at present. Towards the north the sands continue to the margin of the Black Mountains ; and below these still further to the east, until met by some more recent deposits intervening between them and the Ozark range. From the strong saline impregnation and the brick-red colour of the streams, especially below the Arkansas, there is reason to suppose that the red or saline sandstone is continued at no great depth under the sand to near the mouth of the Canadian river.

Let us now look at the next most considerable mountain range, the Apalachian ; in geological structure, as well as in other respects, differing widely from that we have just been contemplating. A large portion of these mountains, the whole of their eastern front, is composed of primitive rocks, comprehending both the granitic family and its associated strata of clay-slate and limestone. In New England the rocks of this class constitute the sea-coast, and, with some exceptions, extend inwards to the St. Lawrence, so as to form the general aspect, as well as the most elevated parts of the country. Southward of the Hudson the edge of the primitive follows the general contour of the mountains, at a considerable but variable distance from the sea, to their termination, and until it meets more recent deposits at the extremity of the mountain range. The breadth of this primitive belt is very unequal. It occupies but a small part of the country, where it passes through the states of Pennsylvania and Maryland, in which the highest part of the range of mountains to the west consists of transition, with some intervening valleys of secondary strata. In Virginia, the primitive increases in breadth, and proportionally in height, constituting the greatest mass, as well as the most elevated points of the mountains in the states of North Carolina and Georgia. Besides this range, there is a great mass of primitive on the west side

of Lake Champlain, having that lake and Lake George for a boundary on the east, joining the primitive in Canada to the north and north-west, and following a line from the Thousand Islands in the St. Lawrence, running nearly parallel to the Mohawk river, until it meets Lake George as a south-west limit. This mass of primitive rocks runs across the Mohawk at the Little Falls, and near to Johnstown, where it is covered by limestone ; it occupies all the mountainous country between Lake Champlain, the St. Lawrence, and Lake Ontario.

In general, the primitive rocks run from a north and south to a north-east and south-west direction, and dip generally to the south-east at an angle of more than forty-five degrees with the horizon ; their highest elevation is towards their north-western limit, whence they gradually descend to the south-east, there being covered by more recent strata ; and the greatest mass, as well as the highest mountains, consisting of primitive rock, is found towards the northern and southern extremities of the range. The mountains of this formation generally consist of detached masses, with rounded flat tops and a circular waving outline, as the White Hills to the north ; or conically waving with small pyramidal tops, as the peaks of Otter, and the ranges of hills to the south. Granite in large masses forms but a small part of this formation, and is found indifferently on the tops of mountains and in the plains ; it is both large and small grained, is mixed occasionally with hornblende and talc, and contains, as in Europe, rounded masses of a rock consisting of hornblende and feldspar, in small grains, disseminated through it ; it generally divides vertically into rhomboids, and, except in some very small grained varieties, there is no appearance of stratification. When found in low situations, as in the interior of South Carolina and Georgia, it is frequently so far decomposed as to have lost the adhesion of its particles, to the depth of thirty or forty feet below the surface ; each crystal is in its place, and the whole looks like solid granite, while you may take it up in handfuls like sand and gravel. Gneiss extends perhaps over a half of this formation, (though some writers have taken a lower estimate,) and includes in a great many places beds from three to 300 feet thick of a very large grained granite, which run in the same direction, and dip as the gneiss does ; it is in those beds generally that the emerald, phosphat of lime, tourmaline, garnet, cymophane, octahedral iron ore, graphic granite, &c. &c. are found. These beds are mixed, and alternate occasionally in the same gneiss, with the primitive limestone, the beds of hornblende and hornblende

slate, serpentine, magnetic iron ore, and feldspar rocks. In some places the gneiss contains so much mica as to run into mica slate; in others, large nodules of quartz or feldspar; in others, hornblende takes the place of the mica; in short, I scarcely know any of the primitive rocks, says Mr. Maclure, that may not occasionally be found included in the gneiss formation. Primitive clay-slate is not abundant, but the granular limestone is so, and wherever found is observed to be the uppermost in the series of primitive rocks. In this region hornblende rocks, porphyry, and serpentine are not wanting, and primitive trap or greenstone occurs abundantly. Several dykes are mentioned by Mr. Hitchcock* as deserving of more minute investigation. It has been observed that the granite by no means generally constitutes the most elevated parts of this region. From the highly crystalline gneiss rock at Philadelphia, there is a gradual ascent, across strata more and more recent, to the rocks of the coal formation, about the summit of the Alleghanies; and some of the granitic mountains of New England are far surpassed in elevation by the neighbouring hills and ridges of mica slate, talcose rocks, or even more recent aggregates. Below the Hudson, where the primitive rock is no longer bounded by the sea, it is in immediate contact, through its whole length, with secondary and tertiary beds, of which we shall have occasion to speak when we refer to the Atlantic Slope. On the other side, an immense body of transition strata, according to Werner, reposes on the primitive. These are to be traced on the eastern side of Lake Champlain, to within a short distance of New York, whence they stretch in a line corresponding with the general direction of the mountains to their southern extremity, the whole way constituting the north-western boundary of the primitive rocks.

The breadth of the transition district, like that of the primitive, is variable. Narrow towards the Gulf of Mexico, it widens gradually towards the north-east, till it reaches the river Hudson. From its upper portion it sends off a considerable arm, penetrating for several hundred miles into the granitic region, or overlying it, but running parallel with the principal body. After the primitive it forms some of the highest mountains in the range, and appears to be both higher and wider to the west in the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and part of Virginia, where the primitive is least extended and lowest in height. It contains all the varieties of rocks found in the same formation in Europe. It is generally broadest

where the primitive is narrowest, and vice versa; its breadth varying from twenty to one hundred miles; the stratification runs from a north and south to a north-east and south-west direction, dipping generally to the north-west at an angle in most places under forty-five degrees with the horizon; on the edge of the primitive it deviates in some places from this general rule, and dips for a short distance to the south-east. The most elevated ground is on the confines of North Carolina and Georgia, along the south-east limits to Magotty Gap, thence descending towards the north-west until it meets the secondary; from Magotty Gap north-easterly, the highest ground is on the north-west side, sloping gradually towards the primitive, which ranges along its south-eastern boundary. The outline of the mountains of this formation is almost a straight line, with few interruptions bounding long parallel ridges of nearly the same height, declining gently towards the side where the stratification dips from the horizon, and more precipitous on the opposite side, where the edge of the stratum breaks out to the day.

This formation is composed of the following rocks: viz. a small-grained transition limestone, of all shades of colour, from white to dark blue, and in some places intimately mixed with strata of graywacke slate, with limespar in veins and disseminated, and in many places with small grained particles, so as to put on the appearance of a sandstone with excess of lime cement. This occurs in beds from fifty to five thousand feet in width, alternating with graywacke and graywacke slate. Near the borders of the primitive is found a siliceous aggregate, having particles of a light blue colour, from the size of a pin's head to an egg, disseminated in some places in a cement of a slaty texture, and in others in a quartzose cement; a fine sandstone cemented with quartz, in large masses, often of a slaty structure, with small detached scales of mica intervening; a rock not far from the borders of the primitive partaking both of the porphyry and the graywacke, having both feldspar crystals and round pebbles in it, with a cement of a kind of dull chlorite slate in excess; another, though rarer, with pebbles and feldspar crystals in a compact petrosiliceous cement; and a great variety of other rocks, which, from their composition and situation, cannot be classed but with the transition. The limestone, graywacke, and graywacke slate, generally occupy the valleys, and the quartzose aggregates the ridges, amongst which is what is called the country burr stone, or mill-stone grit, which must not be confounded with another rock, likewise denominated mill-stone grit which is a small grained granite, with much quartz

* Silliman's Journal, vol. vii.

found in the primitive formation. There are many and extensive caves in the limestone of this formation, some of which extend underground for several miles, and in which the bones of various animals are found. It is the lowest, and is considered as the most ancient of the rocks containing organized remains, which are those of cryptogamous plants, and animals without sight. The graywacke has been observed to contain impressions of organized remains, but these are usually those of zoophytic animals, and are exceedingly unlike those found so abundantly in the shale of coal formations. Its colours are variable; it is, however, most commonly bluish, black, or dark brown. Between Albany and Pittsfield it is met of a gray colour, and a few miles to the south-east of White-hall, New York, it is bright red. The graywacke appears to form the connecting link between the clay slate and a rock which has been called the old red sandstone, and is usually found intimately blended either with the one or the other. The sandstone to which the name just used is applied, occurs throughout the whole extent of the transition formation, and evidently belongs to the oldest depositions of that rock. It is for the most part distinctly stratified, and in all cases its stratification is inclined. It consists of grains of quartz united by a scanty cement, and usually more or less rounded, as if by attrition and the operation of currents of water; their fragments vary in magnitude from the finest sand to boulders of several pounds weight. Among the Alleghany mountains are many extensive beds of pudding-stone, or coarse conglomerate, usually coloured by oxide of iron. It is also to be observed, that this formation of transition sandstone sometimes embraces extensive beds, integrant particles of which have by no means the appearance of having been rounded by attrition. As in the case of almost all the rocks of secondary formation, there appear to have been periods during the time of its deposition when the waters of the superincumbent ocean ceased to throw down the mechanical debris of former rocks, and deposited earthy matter from a state of chemical solution. The old red sandstone contains no beds of bituminous coal, though many of anthracite, and few organized remains.

Of the rocks thus described, the limestone occurs extensively all along the north-western side of the primitive strata; sometimes, it is stated, alternating with granular or primitive limestone, which often graduates, by minute and almost imperceptible differences, into that which is decidedly secondary. If we suppose the whole of the Alleghany mountains of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the western parts of

Virginia, removed to a level with the surface at the base of their eastern declivities, it is probable that their foundations, which would be thus exposed, would be found through their whole extent to be of transition limestone. About twenty miles west of Philadelphia and Harrisburgh, Cove Hill, the north and south mountains, and the other eastern ranges of the Alleghany, all repose upon the same rock. It is seen emerging from beneath the sandstone which forms the body of these mountains at O'Connell's town, and in most of the valleys between the Alleghanies; and we learn from Maclure that it extends to the south and west, nearly to the termination of this range of mountains at the confluence of the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers, in Mississippi. The clay-slate occurs in the central portions of that extensive field of transition which skirts the western margin of the primitive of New York and New England, and forms the great body of the Catskill Mountains. It is wider and more extensive in the north, occupying much of the surface in Vermont, and the northern parts of the state of New York. In the mountains of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, its beds are of great thickness, and form in some instances the prevailing rocks, being, however, almost invariably overlaid by sandstone. The old red sandstone is of very frequent occurrence in the transition district along the whole range of mountains, and is perhaps more frequent and more abundant than any other aggregate. This region also has a considerable mixture of trap, comprehending greenstone, basalt, amygdaloid, and toadstone; but the newer trap rocks are entirely wanting in the whole of the mountain range. It is by no means to be supposed that the primitive and transition rocks observe exactly the limits which have been drawn. They frequently so interlock the one with the other as to make the drawing of any line of demarcation exceedingly difficult. There are also various large bodies of transition rock thrown to a considerable distance into the primitive region, as is the case particularly with one in the neighbourhood of Boston; while in many instances secondary rocks are found running along the valleys far into the bosom of the mountains. Between the primitive and transition rocks a series of primitive rocks sometimes intervenes, something different from the common primitive, having the structure of gneiss, with little mica, the scales detached and not contiguous, or much feldspar, rather granular than crystallized, mica slate, with small quantities of scaly mica, clay-slate, rather soft, and without lustre, the whole having a dull earthy fracture and gritty texture, partaking of transition and primitive, but not

properly belonging to either. There is great variety in the appearance of this rock, as it were an imitation of almost every species of the common primitive rocks, but differing from them by having a dull earthy fracture, gritty texture, and little or no crystallization.

With the edge of the transition strata we approach the western summits of the Apalachian Mountains, or the line from whence they begin to fall towards the Mississippi Valley. Along this line commences a series of secondary rocks, stretching westward to an immense extent towards the Mississippi and the lakes, and constituting one of the most interesting and important geological formations in the United States. Near the summit of the ridge called particularly the Alleghany, the change to secondary begins to appear; without the interposition of any other rock, and without any sudden change of features, the strata of sandstone become nearly horizontal, assuming gradually all the characters of secondary rocks; descending into the valleys, the transition strata again emerge to the light. The same thing happens in the case of the Catskill and other mountains west of the Hudson, their bases being of transition, and their summits crossed with secondary. This secondary region extends unbroken across the whole country to the shores of the lakes, being bounded on the west probably by the river Wabash, and, as you descend the Mississippi, by the more recent formations through which that river flows. It consists of various strata of sandstone, limestone, and clay, generally, but by no means exactly, corresponding with similar strata in this country. Although England has been considered a more advantageous station for examining the secondary strata than any other in Europe, it will by no means serve as a model for America. The strata are thus given by Professor Eaton:—1. Mill-stone grit; 2. Saliferous rock, probably identical with the saline sandstone of the Chippewyan Mountains; 3. Ferriferous rock; 4. Lias; 5. Geodiferous lime-rock; 6. Cornitiferous lime-rock; 7. Third graywacke. The fifth and sixth of these strata occupy the space of the English oolite, but are stated to be of a somewhat different character. Our green sand, iron sand, and associated marls, may be assigned to the third graywacke; but the chalk, it seems, in Europe no unimportant stratum, is entirely wanting; nor has a single particle of this substance been found in the whole of the United States; that which has been mistaken for it, and indeed used for it in some respects with success, is ascertained to be native argil, or pure clay. The limestone generally found in this district is of a bluish colour, running through all the

shades to a dingy black, having an even rather earthy fracture, and sometimes a schistose structure. The flints found in the secondary limestone in America are generally black, resembling Lydian stone, and in all kind of irregular forms and branches intimately mixed with the limestone. Its greatest elevation is on the south-east boundary, from which it falls almost imperceptibly to the north-west, and mingles with the alluvial of the Mississippi, having a mountain outline, straight and regular. A boundary of long and parallel ranges, of a gradually diminishing height as they approach to the north-west, a stratification almost perfectly horizontal, waving with the inequalities of the surface, distinguishes this from the two preceding formations. Immense beds of secondary limestone, of all shades, from light blue to black, intercepted in some places by extensive tracts of sandstone and other secondary aggregates, appears to constitute the foundation of this formation, on which reposes the great and valuable coal formation, which extends from the head waters of the Ohio, in Pennsylvania, with some interruption all the way to the waters of the Tombigbee, accompanied by the usual attendants, slaty clay and freestone with vegetable impressions, &c.; but in no instance yet ascertained covered by, or alternating with any rock, resembling basalt, or indeed any of those called the newest floetz trap formation. One grand peculiarity of this secondary region is the horizontal direction of the strata, which is almost perfect and uniform, no disturbing causes whatever appearing to have acted upon them since their deposition, excepting such as have worn them down from above; and in conjunction with this fact, it is striking to observe that trap rocks are entirely wanting through the whole extent. It results from these circumstances, that individual strata can be traced uninterrupted through many hundreds of miles, and that opportunities of investigation unparalleled elsewhere are afforded.

Having thus examined the two sides of the Mississippi Valley, we may now direct our attention to the region which occupies its centre. In a geological point of view this must be taken to comprehend not merely the Ozark Mountains, but the whole tract of country extending northwards from them to the shores of Lake Superior, bounded on the east by the rivers Wabash and Ohio and the recent deposits of the Mississippi, and on the west by a line drawn from nearly the western extremity of Lake Superior to the western declivity of the mountains.

The Ozark Mountains consist chiefly of secondary and transition rocks, but there are two points at which

the primitive makes its appearance.* About fifteen miles south east from the hot springs, near the Washita, granite is found *in situ*. "It forms the basis," says Dr. James, "and, as far as we could discover, the whole mass of a small hill, but little elevated above the level of the river; we found it emerging from beneath the soil at several parts of an area two or three hundred acres, but had not an opportunity to trace it to any great distance, nor to observe its connexion with any other rock. The extent of surface which it covers, we believe, cannot be very great." This granite is very soft, and disintegrates rapidly when exposed to the air. It is compounded of grayish-white quartz, yellowish-white feldspar, and an unusually large proportion of mica in variously and brilliantly coloured masses. These large laminæ of mica are white, pearl-colour, yellow, brown, green, and often black, and in some instances are so large and numerous as to exceed in proportion the other ingredients of the aggregate. Talc also enters in large proportion into the composition of this granite. It is indeed sometimes so abundant as to occasion a doubt whether the whole should not be considered a bed of talc, rather than granite. This talc is in tabular masses, two or three inches in diameter, and about half an inch in thickness. Zeolite is also so abundant as sometimes to seem to take the place of the other materials of the granite. The bed of one of the streams which traverse this formation is paved with small crystals of schorl, that of another with negative magnet. Sulphuret of iron is disseminated in the rock. Several of the appearances presented by this interesting mass of granite would seem to countenance the opinion that it is of a secondary origin, like that mentioned by Saussure as existing near the valley of Valorsine, at Semur en Auxois, and at the city of Lyons. In speaking of the rock at these places, he says, "It could not be doubted, on seeing these heaps of large crystals, that they are the produce of the rain-waters, which, passing through the granite, have dissolved and carried down these different elements, and have deposited them in these wide crevices, where they have formed new rocks of the same kind. The crystals of these new granites are larger than those of the ancient, on account of the repose which the waters enjoyed in the inside of these reservoirs." The granite of the Washita, if it is to be considered as of secondary formation, appears to be much more extensive than any of the kind hitherto known; but any more particulars must be ascertained before this

question can be settled. "We are ignorant," says Dr. James, "of the manner of its connexion with any other rock, nor do we know of any formation of primitive granite from which it could, by the action of water, have been derived: one can have no hesitation, however, in considering the Ozark Mountains as a separate system within themselves, and having no immediate connexion with either the Apalachian or the Chippewayan Mountains. May not an extensive range of granite and other primitive rocks have existed at some distant period where the Ozark Mountains now are, containing the vast quantities of the ores of lead, iron, &c. now found in rocks of secondary origin, and even in the alluvial soil? And may not the operations of water, during many ages, when an ocean rolled over the summits of these mountains, have worn down those primitive rocks, their detritus having been deposited horizontally upon their submarine sides and summits; so that the greater part of their surfaces are now covered by secondary aggregates? Our acquaintance with this range is, however, much too limited to admit of indulgence in such speculations."

Beside the cove of the Washita, another granitic region, according to Mr. Schoolcraft, occurs in the north-eastern extremity of the Ozark Mountains, in the mining district of Potosi. The granite appears about a mile west of St. Michael's, an antique French village, and suddenly emerges from the alluvial soil. "It constitutes," says Mr. Schoolcraft, "the summits of the greatest elevations, and also the depths of the lowest valleys in the district. It is almost exclusively confined, so far as we have observed, to the north-western portion of Madison, and the contiguous parts of Washington county. We suppose the whole area covered by this formation does not exceed 120 or 130 square miles; but we have not observed its southern limits. It may extend in that direction further than we have reason to believe it does, and may possibly even have a subterraneous connexion with that talcose variety of granite discovered by Dr. James, on the Washita. The marked dissimilarity in the two varieties is not, perhaps, a valid objection to this supposition, when we consider the different aspects which some of the ranges of our American granites assume, examined at distant points."† This granite is without any marks of stratification. Its structure is fine grained. Its colour, which is imparted by the predominance of feldspar, is a flesh red. Both the quartz and mica form but a comparatively small portion of the mass, and the mica exists in the least abundance

* Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, vol. iii. p. 310.

† Schoolcraft's Travels.

Very frequently the latter mineral is entirely wanting through considerable portions of the mass, and the rock is made up wholly of quartz and feldspar. This rock is traversed by veins of greenstone, which are chiefly porphyritic, and in some places beautifully so.

In connexion with the granite of the Washita is found a stratum of clay-slate, another of transition sandstone, but neither of them of any great extent. Near St. Michael's, Mr. Schoolcraft affirms the existence of the metalliferous or transition limestone. The hot-springs of the Washita issue from the clay-slate, and, if we may judge from the inclination of the strata, and the distance at the surface from the granite of the cove, we may conclude that a very large mass of clay-slate is interposed between the surface of the granite and the point at which the springs rise. This, however, it is not possible to ascertain. The hottest springs on the globe rise from beneath or within the granite, and it is not improbable that this rock may approach near the surface at many points in the Ozark Mountains where it has not yet been uncovered. The slate rock about the hot springs is highly inclined, often flinty in its composition, and, as far as has been hitherto observed, it contains no organic remains. It is traversed by large upright veins, filled usually with white quartz, contrasting strongly in colour with the dark blue of the slate. The mountains contain vast beds of limestone, which, though decidedly secondary, has in many parts so peculiar a crystalline appearance as to be easily mistaken for primitive. The recent fracture is uneven, distinctly crystalline, and much like that of many moderately fine-grained granites. Careful examination shows, that in many instances the most minute particles visible under a lens have assumed the rhombic form so common to the carbonate of lime; these crystalline particles vary greatly in size, and are sometimes half an inch across. In the interior of the casts of animal remains, they are sometimes less distinct than in parts of the rock where no such remains are discovered. These vast beds of sparry limestone, made up almost exclusively of deposits from chemical solution, would seem to have been formed during periods when great tranquillity prevailed in the waters from which they were deposited. They alternate with limestones of the common earthy and compact varieties. The sandstones of this small group of mountains appear under almost every variety of character, but in most of them, as far as hitherto examined, are discovered traces of coal, or of those minerals and organic remains which usually accompany it. A conspicuous feature in the sandstones about the central and western portions of

the region under consideration, is the great proportion of mica, in large scales, which enters into their composition. Fragments of the sand-rock about the mouth of the Poteau might be mistaken for mica slate. This mica is rarely, if ever, of that dark coloured variety which prevails in the Chippewayan Mountains; and in the other materials of these aggregates there is a manifest want of resemblance to those mountains. Another peculiar variety of sandstone occurs in connexion with the sulphuret of lead, at the old mines of St. Michael, and at many places in that vicinity. This bears apparently the same relation to the common sandstones, as the crystalline limestone above mentioned does to the earthy varieties, and it alternates with and passes into the common rock in a similar manner. Its particles are crystalline, and appear to remain undisturbed in the position in which they were originally deposited from solution in water. Nevertheless, the aggregate is manifestly secondary, and embraces the relics of many organized beings, as is common in the other secondary rocks.

There appears reason to think that these mountains are entirely secondary. Compact limestone contains the lead ore, and is here associated with an extensive deposit of fluat of lime. None of this mineral, however, has yet been discovered in this place; the whole of it is in the form of detritus, showing evident marks of abrasion and attrition. Besides several varieties of sandstone, shell-limestone and oolite were observed at this point. Though the country stretching northward to Lake Superior becomes more level, and is not distinguished by any considerable physical peculiarities, its geological and mineralogical character identify it with that which we have just noticed. Numerous specimens of minerals brought from the Upper Mississippi and the Illinois rivers have a peculiar resemblance to similar minerals met with in the territory south of the Missouri. From these resemblances, and the corroborating testimony of all the accounts received concerning that country, rich in mines, which lies along the eastern side of the Upper Mississippi, there is reason to believe that a continuation of the Ozark Mountains, or at least of a region similar in mineralogical features, extends from the confluence of the Missouri northward, to the sources of the Wisconsin and the Ontonagon river of Lake Superior. North of the Missouri the country is very little elevated, but aside from this it appears to possess all the peculiar features of the region we have been considering. The sandstones, the limestones, and other rocks, have a striking resemblance.

Of the Black Mountains, in the north-western part of the Mississippi Valley, only enough is known to mark them out as of a distinct geological structure from the rest of the valley. They appear to consist entirely of sandstone lying horizontally, and to be destitute of any mineral productions of value. The remaining portions of the great valley may now be easily disposed of. In the north, between the Black Mountains and the central district, is a wide tract containing the course of the Missouri, marked by Dr. James as alluvial. The same appellation he gives to a space on the west of the Ozark Mountains, between them and the Chippewayan sands, and to the country on both sides of the Lower Mississippi. We think that the application of this term may admit of considerable modification and improvement, as it seems to us to be sometimes confounded with diluvial, if not with tertiary formations. Such formations appear to exist on the line of the Mississippi, and will engage our attention hereafter.

We must now turn our attention to the region which lies to the eastward of the Apalachian Mountains. The eastern front of this range we have already stated to consist of primitive rocks, and we have mentioned that so far south as the Hudson these rocks reach the sea; from this point they take an inland course, and leave a considerable tract of land between them and the ocean all the way to the Mississippi. On this side there is no appearance of any rocks of the transition class; the primitive terminates abruptly, and through its whole length is skirted by an extensive series of beds of shell-limestone, marl, clay, sand, and gravel, constituting what has been described in our geographical department as the Atlantic Slope. This class of strata begins at Long Island, becomes gradually wider as it extends through the middle and southern states, forms the whole of Florida, and crosses the Mississippi, where it meets the secondary formation of that valley, and sends up a tongue for a considerable distance along the sides of that river. We may here notice the extended granitic ridge which forms the boundary between the primitive and secondary regions, and which has been considered as one of its most remarkable features. It commences as far south as Georgia, and extends to New York; whence it seems to pass into Long Island, and under the Sound into Connecticut. It is in some places concealed by the soil; but it appears distinctly at the riverfalls, and is particularly rugged where it crosses the Susquehannah. It has been conjectured that this ridge was the ancient line of the seacoast.

The entire region to the eastward of the primitive

was long spoken of as alluvial; but a more careful examination has shown that it comprehends, not only a large extent of tertiary formations, but some which are decidedly secondary. From an elaborate investigation of this district by Dr. Morton, of Philadelphia, more particularly directed to the characteristic features of its organic remains, there appears decisive evidence of this fact. These secondary strata are not, however, calcareous, like those on the west of the Apalachian Mountains; but they consist of beds of sand and clay analogous to the iron sand, green sand, and chalk marl, or gault, of our own country. Dr. Morton calls it the ferruginous sand formation. The tract occupied by it encloses nearly the whole of the marl region of New Jersey, so far, at least, as it has hitherto been explored; though there is reason to believe that this formation occupies a great proportion of the triangular peninsula south of the Raritan river. Much of the ferruginous sand, however, is overlaid by deposits of clay containing lignite, which have been referred, with apparent correctness, to the plastic clay formation. Above these clay beds is an almost uniform covering of gray sand; though in many places the marl, with its peculiar fossils, is found immediately beneath the soil. In Maryland commences a vast deposit of sand and clay, extending along the coast to the Mississippi; this tract abounds with tertiary fossils, which appear chiefly to belong to the upper marine formation of the European geologists. The secondary strata are occasionally met with beneath it, and sometimes approach so near the surface as to be readily identified by their fossils. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the beds of ferruginous sand extend nearly the whole length of the Atlantic frontier of the United States south of Long Island, though for the most part concealed by the different members of the tertiary class.

In all its localities this formation has been identified by similar genera and species of organic remains, though all the genera do not exist in every locality. The predominant constituents of the varieties of marl are silex and iron. They often contain beds of a dark bluish, tenacious clay; sometimes this clay is mixed with the marl, forming marly clay. Again the marl is seen of a yellowish brown colour, friable, or compact, and filled with green specks of the silicate iron. Some of the greenish varieties are also very compact, rendering it extremely difficult to separate the fossils from their matrix. The friable blue marls often contain a large proportion of mica in minute scales. Other localities present beds of silicious gravel, (turtia? of the French;) the pebbles varying from the size of coarse sand to one or two

inches in diameter. These are cemented together by oxide and phosphate of iron, and contain the same fossils as the earths already described. The most striking instance of this kind is at Mullica Hill, in New Jersey. Similar mineralogical appearances, but without fossils, occur in the lower beds of the Chesapeake and Delaware canal. At the latter place is also found a friable silicious sand, of a bright green colour, answering to the glauconie sableuse of Brongniart: also a fine, pure white sand, with abundance of lignite; and extensive beds of brown and yellow ferruginous sand, more or less argillaceous. Some of the blue marls which effervesce strongly with acids, contain but five per cent. of lime. There are also large beds of calcareous marl, containing at least thirty-seven per cent. of lime, the remainder being silex, iron, &c.: a hard, well-characterized, sub-crystalline limestone, filled with zoophytes. All these pass by insensible degrees into each other, exhibiting an almost endless variety of mineralogical character. The mineral substances found in these beds are, iron pyrites in profusion; chert, (in the calcareous beds,) amber, retinasphalt, lignite, and small spherical masses of a dark green colour and compact texture, apparently analogous to those found in the green sand of France. Mr. Hayden suggests that these may be the discolites of the Abbe Fortis; their structure, however, does not appear to be organic, although they often have a shark's tooth, or a small shell, for a nucleus. Larger spherical bodies also occur, resembling the nodules of clay iron-stone so common in some parts of England. One of the most abundant mineral products of these beds is lignite. It is found at the deep cut of the Chesapeake and Delaware canal in almost every variety, from charred wood to well-characterized jet. Sometimes it is in small fragments, and again it occurs in large masses, presenting the trunks and limbs of trees thirty feet in length, and perforated in every direction by the teredo. That these lignites belong not to the tertiary deposits, but to the ferruginous sand, appears to be the more probable, inasmuch as the lignite beds of Delaware are found to be subordinate to strata replete with extinct multilocular univalves, and other secondary remains. The extensive occurrence of this formation, so closely connected with chalk in Europe, renders the absence of the chalk itself still more remarkable.

The tertiary formations, as we have just seen, occur largely on the Atlantic Slope, but they are by no means confined to it: they overlie the secondary strata to a great extent on both sides of the mountain chains. Marly clay (London clay) is one of the most

universal of all visible strata. It is the common clay of all North America. Lieut. A. B. Eaton traced it from the mouth of the Ohio to New Orleans, mostly covered with Bagshot sand. It always effervesces with acids when dry, and always contains muriate of lime; consequently all wells dug in it yield hard waters. Sulphate of magnesia is not uncommon in it, and in some localities it contains small quantities of muriate of soda. Bagshot sand and crag are next in extent to the marly clay, and generally overlie it. The sand and crag often pass into each other, and often alternate; but if they are to be treated as distinct, probably the crag should be considered as uppermost. The plastic clay formation is stated to appear very distinctly on the west side of Lake Champlain, and at various points, from Martha's Vineyard to the eastward of Long Island, to Florida and the Mississippi. The silicious limestone of Georgia is asserted to be decidedly contemporaneous with the calcaire silicieuse of the Paris basin. In Virginia the marly or London clay is found, and the sands of the Upper Marine formation are conceived to occur in the same state, and in Staten Island.

Of the geology of the region west of the Chipewyan Mountains nothing certain is known. The chains which stretch nearer to the Pacific are lofty, and are presumed to be primitive. Mr. Scrope represents the mountains which border the Pacific Ocean as volcanic.

Having taken this general survey, before we proceed to further details it may be desirable to make a few observations respecting the influence of American geological facts upon existing geological theory. It was soon found that geological researches were made with much greater facility in America than in Europe, especially in the region of the secondary strata. The immense extent over which they could be traced, the undisturbed condition in which they are found, and their generally horizontal position, afforded valuable facilities for efforts of generalization and system. The absence of the newest floetz-trap rocks, (which partially and irregularly cover all other formations, thereby breaking the continuity of the strata,) and of the effects of the violent convulsions so frequent in the vicinity of this disputed formation, unquestionably facilitate geological researches. A second cause, producing much more extensive effects, may perhaps be found in the greater number and magnitude of the changes that have been effected in the different classes of rocks on the European continent, since their original formation; either by the effect of water during a long course of time, partially

washing away the superincumbent strata most liable to decomposition, and leaving the more hard and durable parts of the same rocks in their original positions; or by the long and continual action of rivers wearing deep beds, and exposing to view the subordinate strata, giving to the whole the appearance of a confused and interrupted stratification, though it might have been uniform and regular in its original state. Rivers, likewise, by undermining, throw immense masses out of their place, and create a disorder and confusion not easily unravelled. The rivers in North America have not generally cut so deep into the different strata, either in the mountains, or during their course through the level country, as materially to derange the stratification; nor do we find those immense and inaccessible precipices, which render the prosecution of geological researches almost impossible. Broken detached masses of one formation covering the tops of mountains, with their sides or foundation composed of different classes of rocks, seldom occur; and where any irregularity or apparent confusion takes place, the vicinity generally admits of a sufficient examination of the surrounding strata, to account for the accident without affecting the general arrangement. A third cause of the facility of geological observations on this continent, may be traced in the fact, that the whole continent east of the Mississippi follows the arrangement of one great chain of mountains. Europe, on the contrary, is formed of five or six chains of mountains, all following different laws of stratification, and frequently interrupting each other; which increases the difficulty of arrangement, and augments the apparent confusion.

The effect of the opening of this field of observation has been striking and important. It has been to confound and set at naught every previous attempt at the determination and arrangement of general strata. American geologists may be said to be continually laughing at the mundane systems which men of science on this side of the Atlantic have been constructing from their survey of such a mere corner of it as the continent of Europe; and European geologists themselves have acknowledged, that general strata must be determined in America. The absence of the chalk forcibly illustrates this; the chalk being not only a very prominent feature in our geological structure, but the grand point of division between the secondary and tertiary formations. The English oolite has not its fellow in America. It has come to be affirmed by Professor Eaton, that the old red sandstone is not a general stratum, and to be questioned whether primitive clay slate has any existence at

all;* while Mr. Maclure informs us, that, though the primitive formation contains all the variety of rocks found in the mountains of Europe, yet neither their relative situation in the order of succession, nor their relative heights in the range of mountains, correspond with what has been observed here. The order of succession from the clay slate to the granite, as well as the gradually diminishing height of the strata, from the granite through the gneiss, mica slate, and hornblende rock, down to the clay slate, is so often inverted and mixed, as to render the arrangement of any regular series impracticable. It would have made amends for this subversion of existing systems, if men of science in America had been able to form any satisfactory generalization themselves. This is as yet, however, far from being the case. With much of positive assertion, every thing is controversy and confusion; every thing, at least, but the observation and accumulation of facts, which is going on with some rapidity and diligence, and which, it would seem, must be carried to a much greater extent before any hope of successful generalization can be entertained. Notwithstanding all the uncertainty we have described, however, some important general facts are either confirmed or established, and of these we shall endeavour to give a condensed account.

The primitive, and, perhaps it may be added, the transition rocks of the United States, bear an almost perfect resemblance, in structure and general character, to those of Europe. They constitute the whole mass of the mountains, with the same declination, irregularity, and apparent disruption and dislocation of the strata. The granite is in beds and veins, with only such equivocal appearances of stratification as have been detected elsewhere. The Apalachian resembles several of the European chains of mountains, in having the secondary formation principally on the north-western side. Among the peculiarities of this primitive range is its comparatively low elevation; only one portion of it, the White Hills, reaching six thousand feet above the level of the sea, a far lower point than is reached by any other considerable mass of primitive rocks at present known. Connected with this is also the very low level at which the same rocks are found in the northern states, especially on the banks of the river Hudson, where the tide runs between precipitous banks of granite, greenstone, &c., entirely through the mass of primitive and transition rocks into the secondary, to a distance of a hundred and fifty miles. It arises from the same geological

* The existence of primitive clay slate is distinctly affirmed by Mr. Hitchcock, on the Connecticut, and by Professor Dewey. *Silliman's Journal*, vol. ii. p. 248, vol. vi. p. 36.

character of this range, that the ridges of the mountains do not form the dividing high lands of the waters; but that in many cases, as with the rivers which discharge themselves into the Chesapeake, the streams rise beyond the mountains, and find avenues which permit them a clear passage, often at right angles to the chain which they penetrate. The immense depth of some of the lakes, ascertained to be in some places as much as twelve hundred feet, and in others being hitherto unfathomable, belongs to the same class of indications. We feel constrained to associate with these circumstances the comparatively small quantity of unstratified rocks found in this region. We have already seen that one half the primitive is gneiss; and when allowance is made for mica slate, talc slate, and other stratified primitive rocks, it will follow that granite is but in small proportion. Porphyry and serpentine do not appear to be abundant. Greenstone occurs, as also basalt; but, as we have seen, the newer trap rocks are almost if not entirely wanting. It remains to be added, that no traces whatever exist of volcanic action, that is to say, of recent volcanic action, or of any other than must have occurred if greenstone and granite are of igneous origin. All these circumstances may be considered as confirming the supposition, that the mountain masses generally have been upheaved by convulsive action; and as indicating that the impulses which raised the Appalachian chains were, if not in the first instance less powerful, yet less frequently repeated, than in most other cases. Hence the small elevation of their highest summits; hence the deep notches which allow the transverse passage of great rivers; and hence also that remarkable tide-valley occupied by Hudson River. The Chippewyan Mountains, contrasted as they are with the Appalachians in their elevation and other physical features, are equally so in their geological structure. The unstratified rocks almost exclusively prevail; the newest floetz-trap rocks also are found; and every indication of violent action of greater power or more frequent repetition.

Another general fact respecting the newer trap formations is strongly indicated by their entire absence from the immense secondary formation of the United States, taken in connexion with the horizontal position and undisturbed character of the stratification. Here is no dislocation, and no trap. Wherever there is trap, as in Europe, there is dislocation and disorder. It seems to follow, therefore, that trap rocks have had their origin, not in the causes which formed the secondary strata, but in those which have disturbed them.

Whether the vastness of the field which is open to geological inquiry in the United States will materially facilitate the determination of general strata, or whether, beyond the primitive, there are really any such, may be a matter of doubt. We now turn to the more certain and yet disputed ground of the actual arrangement of the American strata themselves. The cutting of the canal from Albany to Lake Erie afforded a valuable opportunity for investigation, of which Professor Eaton has diligently availed himself, in order to form a scheme of general strata such as the structure of the North American continent would indicate; and we can not do better for the information of our readers, than present to them his views on the subject.* In doing so, it will be necessary to allow him to employ his own nomenclature, which, however, will be easily understood, whether adopted or not.

Geological Nomenclature, exhibited in a Synopsis of North American Rocks and Detritus, by Professor Amos Eaton.

CLASSES OF ROCKS.

CLASS I. *Primitive Rocks*; being those which contain no organic relics or coal. See Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.

CLASS II. *Transition Rocks*; being those which contain marine organic relics only, and, in some localities, anthracite coal. See Fig. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12.

CLASS III. *Secondary Rocks*; being those which contain, in some localities, dry-land or fresh-water organic relics, as well as marine or bituminous coal. See Fig. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19.













CLASS IV. *Superincumbent Rocks*; being those hornblende rocks which overlay others without any regular order of superposition, supposed to be of volcanic origin. See Fig. 20.

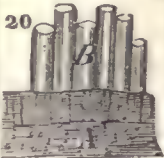


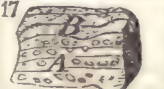




CLASSES OF DETRITUS.




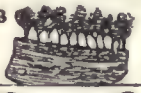


CLASS V. *Alluvial Detritus*; being those masses of detritus which have been washed into their present situation. See Fig. 21, 22, 23, and 24.

CLASS VI. *Analluvial Detritus*; being those masses of detritus which have not been washed from places where they were first formed by the disintegration of rocks. See Fig. 25 and 26.

* See two papers by Professor Eaton, in Silliman's Journal, vol. xiv.

	GENERAL STRATA AND SUBDIVISIONS.	VARIETIES.	IMBEDDED AND DISSEMINATED.
12 	SECOND GRAYWACKE. B. <i>Rubble.</i> A. <i>Compact.</i>	Red sandy, (old red sandstone?) Honeslate. Grindstone.	Manganese. Anthracite.
11 	METALLIFEROUS LIMEROCK. B. <i>Shelly.</i> A. <i>Compact.</i>	Birdseye marble.	
10 	CALCIFEROUS SANDROCK. B. <i>Geodiferous.</i> A. <i>Compact.</i>	Quartzose. Sparry. Oolitic.	Semiopal. Anthracite. Barytes. Concentric concretions.
9 	SPARRY LIMEROCK. B. <i>Slaty.</i> A. <i>Compact.</i>	Checkered rock.	Chlorite. Calc spar.
8 	FIRST GRAYWACKE. B. <i>Rubble.</i> A. <i>Compact.</i>	Chloritic.	Milky quartz. Calc spar. Anthracite.
7 	ARGILLITE. B. <i>Wacke slate.</i> A. <i>Clay slate.</i>	Chloritic. Glazed. Roof-slate. Red. Purple.	Flinty Slate. Anthracite. Striated quartz. Milky quartz. Chlorite.
6 	GRANULAR LIMEROCK. B. <i>Sandy.</i> A. <i>Compact.</i>	Verd-antique. Dolomite. Statuary marble.	Tremolite. Serpentine. Chromate of iron.
5 	GRANULAR QUARTZ B. <i>Sandy.</i> A. <i>Compact.</i>	Ferruginous. Yellowish. Translucent.	Manganese. Hematite.
4 	TALCOSE SLATE. B. <i>Fissile.</i> A. <i>Compact.</i>	Chloritic.	Octahedral crystals of iron ore. Chlorite.
3 	HORNBLLENDE ROCK. B. <i>Slaty.</i> A. <i>Granitic.</i>	Greenstone. Gneis- soid. Porphyritic. Sienitic.	Granite. Actynolite. Augite.
2 	MICA SLATE. B. <i>Fissile.</i> A. <i>Compact.</i>		Staurotide. Sappare. Garnet.
1 	GRANITE. B. <i>Slaty, (gneiss.)</i> A. <i>Crystalline.</i>	Sandy. Porphyritic. Graphic.	Schorl. Plumbago. Stea- tite. Diallage.

	GENERAL STRATA AND SUBDIVISIONS.	VARIETIES.	IMBEDDED AND DISSEMINATED.
20 	BASALT. B. <i>Greenstone trap</i> , (columnar.) A. <i>Amygdaloid</i> , (cellular.)	Granular. Compact. Toadstone.	Amethyst. Chalcedony. Prehnite. Zeolite. Opal.
19 	THIRD GRAYWACKE. B. <i>Pyritiferous grit</i> . A. <i>Pyritiferous slate</i> .	Conglomerate, (breccia.) Calcareous grit. Red sandstone, (old red sandstone?) Red wacke. Argillaceous.	Grindstone. Hornstone? Honeslate. Bituminous shale and coal. Fibrous barytes.
18 	CORNITIFEROUS LIMEROCK. B. <i>Shelly</i> . A. <i>Compact</i> .		Hornstone.
17 	GEODIFEROUS LIMEROCK. B. <i>Sandy</i> . A. <i>Swinestone</i> .	Fœtid.	Snow-gypsum. Strontian. Zinc. Fluor Spar.
16 	LIAS. B. <i>Calciferous grit</i> . A. <i>Calciferous slate</i> .	Shell grit. Argillaceous. Conchoidal.	Shell limestone. Vermicular. Water cement. Gypsum.
15 	FERRIFEROUS ROCK. B. <i>Sandy</i> . A. <i>Slaty</i> .	Conglomerate. Green. Blue.	Argillaceous iron ore, (reddle.)
14 	SALIFEROUS ROCK. B. <i>Sandy</i> . A. <i>Marl slate</i> .	Conglomerate. Gray-band. Red sandy. Gray slate. Red slate.	Salt, or Salt-springs.
13 	MILLSTONE GRIT. B. <i>Conglomerate</i> . A. <i>Sandy</i> .		Coal?

	GENERAL DEPOSITS AND SUBDIVISIONS.	VARIETIES.	INBEDDED AND DISSEMINATED.
26 	SUPERFICIAL ANALLUVION. B. <i>Granulated</i> , (from graywacke.) A. <i>Clay loam</i> , (from argillite.)		Various boulders. Pebbles.
25 	STRATIFIED ANALLUVION. C. <i>Lias</i> . B. <i>Feriferous</i> . A. <i>Saliferous</i> .		Gypsum. Shell limestone. Reddle.
24 	POSTDILUVION. B. <i>Sediment</i> . A. <i>Pebbles</i> , (in the rocky bed of a river.)		Various boulders. Trees and herbs. Fish bones and shells. Works of art.
23 	ULTIMATE DILUVION, (on crag in old forests.)	Yellowish gray. Grayish yellow.	
22 	DILUVION, (in an antediluvial trough.)	Quicksand. Gravel. Vegetable mould.	Boulders. Trees and leaves. Bones and shells. No works of art.
21 	ANTEDILUVION. C. <i>Bagshot sand and crag</i> . B. <i>Marly clay</i> . A. <i>Plastic clay</i> .	Quicksand. Yellow sand. Hardpan. Brick earth.	Puddingstone. Burrstone. Bog ore. Shell marl. Indurated marl. Septaria?

The following TABULAR ARRANGEMENT of the ROCK FORMATIONS along the CONNECTICUT, after the method of Conybeare and Phillips, is given by Mr. Hitchcock.*

I. INFERIOR ORDER.

		Rocks observed in contact with those in the leading column.	
Mutually Interstratified, and without any regular order of succession.	1. Granite	{ Common	Sienitic Granite.
		{ Porphyritic	Gneiss.
		{ Graphic	Hornblende Slate.
		{ Pseudo-morphous	Mica Slate.
			Serpentine.
			Limestone, (No. 7.)
			Diluvium.
			Alluvium.
			Granite.
			Hornblende Slate.
2. Sienite, or Sienitic Granite			Primitive Greenstone.
			Diluvium.
			Alluvium.
			Granite.
			Hornblende Slate.
3. Gneiss	{ Common		White Granular Lime-
	{ Glandulous		stone.
			Mica Slate.
			Steatite.
			Diluvium.
			Granite.
4. Hornblende Slate			Sienitic Granite.
			Gneiss.
			Mica Slate.
			Diluvium.
			Granite.
			Gneiss.
			Hornblende Slate.
			Limestone, (No. 7.)
			Argillite.
5. Mica Slate			Chlorite Slate.
			Greenstone Slate.
			Serpentine.
			Steatite.
			Old Red Sandstone.
			Coal formation.
			Diluvium.
			Alluvium.
6. Talcose Slate			Mica Slate.
			Chlorite Slate.
7. Limestone, or a Gran. Aggregate of Siliceous, Carb. Lime and Mica			Granite, (in veins.)
			Mica Slate.
			Argillite.
			Talcose Slate.
			Mica Slate.
			Argillite.
8. Chlorite Slate			Verd Antique.
			Primitive Greenstone.
			Diluvium.
			Alluvium.
			Gneiss.
9. Steatite			Mica Slate.
			Serpentine.
			Granite.
10. Serpentine			Mica Slate.
			Granular Limestone.
			Steatite.

Interstratified.

11. Verd Antique

12. Prim. Greenstone } Unstratified Greenstone Slate.

The order of succession of the 7 preceding rocks is very variable and uncertain.

II. SUBMEDIAL ORDER.

13. Argillite

III. MEDIAL ORDER.

14. Old Red Sandstone { Common Conglomerated

15. Coal Formation	Wacke	
	Trap Tuff	
	Dark bastard Limestone	
	Bituminous do.	
	Fetid ditto	
	Seams of Coal	
	Fine red argillaceous Sandstone	
	Coarse gray Silicious ditto	
	Very Micaceous ditto	
	Black tortusac ditto	
16. Sec. Greenstone	Bituminous Shale	
	Finer Pudding-stone	
	Coarse do.	
	Compact	
	Columnar	
17. Diluvium	Amygdaloidal	
	Porphyritic	

IV. SUPERIOR ORDER.

17. Diluvium Above most or all of the preceding formations.

18. Alluvium	Oceanic deposits	
	Beds of Gravel	
	Ditto . Clay	
	Ditto . Sand	
	Loam	
Decomposed Rocks and Vegetables		

Above most of the preceding formations.

* Silliman's Journal, vol. vii. to which we must refer for more detailed information.

The valley of the Mississippi, presenting an area of 1500 miles from east to west, and 1200 from north to south, occupied by extended strata of the secondary class, is an object too interesting not to have set speculation in activity; more especially as connected with the immense lakes in the interior of the North American continent. When treating of the physical geography of this interesting country, we gave an account of the fact that the lakes are not divided from the Mississippi valley by mountains, or by any considerable highlands. It has been accordingly suggested by Mr. Maclure, and Professor Cleaveland and others seem disposed to concur with him, that all this extent of secondary rocks, together with the area of the present lakes, and a large space to the northward of them, was once the bottom of a much larger lake or sea, and that the waters of it have been gradually discharged by the Mississippi, the Hudson, and the Saint Lawrence, the only rivers which have broken through the mountains once surrounding this immense basin of water.* Without being prepared to propose any more plausible conjecture, we cannot express any satisfaction in this, which seems to us to be incumbered by the obvious fact that one side of this supposed basin appears never to have been inclosed by mountains at all. Between the southern extremity of the Apalachian chains and the corresponding portion of the Chippewyan range intervenes a space of many hundreds of miles, affording no barrier which could inclose the imagined waters; or if the Ozark Mountains be considered sufficient for this purpose, the same can not, at all events, be imagined of the level and sandy tract between them and the Chippewyan. Allowing the valley of the Mississippi to have been once the bottom of the sea, the conjecture of its elevation by subterraneous forces appears to us less difficult than that of its drainage by its present rivers.

The evidences of diluvial action on the North American continent are very ample, and on the same magnificent scale with the other geological phenomena. The following description of them in one locality is given by Professor Eaton:—"I find a diluvial trough, extending from Little Falls, along the Erie Canal, one hundred and sixty miles. After numerous examinations, I feel confidence in the following description. It is as it would have been, the whole having been filled to its present level with marly clay, covered with Bagshot sand and crag, generally overspread with a layer of shell marl, had it then been cut up, by a strong current running

from Little Falls westerly, into islands, ridges, embankments, &c.; and after these channels were thus made, had they been filled with a confused mass of gravel, sand, clay, trees, leaves, fresh-water shells, &c. Whether the appearances originated in this manner, or in any other way, such is the present aspect. I caused diggings to be made, to the depth of forty or fifty feet; and in one case a well was dug one hundred and eighteen feet deep. The American hemlock (*pinus canadensis*) appeared everywhere to the greatest depth of this deposit; also, immense quantities of fresh water-shells. They were chiefly of the genus *Mya*, (*Unio* of Bruguières,) and *Helix*, (*Lymnae* of some authors.) The insulated remains of the stratified antediluvial deposits present the marly clay, Bagshot sand and crag, beautifully crowned with almost snow-white shell marble, a fine yellowish soil, and vegetable mould, or peat. I may add, that nothing is more manifest, than that these deposits could not have been made by any existing cause." In addition to deposits of gravel, boulders are likewise extensively found. Along the Connecticut in the primitive region, large boulders in great numbers are commonly found, removed not many miles from the spot whence they were derived. Stragglers of this description may indeed be found almost everywhere, and among all the rocks none seems to be more scattered than granite, though perhaps the numerous beds and veins of this rock found almost everywhere may account for this: but in general along this river, the character of the rolled masses corresponds to the rock in the place underneath them; that is, the greatest number of the loose stones are of the same description as the rock that underlies them. But to this there are many exceptions—a most remarkable one occurs a few miles west of New Haven in Woodbridge and Milford, where the surface is covered with rolled masses, sometimes quite large, of primitive and secondary greenstone, mica slate, gneiss, granite, and almost every other rock, except that which is in place, viz. chlorite slate, or argillite. In many places which are highly mountainous, the geest (diluvium) is so abundant as to occupy most of the surface; the subjacent rock rarely appearing, as in the east part of Plainfield and in Shutesbury. The diameter of the loose fragments varies from an inch to twenty or even thirty feet, and they are usually rounded, indicating attrition. Some of the highest of these boulders are found insulated on the pinnacles of the mountains. Bordering on the Ohio River, in the state of Ohio, is a hilly region, which covers perhaps one third part of the surface of the state

* Mr. Maclure's paper may be seen in Silliman's Journal, vol. vi. p. 98. It is to us altogether unsatisfactory.

Above these hills towards Lake Erie, boulders of primitive rocks are found. That they are out of place in a region decidedly secondary and alluvial no one can doubt. They are water-worn, rounded, and smoothed, exactly like the pebbles in alluvial soils, and like them have been abraded by the stones with which they have come in contact, aided by the waters in which they have been immersed. That they have been brought thither from the north, north-west, and north-east, appears from the following considerations:—1. They exactly resemble the primitive rocks found, in several instances, on the shores of Lake Superior, and on the north side of Lake Ontario. 2. In proceeding northwardly from the hilly region above mentioned, they increase both in number and size. They have been seen on the northern side of the hilly region about Hillsborough, in Highland county, but never on the southern side of this region, except in the form of pebbles, in the beds of rivers passing through the country where the larger masses exist. These rocks abound most in valleys, which now are or appear to have been the beds of streams. Thus, in the bed of the Whetstone, below the town of Delaware, large rocks of this class are seen reposing on limestone. The latter rock is *in situ*, and abounds in shells. The stream (the Whetstone) has worn itself a channel, in some places very deep, through clay slate, until it has been checked in its progress downwards by a very hard, compact limestone. In the barriers (improperly so called) in Madison county, none but primitive boulders are found, and they are used for chimneys, and for the underpinnings of buildings. They are sometimes used for mill-stones, and one fragment was so large as to make three mill-stones. Primitive rocks are found in Indiana and Illinois, north of their hilly region, as in Ohio, south of Lake Ontario. They are also found in the state of New York, in a country geologically similar in all important respects to Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

In reference to the stratum which, in his tabular arrangement given above, Professor Eaton calls *ultimate diluvion*, he makes the following statement: "All elevated plains from which the original forests have not been removed, and whose surfaces have not been disturbed, are now covered, immediately beneath the vegetable mould, with a mantle of fine earth, finest at the surface, and this is everywhere nearly similar, and unlike the stratum upon which it rests. It is most perfect, as far as I have examined, upon that variety of crag which American agriculturists call hardpan. Almost the whole of the vast tract of land called Hardenburg patent, west and

south-west of Catskill mountains, containing several million acres, and most of the high ranges in New England, and the lands west of Lake Champlain, present a most perfect example of the hardpan crag covered with this ultimate diluvion." Professor Eaton is the only geologist who has thought this stratum worthy of a distinct enumeration, and seems doubtful whether any analogous fact has been traced by others; but we apprehend it entirely harmonizes with European observation, though on this side of the Atlantic such matter may be less extensively found. It appears to be identical, for example, with the fine earth lying above the pebbles in the diluvial hollows of the rock of Gibraltar.*

Striking indications of a similar kind are found in the great interior lakes. Of the north-west portion of Lake Huron, which exhibits many evidences of change and convulsion, Dr. Bigsby gives the following account:—The original form of the bed of the lake may be described as a triangular valley of great extent, divided in an easterly direction by the Manitoulin Ridge into two unequal parts, the northern being rocky and of variable elevation, and the southern more uniform in its level, and generally lower. In its present form, the bed of Huron Lake is covered with the debris of distant countries; its rocks are furrowed and abraded; its loftiest heights overthrown, (of greenstone, one of the most tenacious of minerals, as in the narrows of St. Joseph,) separating large tracts from the Main; and finally, passages, from ten to twelve miles wide and ten long, are forced in the Great Manitoulin barrier itself. These violences, and particularly the first and last, indicate a more general and powerful agency than that of a gradual accumulation of waters of Lakes Huron and Superior, whose united surplus requires only an outlet of three hundred yards in breadth, (River St. Clair,) in place of the four Manitoulin detours. The effect of a gradual accumulation of water would have been to have filled the north division of Lake Huron, and, in the end, to have inundated the lower grounds on the south and east by an embouchure at the point of least elevation in the Great Ridge. Dr. Bigsby is inclined to the opinion that an enormous body of water (a "debacle") has rushed over these countries swept from distant lands the colossal fragments of rock so frequent in the Lake, and formed the breaches called the detours; perhaps at the same time when the passages of the Hudson and Shenandoah were opened, and the heights of Quebec and the marshes of Montreal were covered with the ruins of annihila-

* Buckland's Reliquiæ Diluvianæ.

ted mountains. These fragments are incredibly numerous in Lake Huron, and may be divided into two geological classes, the foreign and the native. The former are the more plentiful, and are round and smooth. They are seen everywhere, but are collected principally in the interior of the coasts and islands, either in confused heaps, or in parallel ridges, and crowning the highest acclivities in great numbers. The fragments are of various dimensions. They belong almost exclusively to the older orders of rocks, and are therefore of a northerly origin. Granites, gneiss, mica slate, and porphyries, prevail, of kinds which, says Dr. Bigsby, "I never saw *in situ*, although I have skirted the north shore for two hundred miles, and have traversed the wildernesses to the east-north-east for six hundred miles. Mica slate I never met with in a fixed state, excepting a few strata of the black variety at the Falls des Chats, on the Ottawa." The other class is small, angular, and ragged. They are most frequent on the beaches, whither they are driven by the waves.

The formations in the United States of a character strictly alluvial are numerous and extensive, as may readily be imagined from the extent of its sea-coast, and the multitude and magnitude of its rivers. Thousands and millions of acres must have been thus formed in the course of ages, and are undoubtedly in a continued progress of formation.

From the importance which fossil remains have recently assumed in geological investigations, much interest necessarily attaches to those contained in the strata of the western world. It will be long before so vast a field of inquiry is fully explored; and, with Mr. Maclure in 1812, we may still say that it has not yet been examined with that accuracy of discrimination necessary to form just conclusions. From the various sources open to us we glean the following notices. The fossils of the transition strata consist of the ancient coralline and encrinital families, trilobites, &c., and generally resemble those of similar rocks in other parts of the globe. Entering upon the carboniferous strata of Conybeare and Phillips, we find the following account of the old red sandstone by Mr. Hitchcock:—"I found, in Deerfield Mountain, one or two specimens that belong to the petrified of Martin, there being a perfect substitution of a finer grained sandstone for the original substance. I found only fragments, about four or five inches long, and they appear to belong to the genus *phytolite* of Gmelin's Linnæan System, and to the species *Lignite*. They are a third of an inch in diameter, and a little flattened; and seem to agree with Professor Eaton's description of certain petrifications

found in red sandstone on the Catskill Mountain (Index, p. 211;) which he is inclined to refer to the 'tribe of naked Vermes.' Fossil bones occur in East Windsor, east parish. They belong to the conservata of Martin, and, without much doubt, to the genus *zoolithus* of Gmelin. The animal must have been about five feet in length, and lay horizontally in the rock, eighteen feet below its top, and twenty-three below the surface of the ground. The tail bone, as Dr. Porter, who lives near the spot, informed me, projected beyond the general mass containing the body of the skeleton, about eighteen inches in a curvilinear direction. This, of which that gentleman gave me a specimen, was easily distinguished by its numerous articulations. On exposure to the air, the bones begin to crumble, and lose the appearance they presented when first dug up. The rock in which these bones were found is decidedly the old red sandstone. It agrees exactly with that rock as it exists at New Haven, and to the distance of one hundred miles north from that town. The rock enclosing the bones is a little coarser than the finest varieties of this rock, and in the rock above the bones was found some moderately coarse conglomerate. Whatever doubt I had with regard to some other varieties of rock in that vicinity being the real old red sandstone, I could have no doubt in regard to this, after examining it."

From the same paper we derive an account of the organic remains in the coal formation itself. These occur at Westfield, Connecticut; at Sunderland, Massachusetts; and it is said also at some other places. At Westfield they were found, in exploring for coal, lying upon bituminous shale. Two species at least were recognised, one of which Mr. Brongniart calls the *Palæthrissum freislebenense* of Blainville. At Sunderland impressions occur in bituminous shale, which often contains a little mica, and generally a quantity of iron pyrites, disseminated through the rock. They occur at Witmore's ferry, in the north part of Sunderland, in the bank of the river. They are found most abundant at the lowest water-mark, at which time two men, in less than half a day, dug out for me nearly fifty specimens. Sometimes a layer of semi-crystalline dark coloured carbonate of lime, less than one twentieth of an inch thick, lies between the layers of slate. The substance of the fish is usually converted into coal, the thickness of which is rarely more than one tenth of an inch in any part, and the colour is black; in some instances, however, the carbonate of lime above mentioned covers the fish, and has taken the place of the matter of the fins and scales, and their original light gray colour is

preserved so perfectly as to resemble a fish just taken out of the water. Some of these specimens appear contorted; in others, the form of the fish is wholly lost, the fins, scales, and bones, being scattered about promiscuously, as if the fish had perished in violent struggles, or the rock had been disturbed after its imprisonment. Yet, in the same specimen that contains one thus mutilated, another will appear not more than a foot distant which is whole. Specimens have been found in which the fishes (both of them distinct) lie across each other; sometimes a very thin layer of shale, and sometimes none, separating them. Another specimen, three feet long and fifteen inches wide, contains seven distinct impressions. The shale in which these ichthyolites occur, when rubbed or held in a flame, exhales a strong bituminous odour. Among the impressions hitherto obtained, are easily discoverable three distinct species that have scales. Another petrification occurs with fishes which resemble the common silver eel, (*Muræna anguilla*), or some other species of the eel tribe; the width varies from half an inch to an inch, and the length from one to two feet. The substance of the eel (if indeed it be one) is not converted into coal, but there is a substitution of shale of a finer grain, except in the head, which is coal. No fins appear, except, perhaps, in one instance, a pectoral one. Sometimes along the centre of the impression there is a small relief, answering to the place of vertebræ. The course of the impressions is usually serpentine.

The vegetable remains appear to be either the branches or roots of trees, or the relics of culmiferous plants, and therefore may be called lignites and rhizolites. They are usually converted into a thin vein of coal, similar to the fish, and they are commonly broken into pieces from an inch to two feet long. Their width varies from a mere line to two inches, and they are not jointed. They are found in abundance at the falls in Gill, and with the ichthyolites at Sunderland; the rock in which they occur at both places is hardly bituminous shale, but a grayish micaceous sandstone. A specimen of rhizolite occurs on the road side, half a mile south of Newgate prison, not less than seven or eight feet in length.

The following information respecting a different part of the country is furnished by another writer, Mr. Caleb Atwater, in the same Journal. "In the vicinity of the Ohio River, and on the waters of the Muskingum, I have carefully examined not a few of the fossil trees there existing. Among them I noticed the following, (viz.)—black oak, black walnut, sycamore or button wood, white birch, sugar maple, the date or bread-fruit tree, cocoanut-bearing

palm, the bamboo, and the dog wood; and I have in my possession the perfect impression of the cassia and the tea leaf. Of ferns I have beautiful impressions of the leaves, and of the bread-fruit tree flowers fully expanded, fresh and entire. I have specimens so perfect, and so faithful to nature, as to dispel all doubts as to what they once were. The larger trees are found mostly in sandstone, although the bark of the date tree, much flattened, I ought to say perfectly so, is found in shale, covering coal. The date is a large tree, not very tall, and having numerous wide-spreading branches. Nine miles west of Zanesville, the body of a bread-fruit tree, now turned to sandstone, may be seen; it is exactly such sandstone as that in which M. Brongniart found tropical plants imbedded in France. It contains a considerable quantity of mica in its composition. The cassia was found in such sandstone in the Zanesville canal. The bamboo is mostly impressed upon ironstone, especially the roots, and the trunks and leaves are found in the micaceous sandstone. The ironstone is sometimes apparently made of bamboo leaves, the leaves of fern, and bamboo roots. It happens frequently that the trunks of small trees and plants are flattened by pressure, and the bark of them partially turned into coal. Thus the shale often contains a bark, now become coal, and a stratum of shale in succession, alternately, for several inches in thickness."

No part of the secondary strata has undergone so full and accurate an investigation as the ferruginous sand formation to the east of the Apalachian Mountains, by Dr. Morton of Philadelphia, to whose industry and care the science in this department is much indebted. As it is impossible for us to enter largely into detail, we give the following enumeration of the ascertained fossils in this formation, referring our readers for more particular information to the works mentioned below.* CHAMBERED UNIVALVES. Ammonites: 1. *A. placenta*; 2. *A. hippocrepis*; 3. *A. delawarensis*; 4. *A. vanuxemi*. Baculites: *B. ovatus*. Scaphites: *S. cuvieri*. Belemnites: 1. *B. americanus*; 2. *B. ambiguus*.—SIMPLE AND SPIRAL UNIVALVES. Dentalium, Patella, Turritella, Scallaria, Rostellaria, Natica, Bulla? Trochus, Spirorbis? Serpula, Cypræa.—BIVALVES. Terebratula: 1. *T. karlani*; 2. *T. fragilis*; 3. *T. Sayi*. Gryphæa: 1. *G. convexa*; 2. *G. mutabilis*; 3. *G. vomer*. Exogyra: *E. costata*. Ostrea: 1. *O. falcata*; 2. *O. cristagalli*? 3. *O.*; 4. *O.* Anomia. *A. ephippium*? Pecten: 1. *P. quinquecostatus*. 2. *P.* Cardium. Cucullæa: 1. *C. vulgaris*.

* Silliman's Journal, vol. xvii. p. 279; vol. xviii. p. 244. Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences, vol. vi. p. 113.

2. *C* *Mya*, *Trigonia*? *Tellina*, *Avicula*, *Pectunculus*, *Pinna*, *Teredo*, *Venus*, *Plagiostoma*.—**ECHINIDÆ.** *Spatangus*, *Ananchytes*, *Echinus*, *Clypeaster*.—**CRUSTACEA.** *Astacus*, *Cancer*.—**ZOO-PHYTES.** *Anthophyllum* (*atlanticum*), *Eschara* (*mil-lepora*, *Lin.*) *Flustra*, *Retepora*, *Caryophyllia*, *Alcyonium*.—**FOSSIL BONES.** *Mosasaurus*, *Plesiosaurus*, *Saurodon*, *Geosaurus*, *Crocodile*, *Whale*? *Shark*, *Tortoise*. To these may be added an abundance of lignite, in various stages, from charred wood to perfect jet. We have already referred to these organic remains as sufficiently establishing the secondary character of the strata in which they are found.

With respect to the fossils of the tertiary formation, we collect the following notices. In the plastic clay and sand are found large quantities of lignite; with dispersed shells of the genera *venus*, *ostrea*, and *murex*, besides beds of the oyster. The silicious limestone contains splendid impressions of two or three varieties of *maetra*. "In the banks of James River, Virginia," says Mr. Finch, "there is a large quantity of organic remains imbedded in a bank of clay. At Richmond are found fossil triangular teeth apparently belonging to sharks, and other pieces of bone, at a distance of sixty feet from the surface. All these fossil remains are similar to those found in the London clay, and from the same spot I have seen fossil shells, similar to those which are deposited in the collection of the Geological Society in London, and which were obtained in the deep excavations at Highgate Hill." At Washington, under the mass of diluvian gravel of which the higher part of the capitol hill is composed, there is a stratum of clay, which contains many organic remains. Trunks and branches of trees are found at a distance of fifty-four feet from the surface; and further down the river, in digging wells, sharks' teeth are often met with. Near Williamsburgh, fifty miles from the Atlantic ocean, the skeleton of a large fish was discovered; amongst other parts, fragments of the ribs, and all the vertebræ, were found regularly arranged.* Here also is placed by Mr. Finch a bed of oyster shells, which extends six hundred miles in length, from ten to one hundred miles in width, and if the known measurement in one part of the line may be supposed a fair criterion, three hundred feet in thickness. The principal part of the formation is composed of shells, and it may probably be considered as the largest collection of fossils in the world. In this stratum the shells are in some situations united by a scanty calcareous cement, from which they may be readily detached; in this state

it is called by the inhabitants a soft limestone, which in the quarry is easily cut by any edge tools, and becomes harder on exposure to the air; in other parts it presents immense banks of loose shells, ten or fifteen miles in length, without the admixture of any foreign substance. This extensive formation is chiefly composed of a large species of *ostrea*, which is believed not yet to have been described. A specimen of it may be seen in the Philadelphia museum, twelve inches long and two and three quarters wide, and each valve from half to two and a quarter inches thick: it is said they occur larger; and on account of their great size it is proposed to call them *ostrea gigantissima*. The shells appear but slightly changed by their continuance in the earth, and are in many parts used for burning into lime. Respecting the shells found "in the alluvial of New Jersey," according to Mr. Maclure, or those generally, we may presume, of the secondary and tertiary strata in the Atlantic Slope, that distinguished geologist makes the following somewhat surprising observation: "Most of these shells are similar to those found in the limestone and graywacke of the transition, and equally resemble those found in such abundance in the secondary horizontal limestone and sandstone; from which it would follow, that the different classes of rocks on this continent can not be distinguished by their shells, though the different strata of the same class may be discovered and known by the arrangement of the shells found in them." This observation requires either the confirmation or the correction of subsequent inquiries.

To give our readers an idea of the fossils of more recent origin in which the United States abound, we cannot, perhaps, do better than present to them an account of one of their most remarkable localities, a morass, known by the characteristic name of Big-bone Lick, in Kentucky. This wonderful spot is a small valley situated twenty miles south-west of Cincinnati, and two from the Ohio River. In a number of places the ground is so soft for several rods, that a pole may with ease be thrust down many feet. In these soft places saline and sulphurous mineral waters rise; the earth round them is dry and solid. Here are found the bones of the mastodon, elephant, buffalo, elk, and other now unknown animals. They are in immense quantities—it is a complete charnel-house. The bones are generally under ground, and so numerous that a hole cannot be dug to the depth at which they are usually found, without striking them. They are generally bones of the buffalo. On the east side of a rivulet that runs near the principal spring they lie in a horizontal stratum, three feet below the surface, where the ground is lowest, and eleven, where the

* Silliman's Journal, vol. vii.

ground is eight feet higher. As the ground is dry and solid over this stratum, it cannot be supposed that the bones have sunk through it to their present level; their position also excludes such a supposition, each bone lying horizontally, and the stratum also being horizontal. If the bones had penetrated the ground when it was soft, it cannot be supposed that they would have arranged themselves in a horizontal stratum, irrespectively of the unevenness of the ground, and of the various depths, three and eleven feet, necessary to attain this horizontal range; it is therefore evident, that this part of the valley was level when these bones were deposited, and that they lay on the surface, and were subsequently covered with earth. As they have been covered without being displaced, and without the horizontal position of each bone or of the stratum being disturbed, the only admissible supposition is, that they have been covered by an inundation. They must previously have been long accumulating; for there has been no accumulation since that supposed event, which bears any comparison for quantity with those thus imbedded. The inference also seems warranted, that quadrupeds have never been equal, either in number or variety, since such an inundation, to what they were previously to it. The ground on the opposite side of the rivulet is higher, and presents a different class of phenomena. There the bones lie promiscuously, at unequal depths, without any stratification; we must, therefore, suppose that some other agent than an inundation has contributed to this state of things. These bones are represented as in a state of "entire preservation;" a circumstance ascribed in part by the narrator to the salt with which the earth at Big-bone Lick is strongly impregnated. He adds a more remarkable fact, when he informs us that the process of petrification has commenced among them, and that many of them are completely petrified.

Some further interesting particulars respecting similar remains will be found in the following description of them by Mr. Atwater, as occurring in the state of Ohio. "I am credibly informed, that in digging a well at Cincinnati, in this state, an arrowhead was found more than ninety feet below the surface. At Pickaway plains, while several persons were digging a well several years since, a human skeleton was found seventeen feet six inches below the surface. This skeleton was seen by several persons, and among others, by Dr. Daniel Turney, an eminent surgeon; they all concurred in the belief, that it belonged to a human being. Pickaway plains are, or rather were, a large prairie, before the land was improved by its present inhabitants. This tract is alluvial to a great

depth; greater, probably, than the earth has ever been perforated, certainly than it has been here by the hand of man. The surface of the plain is at least one hundred feet above the highest freshet of the Scioto River, near which it lies. On the surface is a black vegetable mould, from three, to six, and nine feet in depth; then we find pebbles, and shells imbedded among them: the pebbles are evidently rounded and smoothed by attrition in water, exactly such as we now see at the bottom of rivers, ponds, and lakes. I have examined the spot where the skeleton was found, and am persuaded that it was not deposited there by the hand of man, for there are no marks of any grave, or of any of the works of man, but the earth and pebbles appear to lie in the very position in which they were deposited by the water. On the north side of a small stream, called Hargus creek, which at this place empties itself into the Scioto, in digging through a hill composed of such pebbles as I have described in Pickaway plains, at least nine feet below the surface, several human skeletons were discovered, perfect in every limb. These skeletons were promiscuously scattered about, and parts of skeletons were sometimes found at different depths below the surface. This hill is at least fifty feet above the highest freshets in the Scioto, and is a very ancient alluvion, where every stratum of sand, clay, and pebbles, has been deposited by the waters of some stream. Other skulls have been taken out of the same hill, by persons who in order to make a road through it, were engaged in taking it away. These bones are very similar to those found in our mounds, and probably belonged to the same race of men; a people short and thick, not exceeding generally five feet in height, and very possibly they were not more than four feet six inches. The skeletons, when first exposed to the atmosphere, are quite perfect, but afterwards moulder and fall into pieces. Whether they were overwhelmed by the deluge of Noah, or by some other, I know not; but one thing appears certain, namely,—that water has deposited them here, together with the hill in which, for so many ages, they have reposed. Indeed, this whole country appears to have been once, and for a considerable period, covered with water, which has made it one vast cemetery of the beings of former ages." Fragments of antique pottery, and even entire pots of coarse earthenware, have been found likewise in the excavations of the Illinois salt-works, at the depth of eighty feet and more from the surface. One of these was ascertained to hold from eight to ten gallons, and some were alleged to be of much greater capacity. This fossil pottery is stated not to differ ma-

terially from that which frequently occurs in the mounds supposed to have been formed by the aboriginal Indians.

The most extraordinary of the North American fossils in point of bulk, and we may add the most interesting to science, are the remains of the mastodon, an enormous creature of an extinct race, bearing a close affinity to the elephant, and long considered to be identical with it, but now allotted to a distinct genus, under the name of Mastodon. Of the discovery of these remains we would gladly give a detailed account if our limits would allow; but we must content ourselves with referring our readers to Godman's Natural History, vol. ii. where much information on the subject is collected. The size of the living animal may be conjectured when it is stated, that the head, at the posterior part, is 32 inches across, the lower jaw 2 feet 10 inches long, and the tusks 10 feet 7 inches long, and 7 3-4 inches in diameter at the base. The first vertebra, the atlas, is 11 inches broad, and 18 inches from tip to tip of the transverse processes. The scapula, or blade-bone, is 37 inches long, the shoulder-bone 2 feet 10 inches by 3 feet 2 1-2 inches at the largest part, and the fore-arm (ulna) 2 feet 5 1-2 inches in length by 3 feet 8 inches where largest. The pelvis is five feet 10 inches across; the thigh-bone 3 feet 7 inches in length, with a diameter of 8 inches in the middle; and the leg (tibia) 2 feet, with a diameter of 8 inches at the upper part. We have given an engraving of the skeleton in the nearly perfect condition to which it has at length been brought by the industry and labour of American naturalists, and may add the following not unnatural expression of feeling on beholding it:—"The emotions experienced when, for the first time, we behold the giant relics of this great animal, are those of unmingled awe. We can not avoid reflecting on the time when this huge frame was clothed with its peculiar integuments, and moved by appropriate muscles; when the mighty heart dashed forth its torrents of blood through vessels of enormous caliber, and the mastodon strode along in supreme dominion over every other tenant of the wilderness. However we examine what is left to us, we cannot help feeling that this animal must have been endowed with a strength exceeding that of other quadrupeds, as much as it exceeded them in size; and, looking at its ponderous jaws, armed with teeth peculiarly formed for the most effectual crushing of the firmest substances, we are assured that its life could only be supported by the destruction of vast quantities of food. Enormous as were these creatures during life, and endowed with

faculties proportioned to the bulk of their frames, the whole race has been extinct for ages. No tradition nor human record of their existence has been saved, and but for the accidental preservation of a comparatively few bones, we should never have dreamed that a creature of such vast size and strength once existed,—nor could we have believed that such a race had been extinguished for ever. Such, however, is the fact—ages after ages have rolled away—empires and nations have arisen, flourished, and sunk into irretrievable oblivion, while the bones of the mastodon, which perished long before the periods of their origin, have been discovered scarcely changed in colour, and exhibiting all the marks of perfection and durability. That a race of animals so large, and consisting of so many species, should become entirely and universally extinct, is a circumstance of high interest; for it is not with the mastodon as with the elephant, which still continues to be a living genus, although many of its species have become extinct: the entire race of the mastodon has been utterly destroyed, leaving nothing but the 'mighty wreck' of their skeletons, to testify that they once were among the living occupants of this land."

We cannot quit this subject without adverting to a striking instance of the facility with which the marvellous may be converted into the miraculous. In reference to one of the mastodon skeletons discovered in the United States, we have the following passage in Cuvier, Oss. Foss. vol. ii. ed. 1. "But what renders this discovery unique among others, is that in the midst of the bones was found a half triturated mass of small branches, of gramina, and of leaves, among which it was believed that a species of reed still common in Virginia could be recognised, and that the whole seemed to be enveloped in a sort of sac, which was considered as the stomach of the animal; so that there was no doubt but that these were the very substances upon which the animal had fed." This information, it seems, was communicated to Mons. Cuvier by Dr. Barton in a letter, in which he says most truly, "*If the facts are as I state them*, you will not hesitate to consider the discovery one of the most interesting that has been made for a long time. I may add," he continues with great naivete, "*that such a discovery was hardly to be expected by the most sanguine or enthusiastic zoologist.*" Truly we think not; and quite as little was it to be expected that men of science should be so bereft of common sense as to credit such an alleged discovery without a rigorous investigation. Not an approach to satisfactory evidence of such a

miracle exists. The reader may consult Godman's *American Natural History*, vol. ii. p. 240.

We ought not to omit a reference to some fragments of the skull of a fossil ox, which were thrown out at an eruption caused by an earthquake, at New Madrid, on the Mississippi, in 1812. It is stated that none of the oxen now in North America have crania "in the slightest degree" resembling this specimen. There has also been found upon the shores of Long Island a fossil skull of the genus *trichecus*, or *walrus*. It is agatized, and in fine preservation.* It is stated by Dr. Harman,† that in North America, there have been found fossil remains of eleven species of animals, which no longer exist in a living state, in that or in any other country.

With respect to the question whether the whole of these remains occur exclusively in alluvial formations, or whether some of them are not imbedded in deposits strictly diluvial, some difficulty seems to us to exist. That in part they are alluvial, admits of no doubt; and if it is to be set down as a criterion that human bones and works of art occur in none but alluvial deposits, then, of course, the inquiry is at an end. We cannot help asking, however, how, upon this supposition, the stratum of bones laid horizontally under an uneven surface at Big-bone Lick is to be accounted for; or the promiscuous deposit of bones in the higher ground. We feel a similar difficulty respecting the plains in Ohio, where human bones have been found, in some cases fifty, and in some at least an hundred feet "above the highest freshet" of the river in their neighbourhood. We can do no more, however, than suggest our doubts, and commend the inquiry to those who may be able to pursue it to a conclusive issue. Should there appear reason to think that these remains are in any case found in diluvial deposits, it will open a new and interesting field of observation. We subjoin some remarks of Mr. Schoolcraft, as a specimen of the method in which the strictly alluvial character of these deposits is maintained. "One striking fact, which appears to have escaped general observation, is, that at some former period, there has been an obstruction in the channel of the Mississippi at or near Grand Tower, producing a stagnation of the current at an elevation of about 130 feet above the present ordinary water mark. This appears evident from the general elevation and direction of the hills, which, for several hundred miles above, are separated by a val-

ley from twenty to twenty-five miles wide, which now deeply embosoms the current of the Mississippi. Wherever these hills disclose rocky and precipitous fronts, a series of distinctly marked antique water-lines is to be observed. These water-lines preserve a parallelism which is very remarkable, and as we should expect to find, constantly present their greatest depression towards the sources of the river.‡ At Grand Tower they are elevated about 130 feet above the summer level, at which elevation we observe petrifications of madrepores and various other fossil organic remains which belong to this peculiar era. Here the rocks of dark-coloured limestone, which pervade the country to so great an extent, project towards each other as if they had once united; but by some convulsion of nature, or what is still more probable, by the continued action of the water upon a secondary rock, the Mississippi has effected a passage through this barrier, thus producing an exhaustion of the stagnant waters from the level prairie lands above. The whole Missouri shore, from the vicinity of Grand Tower extending upwards, is sufficiently elevated to have served, at a former period, as the western shore of an expanse of waters standing upon the present surface of the state of Illinois. This hypothesis derives additional weight from an attentive consideration of the mineral character of the alluvial deposits forming the surface of the prairies, in which we often observe fine, hard, and compacted layers of earth, similar to those which are found at the bottom of mill-ponds, where the water has been long stagnant."

Before closing our notices of fossils, we must briefly advert to those which have been found in the caverns with which the limestone districts of the United States abound, in a manner analogous to those of Europe. In too many instances caverns have been penetrated, and their contents disturbed, without any accurate observation or report: Professor Eaton, however, writes on the subject as follows: "The new cavern in Root's Nose, on the Erie Canal, I carefully investigated, aided by three accurate assistants. This is 400 feet in extent. I caused two important caverns to be minutely examined in the Helderberg by three good assistants, of whom Mr. Finch, the geologist, was one. In addition to these, I have caused the important points suggested by Buckland to be searched out in several of the Kentucky and Illinois caverns. Nothing resembling the bones so abundant in European caverns has hitherto been discovered. Who-

* Godman, vol. iii.

† *Fauna Americana*.

‡ We have quoted accurately; but this statement appears to us,

if correct, irreconcilable with Mr. Schoolcraft's theory. Water marks produced by the course of a stream, would present their greatest elevation towards its source.

ever will take the trouble to make personal inquiry, or to look over the journals of the last half century, will learn that all the bones disinterred in this country which may be called antediluvian, belong to the pachydermata, or thick skin order. I can not learn that a fragment of hyæna bone has ever been found in this hemisphere. I have taken measures to secure every important discovery made by the workmen on the canal for the last four years; I distributed 1000 copies of a pamphlet giving plain instructions for making collections, along the canal line, while the labour of excavating 360 miles was going on; but not a fragment of a dry-land animal was discovered. I may add, that we found stalagmites in all the caverns, as described by Buckland; and on shelves, and in other situations protected from the touch, and in almost every part of the new cavern in Root's Nose, we found a deposit resembling what I have elsewhere denominated ultimate diluvion." From these facts he derives the conclusion, not perhaps improbable, yet open to correction by future researches, that antediluvial animals were few on the North American continent, and that they consisted chiefly of large species of pachydermata.

We may now find a proper place for adverting to another topic. The geological aspect of the United States has, in many instances, been apparently modified by the comparatively recent operation of natural causes; such as the fall of a portion of a mountain, an impetuous torrent of water, or the draining of a lake. These are scenes which strongly tempt the spectator to suspect, and almost to be confident, that such events have occurred within a thousand, or perhaps within a few hundred years, and have given origin to valleys, and cliffs, and strata, and river courses, which now mingle in entire harmony with the general landscape. The want of written records among the native tribes precludes the possibility of discovering any other memorials of these catastrophes than such as are impressed on the face of nature; but while the idea is encouraged by the immense force of the causes which are here in operation, and the vastness of the scope which is open to their action, it is converted almost into certainty by occurrences of a similar kind which have taken place within the period of accurate observation and record. We may mention one in illustration of the manner in which local deposits of gravel may have been formed, and at a height considerably exceeding that of the water which produced them. The severity of the winter of 1821-2 having formed the ice of the Hudson of unusual thickness, it broke up suddenly, and moved down, not with great velocity, but with

a degree of force which seemed to threaten even the shores of solid rock. Pressing against a little rock promontory across which a canal is cut, cakes of ice shot over, and soon filled the canal. Other cakes pressing against the bottom of these, lifted them up to a considerable height above the water. At length an enormous ice cake appeared, bearing on its back a great quantity of gravel, and began to press against the heaps of ice already formed, which bore much gravel also. Innumerable other cakes from behind, urged on by the unconquerable waters of the Hudson, soon forced the largest cake across the canal, and up the eastern bank, so that its eastern edge extended thirty-four feet higher than the surface of the water, carrying up hundreds of smaller cakes to the same height. "This mountain of ice," says Professor Eaton, "having taken its stand here, is now melting away, and leaving on the bank the gravel which it transported from the northern counties. I do not record this," he adds, "as an uncommon occurrence; but since it seems to be a rule among geologists to trace the derivation of alluvial deposits to localities more elevated than those where they are found, it may be well to remind them of contingencies of the above nature."

The following brief account relates to the cutting of deep channels by mountain torrents, and the formation and impulse of boulders. Deerfield river, in the greater part of its course, is a mountain torrent, very rapid and powerful, and has worn itself a passage often 400 feet deep, the banks being almost perpendicular. The ice freezes three or four feet thick, and when a sudden rain melts the snows on its banks, the stream rises rapidly, and lifts up and urges forward with tumultuous fury this immense body of ice. As the banks among the mountains are steep and rocky, they prevent the accumulation of water and ice from spreading to the right or left, and thus an immense force is exerted upon obstacles in the bed of the stream, which, in winter floods, is filled with huge masses of ice to the very bottom. In the west part of Shelburne this river descends a cataract thirty or forty feet high. The rock in the bottom of the river is an aggregate of quartz and mica, with hornblende intermixed, and below the falls it is unstratified, almost without seams, and very hard. Here we might expect the force of the torrent would be very powerful; and accordingly are found masses of this rock, from one to ten feet in diameter, raised from their bed and removed down the stream, some only a few rods, but some one or two miles. Some very large blocks are seen just beginning to be raised from their bed. "Previously to viewing this spot," says

Mr. Hitchcock, "I had no just ideas of the enormous force exerted by a mountain torrent."

The most interesting account of this kind, however, is that given by the Rev. S. E. Dwight, of his visit to a lake which had burst its banks through an indiscreet attempt to draw off part of its waters to a needy mill. By virtue of the sandy nature of its margin, the whole contents of the basin were set at liberty, and made, of course, in their progress, a frightful desolation. "I was most agreeably surprised," says our traveller, "as I descended the hills which overlook the valley of the river, to find the ravages made by the flood so distinctly visible, after the lapse of thirteen years. Our first view of the desolation presented a gully, or excavation in the earth, extending up and down the river as far as its course was visible, and varying in breadth from twenty to forty rods, and in depth from twenty to forty feet. This immense channel, except what had been previously worn away by the gradual attrition of the streamlet, had all been hollowed out at once by the violence of the torrent. Its sides were precipices of earth or sand, every where indicating the avulsion of the mass which had been adjacent, and exhibiting, in frequent succession, large rocks laid bare and often jutting out into the gulley, and near the top the uncovered roots of trees, which, having been partially undermined by the water, still nodded over the precipice. The bottom of this channel, as far as we could see, was covered with larger and smaller rocks and stones, and in some places with extensive deposits of sand. The sight of this vast excavation only heightened our conceptions of the effects of the flood."

We know not where, better than in connexion with these facts, to introduce one still more remarkable, if not altogether inexplicable. There have been found, it appears beyond all question, in naked limestone of the elder secondary formation, close on the western margin of the Mississippi at St. Louis, the prints of human feet. The prints are those of a man standing erect, with his heels drawn in, and his toes turned outward, which is the most natural position. They are not the impressions of feet accustomed to a close shoe, the toes being very much spread, and the foot flattened in the manner that happens to those who have been habituated, to go a great length of time without shoes. The prints are strikingly natural, exhibiting every muscular impression and swell of the heel and toes, with great precision and faithfulness to nature. The length of each foot, as indicated by the prints, is ten inches and a half, and the

width across the spread of the toes, four inches, which diminishes to two inches and a half at the swell of the heels, indicating, as it is thought, a stature of the common size. Every appearance seems to warrant the conclusion that these impressions were made at a time when the rock was soft enough to receive them by pressure, and that the marks of feet are natural and genuine. "Such was the opinion of Governor Cass and myself," says Mr. Schoolcraft, "formed on the spot, and there is nothing that I have subsequently seen to alter this view; on the contrary, there are some corroborating facts calculated to strengthen and confirm it." At Herculanum, in the same neighbourhood, similar marks have been found, as well as on some of the spurs of the Cumberland mountains, always in similar limestone. In the latter case it is stated that the impressions are elongated, as of persons slipping in ascending a slimy steep. Opinions are much divided as to the origin and import of these impressions.* Should similar observations multiply, important inferences may perhaps be drawn from them; at present it seems impossible to speak respecting them decisively or satisfactorily. They may perhaps be connected with the tracks of animals which have been noticed in Scotland.†

The following extraordinary facts, respecting what may be termed living fossils, appear to be well authenticated. During the construction of the Erie canal, while the workmen were cutting through a ridge of gravel, they found several hundred of live molluscous animals. They were chiefly of the *Mya cariosa* and *Mya purpurea*. "I have before me," says Professor Eaton, "several of the shells from which the workmen took the animals, fried and ate them. I have received satisfactory assurances that the animals were taken alive from the depth of forty-two feet." In addition to this discovery in diluvial deposits, mention is made of a similar one in a much older formation. In laying the foundation of a house at Whitesborough, the workmen had occasion to split a large stone from the millstone grit. "It was perfectly close-grained and compact. On opening it they discovered a black, or dark brown spherical mass, about three inches in diameter, in a cavity which it filled. On examining it particularly, they found it to be a toad, much larger than the common species, and of a darker colour. It was perfectly torpid. It was laid upon a stone, and soon began to give signs of life. In a few hours it would hop moderately, on being disturbed. They saw it in the yard, moving about slowly for several days; but it

* Silliman's Journal, vol. v. p. 223.

† See Dr. Brewster's Journal, April, 1828.

was not watched by them any longer, and no one observed its farther movements. They laid one half of the stone in the wall, so that the cavity may still be seen. "The millstone grit," says Professor Eaton, who gives this account, "in which this toad was found, is the oldest of the secondary rocks. It must have been formed many centuries before the deluge. Was this toad more than 4000 years old? or was it from an egg introduced, through a minute and undiscovered cleavage, into this cavity or geode, made precisely to fit the size and form of a toad? I was particular in my inquiry, and learned that the whole stone was perfectly compact, without any open cleavage which would admit an egg. Besides, it is well known that the millstone grit is neither porous nor geodiferous. If this rock stratum was deposited upon the toad, it must have been in aqueous, not in igneous solution, and the toad must have been full grown at the time. Toads are often found in compact, hard, gravelly diluvial deposits, in situations which demonstrate that they must have lived from the time of the deluge. I think I am warranted in saying this without citing authorities, as it is a common occurrence. Then why may they not have lived a few centuries longer, if we admit them a life of at least 3000 years?"

In the present unsettled state of geological investigation with regard to the United States, every observer of the phenomena which marked the physical formation of the country, deserves to be listened to with more or less regard. It is to be regretted that more confidence can not be placed in the accuracy of the speculations which Professor Eaton has with such boldness ventured to publish; and it would have been well had the English editor availed himself of the researches of Mr. Hayden, whose Geological Essay contains a large amount of facts on some of the most important phenomena to be found in various parts of America.* In his Lectures on Geology, delivered in the New York Athenæum, Dr. Van Rensselaer gives us the following list of fossils found in the United States:

Megatherium	Balena
Megalonyx	Manatus
Mastodon	
Elephas	Ichthyosaurus
Bos	Plesiosaurus
Cervus	Saurocephalus

Testudo	Venericardia
	Cucullæa
Squalus	Anomia
Raia	Nerita
Acipenser, and many	Pectunculus
undetermined genera	Trigonia
and species.†	Mytillus
Medusa	Amphidesma
Cancer	Corbula
Trilobite	Panopœa
Asteria	Crassatella
Echinus	Isocardia
Caryophyllia	Calyptraea
Pentremite	Lucina
Encrinite	Astarte
	Fusus
Ammonite	Fulgur
Nautilite	Dispotœa
Belemnite	Pecten
Orthoceratite	Helix
Natica	Plicatula
Oliva	Serpula
Cardita	Cellapora
Bilobite	Millepora
Terebratulite	Alveolite
Arca	Favosite
Mastra	Tubipora
Donax	Turbinolia
Ostrea	Astrea
Gryphea	Madrepora
Perna	Oculina
Patella	Corallium
Conus	Pennatula
Conularia	Sertularia
Terebellum	Alcyonite
Murex	Orbulite
Strombus	Bacculite
Turbo	Fasciolite
Planorbis	Dentalium
Turritella	Ammonite
Serpula	Nummulite
Balanus	Spirula
Glycemeris	
Cytherea	Felices
Productus	Palma
Pentamerus	Quercus
Venus	Juglans nigra
Cardium	Fagus.
Cardita	

* See Geological Essays, 8vo. Baltimore, 1820.

† In a paper recently read before the Lyceum of Natural History, Dr. Dekay has attempted to show that nearly all the fossil fish from the great depository at Westfield, (Mass.) and which have

been referred to the genus *Paleothrissum* of Blainville, are not generically distinct from the *Esox Osseus*, or bony scaled pike of the Mississippi

The following fossils have been enumerated by Dr. Bigsby, in his geological papers on the country around Lakes Huron and Erie.

Trilobite	and Flustra, in great
Ammonite	abundance. Nine
Orthoceratite	new varieties of
Conularia	Madrepores
Terebratulæ	Lingula
Productæ	Calyptræa?
Encrinis	Cerithium
Caryophyllia	Unio
Turbinolia	Mytilus
Astrea	Gryphea
Cellular and chain Madrepores, Strues, and	Arca
Ramosa, Retepores	Lilly and Pear Enerinite.

CHAPTER II.

MINERALOGY.

FROM the Geology of the United States, we now turn to their Mineralogy, which is equally ample and extraordinary. We may first give a general view of the mineral contents of the several classes of strata.

A great variety of mineral substances are found in the primitive formation, such as garnets in the granite and mica slate, from the size of a pin's head to that of the head of a child, staurolite, andalusite, epidote in vast variety and abundance, tremolite, all the varieties of magnesian rocks, emerald touching graphic granite, and disseminated in the granite of a large extent of country, adularia, tourmaline, hornblende, sulphate of barytes, arragonites, &c. From the number already found in proportion to the little research that has yet been employed, there is every reason to suppose, that in so great an extent of crystalline formation, almost every mineral discovered in similar situations on the ancient continent will be found on the new. Metallic substances in the primitive are generally extensive, like the formation itself. Iron pyrites runs through vast fields, principally of gneiss and mica slate; magnetic iron ore, in powerful beds, from ten to twelve feet thick, generally in a hornblende rock, occupies the highest elevation, as in the Highlands of New York, the Jerseys, the Yellow and Iron Mountains in the west of North Carolina; a black brown bed of hematitic iron ore occurs in Connecticut and New York states; crystals of octahedral iron ore (some of which have polarity)

are disseminated in granites, as at Brunswick, district of Maine, and in many varieties of the magnesian genus; black lead is met with in beds from six to twelve feet wide, traversing the states of New York, Jersey, Virginia, Carolina, &c.; native and gray copper ore, near Stanardsville, and Nicholson's Gap, Virginia, is disseminated in a hornblende and epidote rock, bordering on the transition; molybdena at Brunswick, (Maine,) Chester, (Pennsylvania,) Virginia, North Carolina, &c.; arsenical pyrites in large quantities in the district of Maine; red oxyd of zinc and magnetic iron ore in a powerful bed on the edge of the primitive, near Sparta, in New Jersey, having a large grained marble, with nigrin or silico-calcareous titanium imbedded in it on one side, and hornblende rock on the other. This bed contains likewise large quantities of blende. Detached pieces of gold, of which we shall presently speak more particularly, have been found in the beds of some small streams in North Carolina, and other places. Manganese has been found in New York, North Carolina, &c. Near the confines of the old red sandstone and primitive formation, a white ore of cobalt has been wrought above Middletown, on the Connecticut river, and found also, as it is said, near Morristown, in New Jersey. The general nature of metallic repositories in this formation appears to be in beds, disseminated, or lying in masses; when in beds (as the magnetic iron ore and black lead) or disseminated (as the iron pyrites, octahedral iron ore, molybdena, &c.) they occur at intervals through the whole range of the formation. Veins to any great extent have not yet been discovered in this formation.

Beds of coalblende, or anthracite, accompanied by alum slate and black chalk, have been discovered in the transition strata, on Rhode Island, the Lehigh and Susquehannah rivers, and a large body of alum slate in Virginia; many powerful veins of the sulphate of barytes cross it in different places; granular, as that near Fincastle, or slaty, as that in Buncomb county, North Carolina. Iron and lead have as yet been the principal metals found in this formation; the lead in the form of galena, in clusters, or what the Germans call Stockwerk, as at the lead mines on New River, Wyeth county, Virginia; the iron disseminated in pyrites, hematitic and magnetic iron, or in beds; and considerable quantities of the sparry iron ore in beds, and disseminated in the limestone. Prehnite and Zeolite are found in the trap of the old red sandstone formation; and considerable deposits of magnetic iron ore at Grub's mines are enveloped, and have their circular layers intersected, by greenstone trap, on a ridge of which

this extensive cluster of iron ore seems to be placed. Gray copper ore has been found in the red sandstone formation, near Hartford and Washington, in Connecticut; there are likewise mines in New Jersey, where copper pyrites and native copper have been found. The metallic veins at Perkiomen creek, containing copper, pyrites, blende, and galena, are in the same formation, running nearly north and south across the east and west direction of the red sandstone, and a small bed, from a half to three inches thick, of brown or red copper ore is interspersed, and follows the circular form of the iron beds at Grub's mines.

In the secondary and tertiary formations eastward of the Apalachian mountains, considerable deposits of bog iron ore occupy the lower situations, and many of the more elevated and dividing ridges between the rivers are crowned with a sandstone and puddingstone, the cement of which is bog iron ore. Large quantities of ochre, from bright yellow to dark brown, are found in this formation, in flat horizontal beds, alternating with other earths in some places, in others in kidney-form masses, from the size of an egg to that of a man's head; in form resembling much the flint found frequently in chalk formations.

In the ordinary mineral productions, such as sand of all qualities, brick-earth, stone adapted for buildings of all descriptions, as well as for any kind of workmanship, the resources of the United States are inexhaustible. The same may likewise be said of many minerals of less universal occurrence, of which it may be expected that we should speak somewhat more particularly. To speak first of the precious metals. Gold is found in considerable quantities in North and South Carolina, on the eastern side of the Apalachian Mountains. One mass is stated to have weighed 28lbs. The value of the gold received at the mint of the United States up to 1820, was 44,000 dollars, or about 11,000*l.* sterling. It is remarkable that the gold of this region is found not only in alluvium, as in South America, but in its matrix, though the opinions of the scientific men who have written upon it are so various, as to render it difficult to say what the matrix is. By Professor Olmstead it is referred to clay slate (argillite;) by Mr. Rothe to granite, and beds of greenstone occurring in granite; and by Professor Eaton to talcose slate, a kind of rock, in which he states that a small portion of gold has been found in Maryland.* Its occurrence in the alluvium is thus explained, with

great probability, by Professor Mitchell:—"It formerly existed in the rocks of the region in which it is found, whether in veins of quartz exclusively, or also disseminated through the rock, is in a degree uncertain; but I am inclined to think, disseminated also. As the rocks have undergone decomposition, it has fallen out, and now lies mingled in the soil, near the same spot, and bearing the same proportion to the earthy matter as when enclosed in its original stony matrix. In a few cases only, where it happened to occupy the side of a steep declivity, it has been carried down during the violent rains into the adjacent low grounds, and the beds of the neighbouring streams." He gives also the following general result of his inquiries:—"The gold of North Carolina is found;—1. In veins of quartz traversing the ancient primitive rocks, in very small quantity. 2. In veins of quartz traversing more recent primitive rock, in considerable quantity. 3. In veins of quartz traversing transition rocks, and also disseminated, in considerable quantity. 4. In soil produced by the decomposition of these three kinds of rock. 5. In the sand of a stream running over old red sandstone, in very minute quantity.

Silver and its ores are not of frequent or extensive occurrence. Dr. Dana states the curious fact that, near Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a mass, three or four inches in diameter, was found on the top of a wall, composed principally of native silver in filaments: the surrounding hills are chiefly greenstone. Mercury, which has been found native in Kentucky, occurs more plentifully as a sulphuret, (Bituminous Cinnabar, *Cleaveland*,) in Ohio and the Michigan territory, more particularly on the shores of lakes Michigan, Huron, St. Clair, Detroit River, and Lake Erie to the mouth of Vermilion River. It occurs in the soil in the form of a black and red sand, but is usually more abundant in banks of fine ferruginous clay. Near the mouth of Vermilion River, it is in the form of a very fine red powder, or in grains and small masses, disseminated in clay. It yields by distillation about 60 per cent. of mercury.

Copper, in various forms, occurs in the United States, but the ores do not appear to be brought into use. This metal is not found so abundantly on the shores of Lake Superior as it was anticipated it would be; but many specimens of copper ore have been found at different points in the Mississippi valley. Specimens of pure and malleable copper have been obtained: one of which, said to have been found in Illinois, thirty miles east of St. Louis, weighed three pounds. In the United States ores of iron are abundant. Those hitherto worked are chiefly the

* Silliman's Journal, vol. vii.

magnetic oxide, brown hematite, and the argillaceous oxide, particularly bog ore. The more important ores are the following, viz. in New Hampshire, the magnetic oxide; in Vermont, brown hematite, and bog ore; in Massachusetts, bog ore; in Rhode Island, brown hematite; in Connecticut, brown hematite, and bog ore; in New York, the magnetic, specular, and argillaceous oxides; in New Jersey, the magnetic and argillaceous oxides; in Pennsylvania and the states south and west, the magnetic oxide, brown hematite, and the argillaceous oxide. To these may now be added the carbonate of iron, which has recently been successfully smelted, and which produces iron having the carbonaceous impregnation of steel, whence it has been called steel ore. In New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the ore is found in an abundance, and of a quality not exceeded in Sweden. The Connecticut and Virginia iron is highly esteemed. More than 600 furnaces, forges, and bloomeries, now exist in the United States; at which it is estimated that about 30,000 tons of bar iron, and about 60,000 tons of cast iron, are annually made. In 1819, 20,000 tons of iron, in bars and bolts, were imported into the United States. In Ohio, are furnaces or forges, or both, in nine or ten counties. The ore sometimes occurs in nodules in clay, and sometimes it is a very ferruginous sandstone, occurring in beds.

The ores of lead are extensively found in the territories of the republic; and in Ohio, it is stated to have been met with native, forming slips, or slender prismatic masses, in crystallized galena. This mineral is found in various places, from the Arkansas River to the northwest territory, the precise line of the Ozark and Shawnee mountains, a tract which seems to constitute one of the most important and extensive deposits of lead hitherto known. On the Arkansas, the ore is smelted by the Osage Indians for bullets. To the northward, some valuable mines at Prairie du Chien are imperfectly worked by the proprietors of the soil. But the most important mines are those in Cape Girardeau district, commonly known as the lead mines of Missouri. The mining district is situated between two prominent ridges of sandstone, which bound the valley of Grand River, or the basin of Potosi. These ridges diverge in their course northward, and are intercepted by the Merameg, which receives the waters of Grand River, and forms a boundary to the mining district in that direction. The area, thus isolated by prominent topographical boundaries, forms the metalliferous district, where mining operations were first commenced by the French about a century since, and have been continued, with more or less activity, to the present period. The consoli-

dated portions of this area consist of two distinct deposits of limestone, a formation of sandstone, and another of red marl, the latter of which has, thus far, yielded the greatest quantities of lead ore. This metalliferous marl fills large veins and fissures in the inferior stratum of limestone, and there is reason to conclude that it is found, in some cases, in the position of subordinate beds. The galena and spars found in this marl are never abraded, but present all their crystalline characters unimpaired by the action of any accidental forces. The superior limestone is compact, shelly, and blackish, and seems to be above the metalliferous marl. Over the whole, and forming the surface of the country, is a heavy deposit of diluvial materials, pebbles of various formations, ferruginous loam, fragments of quartz, &c. This is the repository of those comparatively limited beds of abraded galena which are denominated gravel ore, and which has all the marks of diluvial action. Mixed with the more finely comminuted portions of rock, are found fragments of quartz, and lumps of lead ore, together with rounded masses of pre-existing strata representing the two great classes of formations, which most geologists have felt a necessity for recognising under the names of primitive and secondary. Most of these masses are small, not exceeding a few ounces in weight, and few are found to exceed the size of a cannon shot. Some writers have been disposed to ascribe the ore found so abundantly, and so contrary to all analogy hitherto observed, in the veins of red marl or clay in the galeniferous limestone, to diluvial action likewise; but Mr. Schoolcraft positively assures us that there are none of those marks of abrasion which such a theory would require. The galena raised from the marl, he tells us, is as free from any marks of diluvial action, as if it had been fresh blasted from the most solid parts of the limestone. That the red marl never has been so disturbed, appears also from the large vein-like beds of sulphate of barytes which traverse it. To assert that these very white, highly crystalline bodies of spar, often enveloping cubical masses of galena, and large beds of galena with the cubical pyrites and octahedral and crested iron ores of the basin of Potosi, could have been removed by any known forces amid the earthy mass in which they are found, without effecting a visible obliteration of their angles, would certainly be not very reasonable. The same series of formations extends in a particular direction, not only from the Merameg to the St. Francis, throughout the broadest part of the valley of Grand River, but even beyond it, to the southern limits of the state of Missouri, to the upper tributaries of White River

and to the Strawberry branch of Black River. Towards the north also, this metalliferous red clay and its accompanying strata have been traced; whether uninterrupted or not, they certainly reappear, with some differences, on the Upper Mississippi, at the mines of Peosta and Dubuque. In the Shawnee mountains, in the southern part of the state of Illinois, mining was formerly attempted, but it is now abandoned. Tin has not been found in the United States. And although the ores of zinc, antimony, and many other metals, occur in various localities, they do not possess sufficient importance to require further notice here.

Coal is known to exist in the United States in great quantity, and has been sought after to a considerable extent, although the abundance of wood has hitherto impeded the working of the mines to their full capability. The kinds of coal found in this extensive territory are very various, and the localities in which they are met with are of corresponding diversity. They are classed by Professor Eaton under the following heads:—First, The genuine anthracite, or glance coal, found in the transition argillite, as at Worcester, (Massachusetts,) Newport, (Rhode Island;) also in small quantities in the north and south range of argillite along the bed and banks of the river Hudson. Second, Coal destitute of bitumen, usually called anthracite, but differing greatly in its character from the anthracite found in argillite. It may be called anasphaltic coal. This is embraced in a slate rock, being the lowest of the lower series of secondary rocks. This coal formation is equivalent to the great coal measures of Europe. There is always bitumen in a greater or less proportion, though the proportion is often exceedingly small.* The principal American localities of this coal hitherto discovered are in the state of Pennsylvania; as at Carbondale, Lehigh, Lackawaxen, Wilkesbarre, &c. Third, The proper bituminous coal, as at Tioga, Lycoming, &c. This coal is embraced in a slate rock, which is the lowest of the series of upper secondary rocks. The fourth formation is the lignate coal, which is found in a very extensive stratum in the state of New Jersey along the south shore of the bay of Amboy. The second species of coal is becoming of considerable importance in the United States, and rising into high estimation, as peculiarly adapted to various useful purposes. When once ignited, it burns with a strong and durable heat; and indeed much of the difficulty of

kindling it may be avoided by the addition of a certain quantity of charcoal, and by a strong current of air judiciously managed. As it is composed almost entirely of carbon, without bitumen, or even sulphur, except from the accidental presence of pyrites, it burns without caking, and is very useful in those operations where a durable and uniform degree of heat is required. Hence its use in smelting iron ore, and in the preparation of steel; in burning limestone; in salt-works, and other processes of evaporation; in distillation, preparing malt, &c. &c. But as it burns without flame, it cannot be employed in reverberatory furnaces; and, as it does not cake, it cannot be used by the smith for those purposes of the forge where a hollow fire is required. It has been common to consider this anasphaltic coal as a true anthracite, and the strata in which it is found as properly belonging to the transition class; but it would be difficult to admit this in conjunction with such a profusion of vegetable remains as occur in connexion with it. In visiting several of the mines of the Susquehanna, and Lackawanna, the naturalist is gratified by seeing the vast deposits of vegetable impressions and remains which accompany the coal, usually in the slate that forms the roof, and occasionally in that of the floor; they exist also, although in a smaller degree, in the sandstone, and sometimes, but much more rarely, even in the coal itself. There are instances where they fill the slate for a space of ten feet in thickness, and, making due allowance for the compression which they have undergone, the original deposits must have occupied a vastly greater thickness than their relics do now. The impressions are very perfect, indicating repose and calm at the time of their deposition, and excluding the possibility of transport from distant countries. There are many species of ferns, none of them, as it is said, modern, and most or all of them tropical; there are impressions, sometimes several feet long and broad, of the bark of gigantic vegetables, some botanists say they are palms; occasionally there are entire limbs, carbonized; frequently, broad leaves are found of six or seven inches or more in diameter; culmiferous plants are numerous, and so are the aquatic algæ, and rushes. The leaves of the plants are usually in full expansion, the most delicate parts of their structure being exactly preserved or copied; and according to Mr. Cist, flowers of a stellated form are occasionally found. Professor Hitchcock believed that he had found a flower with unfolded petals. If all these remains are found in transition rocks, it is certainly a new feature in geological science; if, on the contrary, according to Professor Eaton, the strata

* This is called in question by Dr. Silliman, who asserts that he has repeatedly distilled different varieties of this coal without obtaining any bitumen.

in which the anasphaltic coal lies are of the elder secondary, then this class of rocks must be of more extensive occurrence on the eastern side of the Appalachian Mountains than has been hitherto supposed.

We cannot withhold from our readers the following speculations of a scientific observer on the probable formation of these interesting beds:—"Is the anthracite coal," says Dr. Silliman, "of vegetable origin? Does the fibrous charcoal, frequently found between its layers, owe its origin to the vegetable skeleton? There seems no more reason to doubt the latter fact, than that the vegetable impressions found in and upon the coal and its rocks have the same origin. But did the mass of coal arise from vegetables? This has been admitted by many persons with respect to bituminous coal, but, I have heretofore been inclined to attribute anthracite coal to a direct mineral creation; the opinion of its vegetable origin appears however to me less improbable, since I have seen with my own eyes the incontrovertible and abundant proofs of vegetable life in these mines. We are obliged, from the facts here seen, to go a great extent in admitting vegetation in connexion with this coal. But if we seek to trace the entire masses to vegetable matter, how shall we admit the existence and accumulation of the enormous quantities that must have grown or been collected on the spot, to form such stupendous beds, ten, twenty, and thirty feet in thickness, and repeated, again and again, with all their attendant rocks and impressions? But, the plants, from ferns and liliputian vegetables to those of great size, did grow, and were deposited, in connexion with these coal strata, for there we find their unquestionable and exuberant remains; and they were produced again and again, for we find them in the different deposits, as the coal strata succeed each other at different depths. As the vegetables, whose organized forms or impressions we actually find, did exist in these places, could there, by any possibility, have been enough accumulated to form the coal beds? If it is difficult to answer in the affirmative, perhaps it is not quite certain that we must reply in the negative; at least it is not, I must confess, quite so certain as I once thought it to be.

"But, supposing the vegetable matter to have existed in sufficient quantity to have formed the coal; why, if so formed, is there in general no appearance of ligneous structure, of vegetable organization in the coal itself? On this point it may be suggested, that the vegetable matter may have been so decomposed, as to lose in a great degree its organization; it may have been suspended or deposited in water along with the same earthy matter which formed

the accompanying rocks, and particularly the coal slate, and this earthy matter may have been deposited along with and among the particles as well as the masses of coal, now in minute proportion, as we actually find it in burning even the purest anthracite, the form and structure of whose layers is delicately exhibited by the earthy skeleton, commonly called ashes, which remains: now the earthy matter may have prevailed to a greater degree, and then the coal is more impure, less combustible, and affords a more abundant residuum; again, the earthy matter may have prevailed still more, and then the deposit is a carbonaceous slate; and lastly, the carbon may have been supplanted by the earthy matter, and then seams of slate would be formed, as we actually find them in the coal beds. Without some such process, it seems difficult to account for the varying proportions of earth and carbon which we find blended in the anthracites; the extremes being the purest coal on the one hand, and slate on the other, and between these there appear to be innumerable mixtures or combinations of earth and coal in different proportions.

"Perhaps the reason why the vegetables found in the slate retain their organized form, is found in the fact, that the fine sedimentary earths, the silicious and argillaceous, of which the slate is composed, may have enveloped the plants too suddenly to permit them to undergo decomposition, and thus to exhibit an impalpable carbon; while their forms would, of course, be distinctly impressed upon the yielding plastic matter of the slate, rendered soft perhaps by diffusion in water. Pressure is also to be taken into account in reasoning upon the probable obliteration of the organic structure; this force would operate in proportion to the progress of the accumulation, whether of coal strata, or of those of superincumbent rock."

The appearance of the Tioga, or bituminous coal, differs so little from the well known character of the best Liverpool or Newcastle coal, that it scarcely requires a description. Its colour is velvet black, with a slight resinous lustre, its structure is slaty or foliated, and its layers, as in the best English coal, divided into prismatic solids, with bases slightly rhomboidal; it is easily frangible and slightly soils the fingers. The specific gravity is 1.287. It burns with a bright flame and considerable smoke, with a slight bituminous smell, a sort of ebullition taking place, and, as the heat increases, an appearance of semifusion, leaving a slight residue or scoria.

In 100 parts of coal are,	Carbon	66	7
	Bitumen	30	43
	Earth	3	50
		100	00

It thus appears that the Tioga coal is of an excellent quality, fully equal to the best Liverpool coal, and fit for all the purposes of manufactures, but requiring to be converted into coke before it can be made use of in the smelting of iron ore, or in many other processes in metallurgy and the arts. This should be always kept in view, and is the principal distinction between it and the anthracite or non-bituminous coal of Rhode Island and Pennsylvania. Each of them has its distinctive and valuable qualities. While the anthracites consist nearly of from ninety to ninety-seven per cent. of pure carbon, the Tioga coal contains only 66.7, the residue being chiefly bitumen, a substance which renders it extremely valuable in domestic use, and in the reverberatory furnaces, but inapplicable to many other purposes which the experienced artist can easily comprehend. The bituminous coal occurs in a series of beds of sandstone, accompanied by shale or argillaceous slate, abounding with vegetable impressions and resting on secondary limestone containing fossil remains. In the neighbourhood of the coal mine is found abundance of iron ore, of that species which is called ironstone or argillaceous iron ore, precisely of the same character as that which accompanies the beds of coal in England.

Graphite, or plumbago, commonly but improperly called black lead, occurs extensively in primitive and transition rocks; from that which is obtained in New York, excellent pencils have been made. There are also numerous localities of petroleum, or mineral oil. It usually floats on the surface of springs, which in many cases are known to be in the vicinity of coal. It is sometimes called Seneca or Genesee oil. In Kentucky, it occurs on a spring of water in a state sufficiently liquid to burn in a lamp; it is collected in considerable quantities, and sold at twenty-five cents, or about one shilling, sterling a gallon.

Salt appears to be very abundant in the United States. We have already noticed the indications of a gypsum and rock salt formation along the east and south-east boundaries of the Mississippi Valley bordering on the transition rocks of the mountain chains, and in strata identical with the saliferous sandstone of Europe; and through the whole extent of this line, from the state of New York across the Mississippi, into the Arkansas country, salt-works have been more or less successfully undertaken. The salt, however, has never been found in the mass; it

is obtained from springs, or more frequently from wells or borings made for the purpose. The brine varies considerably in its strength. Professor Eaton has suggested doubts whether masses of salt really exist. He conceives that an apparatus for the spontaneous manufacture of salt may be found within the bosom of the earth, in those rocks which contain the necessary elements; and his opinion has the support of an experiment which we shall give in his own words. "I took a specimen of the rock called water limestone from a hill adjoining Nine-mile Creek, a few miles west of the Onondaga salt-springs. If this specimen be pulverized and examined ever so minutely, it presents nothing to the senses resembling common salt, (muriate of soda.) I do not mean that the elementary constituents can not be found in it, but I do not propose here to have any reference to a chemical analysis of the rock. On exposing a fresh fracture of a specimen from this rock for two or three weeks in a damp cellar, it shoots out crystals of common salt, sufficient to cover its whole surface. This proves conclusively, that one rock at least, reposing over the floor of the salt springs, contains in itself the materials for the spontaneous manufacture of salt. And there may be many kinds of rock besides the water limestone, which contain the elementary constituents of common salt." Subsequently, however, Mr. Eaton has found reason to think that salt has existed in a solid state in cubical crystals, the hollow forms of which he discovered abundantly in the lias and saline rock of the west, and it seems still to be highly probable that masses of salt exist in the neighbourhood of the salt-springs. The brine contains, besides the muriate of soda, a considerable proportion of muriate of lime and magnesia. Recently also bromine has been detected in the brine of Salina by Dr. Silliman.

In addition to those which are strictly saline, mineral waters of various properties are of frequent occurrence in the United States. Our notices of them in this department of our work must be chiefly confined to their mineralogical character. The mineral waters of Saratoga, which have become so celebrated for their medicinal qualities, are situated in a low marshy valley, along the termination of a ridge of secondary limestone; they discover themselves in a bed of blue marl, which covers the valley throughout its whole extent, and to an unknown depth. On digging into this marl, to any considerable distance, in almost any direction, a mineral water is sure to be found; in some places, at the depth of six or eight feet, it is discovered issuing from a fissure or seam in the underlying limestone, while at other places, it seems to



Illustration of a long, covered walkway or promenade, showing people walking and sitting, with a view of a building and trees in the background.



proceed from a thin stratum of quicksand, which is found to alternate with the marl at distances of from ten to forty feet; at this depth the marl is interrupted by a layer of boulders of a considerable size, beyond which no researches have yet been made. All the mineral fountains that have yet been examined in this valley, and there are more than twenty, are found to possess uniformly the same qualities, differing only in what is usually termed their strength, or, in other words, in the quantities of the articles which the water of each is found to hold in solution. They belong to a class which may with propriety be styled the *acidulous saline chalybeate*. The best analyses agree in demonstrating that they contain the following ingredients, viz.—carbonic acid, muriate of soda, carbonate of soda, carbonate of lime, carbonate of magnesia, and carbonate of iron, together with a very minute quantity of silica and alumina. To these ingredients recent investigations have added iodine, hydrobromic acid, and potash. The surface of Hamilton spring, at Saratoga, is constantly agitated by the escape of large quantities of gas; and as the water passes off, it leaves on the surface of the earth an abundant deposit of a brownish colour, evidently ferruginous and calcareous. The water, when first dipped from the fountain, is remarkably clear and sparkling, but on standing exposed to the atmosphere, soon becomes turbid. It is saline and acidulous to the taste, and when taken to the quantity of five or six half pints, is usually powerfully cathartic and diuretic. The temperature at the bottom of the well is uniformly at fifty degrees.

One gallon, or 231 cubic inches, of this water, when first taken from the well, contains

Muriate of soda	grains 297.3
Hydriodate of soda	3.
Carbonate of soda	19.21
Carbonate of lime	92.4
Carbonate of magnesia	23.1
Oxide of iron	5.39

grains 440.4 together

with a minute quantity of silica and alumina, probably 0.6 of a grain, making the solid contents of a gallon amount to 441 grains.

Carbonic acid gas	316 cubic inches.
Atmospheric air	4

Gaseous contents in a gallon 320 cubic inches

At Albany, in the summer of 1826, in boring for pure water for a brewery, a mineral spring was accidentally opened. The sensible qualities of this water have a great resemblance to those of the Congress spring at Saratoga. Its temperature is uniformly from 51° to 52° of Fahrenheit, at all seasons of the year; its specific gravity, when taken with great care, and after repeated trials, was found to be as

1010 to 1000. The taste of the water is purely saline, somewhat pungent, and not at all disagreeable; but those who are best acquainted with it think it by no means so stimulating and pungent as the waters of the Congress spring; it has no sensible chalybeate taste, and no perceptible smell which could lead to the suspicion of its holding sulphuretted hydrogen gas in solution. As to the gas which ascends through the tube, and has been described as inflammable, it appears to be either hydrogen or carburetted hydrogen, similar to the gas which is so frequently observed to accompany the saline springs in the state of New York, but which passes through the water without giving it any sensible properties. When this water, which is at first so clear and pellucid, is allowed to remain for a few hours in a glass, the gas which is extricated from it adheres, in the form of innumerable air bubbles, to the inside surface of the glass; in a short time after, the water loses its transparency, a thin pellicle appears on its surface, which has a slightly iridescent appearance; by degrees the water becomes perfectly opaque, the pellicle falls to the bottom, which, as well as the sides of the glass, is covered with a light brown powder, which adheres firmly to it. The water, after this, recovers its former transparency, but loses its agreeable, pungent, and acidulous taste, becoming perfectly vapid, and having no other taste but that of a solution of marine salt in water. Dr. Mead gives the following comparative analysis of the mineral contents in one pint of water of Congress spring at Saratoga, the public well at Ballston and the new spring at Albany:

Congress Spring.

	Gr.
Muriate of soda	51 1-2
Carbonate of lime	13 3-4
Carbonate of magnesia	8 1-2
Muriate of lime	1 3-4
Muriate of magnesia	2 1-2
Oxide of iron	1-4
Total	78 1-4

Carbonic Acid Gas.

Cubic inches	31
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Public Well, Ballston.

	Gr.
Muriate of soda	21
Carbonate of lime	4 5-8
Carbonate of magnesia	5 5-8
Muriate of lime	1 3-4
Muriate of magnesia	3-4
Oxide of iron	1-2
Total	34 1-2

Carbonic Acid Gas.

Cubic inches	30 1-2
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Albany Water.

	Grs.
Muriate of soda	59
Carbonate of soda	5
Carbonate of lime	4
Carbonate of magnesia	1 1-2
Carbonate of iron	1
Muriate of lime	1-2
Total	71

Carbonic Acid Gas.

Cubic inches	26
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Professor Hosack, of New York, thus writes on the medicinal qualities of the Ballston waters :

"No mineral waters in the United States enjoy an equal celebrity with those of Ballston and Saratoga, and as none are more generally resorted to by invalids, perhaps none are more indiscriminately used. Correctly to ascertain their properties becomes, therefore, an object of importance to every physician.

"Several analyses of the Ballston waters have been communicated to the public ; according to the analysis made by Mons. Caizalet, a teacher of chemistry at Bordeaux, a bottle of the Ballston water containing 25 ounces afforded,

1. Carbonic acid, three times its volume.
2. Muriate of Soda, 31 grains.
3. Super saturated carbonate of lime, . . . 22 grains.
4. Muriate of magnesia, 12 1-2 grains.
5. Muriate of lime, 5 grains.
6. Carbonate of iron, 4 grains.

"This subject has also recently received the attention of Dr. William Meade, of Philadelphia, a gentleman well skilled in practical chemistry, and who has made frequent visits to the springs both of Ballston and Saratoga, for the express purpose of making an accurate analysis of those celebrated waters.

"The reader, desirous of further information on this subject, is referred to the work published by Dr. Meade, entitled, 'An Experimental Inquiry into the chemical properties and medicinal qualities of the principal mineral waters of Ballston and Saratoga.'

"The Ballston waters have been long known to yield a great quantity of fixed air, and to hold in solution a large portion of iron. By the analysis now given, it appears that they yield a much larger proportion of fixed air, and that they contain a greater quantity of iron than any other mineral water that has hitherto been discovered, not excepting that of Vichy, in France, one of the strongest chalybeate waters in Europe. But it appears, that they also contain another substance, viz. the muriate of lime, which, with the other ingredients with which it is associated, promises to be of great and extensive utility.

"We are accordingly, from the above analysis, induced to ascribe more virtues to the Ballston waters than physicians have generally believed them to possess. Although much is due to exercise, change of air, and an agreeable occupation of the mind, which the amusements of watering places usually afford, I have no doubt, from the sensible effects produced upon the system by the waters themselves, that they are also productive of great good in a variety of diseases, some of which I shall now briefly enumerate.

"1st. From the effects of the Ballston waters, as a strong chalybeate, they may be employed with advantage in most diseases of debility, whether directly or indirectly such. But in those complaints which are attended with an increased excitement of the whole system, or with local inflammation, they are manifestly prejudicial. These principles are deducible from the qualities of the waters alone ; but they are also confirmed by the experience and observation of physicians who have attended to their operation.'

"Accordingly, in intermittent fever, dropsy, dyspepsia, hypochondriasis, and hysteria, connected with, or proceeding from, debility of the digestive organs ; in paralysis, chronic rheumatism, gout, in its chronic state, chlorosis, fluor albus ; in suppression of the menses when arising from weakness, in worms, and in other diseases of debility, whether of the intestinal canal, or of the whole system, the Ballston waters have been long and justly celebrated. On the other hand, in a plethoric state of the system, as in pregnancy, in consumption of the lungs, inflammation of the liver, acute rheumatism, dysentery, and other diseases of an inflammatory nature, in which they are oftentimes resorted to, they invariably do injury. We may, perhaps, except from this remark a species of consumption which arises in females about the time of puberty, in which, from want of energy in the system, menstruation does not take place at the period in which it usually appears ; dyspepsia ensues, followed with general irritation of the nervous system, pain in the breast, cough, sometimes hemorrhage from the lungs, and ultimately terminating in confirmed consumption. These consequences have frequently been prevented by a course of iron, and vegetable tonics, aided by generous diet, and exercise, especially riding on horseback. Under similar circumstances, I have no doubt that the Ballston waters may be serviceable in this species of phthisis in its incipient state ; but they should never be employed in diseases of this nature without the advice of a physician.

"2. From the saline impregnation of these waters,

and their operation upon the urinary organs, as well as by perspiration, they are indicated in diseases of the kidneys and bladder, in gout, chronic rheumatism, and eruptions upon the skin, all which diseases are most frequently produced by, or connected with, a morbid condition of the fluids, and an impaired state of the secretions. In these complaints, I have repeatedly prescribed these waters with the best effects.

"Dr. Thacher, the author of 'The American Modern Practice,' a work containing much original and valuable information, concurs in the opinion of the general efficacy of the Ballston waters in diseases of debility, and that they are peculiarly beneficial in calculus and gravel, some cases of which have come within his own particular knowledge—and upon the information of Dr. Powell, whose residence at the springs gave him a free opportunity of ascertaining the fact, he adds, that rarely a case of gravel occurred in which relief was not obtained.

"But according to the foregoing analysis, the Ballston waters contain an ingredient of great value, besides those already enumerated; I mean the muriate of lime. It appears upon the authority of Dr. Beddoes, Dr. R. Pearson, Dr. Wood, and Dr. Schraud, of Vienna, that this substance has lately been discovered to be a remedy for scrofula, which hitherto has been the opprobrium of our profession. It is true, cases have been recorded by Russel and others of the cure of this disorder by the use of sea water. But as it has been ascertained by chemists, that the muriate of lime enters into the composition of sea water, it is very possible that the efficacy of the latter, in that disease, may in part be derived from the muriate of lime which it has been found to contain.

"But as scrofula is usually attended with a general debility of the system, as well as a morbid condition of the fluids, the Ballston waters will probably be found peculiarly serviceable, inasmuch as they possess the means of invigorating the system, at the same time that they contain the antidote to the peculiar virus of that disease.

"But to obtain the benefits of the Ballston waters in any of the diseases which have been noticed, it is necessary that in the use of them, as it regards the time of taking them, the quantity taken, the stage of the disease, and other circumstances which must govern their exhibition, the directions of the physician be particularly attended to. As well might the patient make use of any other article of the materia medica without medical advice, as drink these waters in the manner in which they are usually taken. It is but a short time since that a very valuable life was destroyed by the imprudent use of them during a

state of pregnancy. I was lately consulted by two gentlemen who had left the springs much worse than they had gone to them. The one laboured under dyspepsia, attended with habitual costiveness. Neglecting to relieve his bowels, he commenced the use of the waters; the consequences were, an aggravation of his disease, followed with fever, acute pain in the head, and other symptoms of general excitement. The other person referred to, had come from Virginia, on account of an obstinate chronic diarrhoea, attended with great debility, and general emaciation. Without advice, he immediately began to drink the waters, to the quantity of several quarts daily. The consequences may readily be imagined; an increase of his disease, and a degree of debility from which he with difficulty recovered.

" 'This water,' says Dr. Steel, 'if drank in large quantities, or when taken by persons whose stomachs are extremely irritable, operates as a cathartic: it is likewise, in most instances, a powerful diuretic; and like the other strong chalybeates in the vicinity, is of eminent service to an impaired or capricious appetite, and weakness of the assimilating organs in irregular digestion, flatulent distention of the abdomen, anxiety about the præcordia, difficult respiration from sympathy with the stomach, occasional vomiting of viscid mucus,' &c.

"The administration of these remedies, therefore, requires some attention. Upon this subject, the following judicious remarks by Dr. Dyckman, contained in his excellent American edition of Dr. Duncan's New Dispensatory, merit the observance of those who visit Ballston and Saratoga, to obtain the benefits of those waters.

" 'The doses must be regulated by the constitution of the patient, the state of the stomach, the nature and stage of the disease, and the effects produced. In large quantities, as from a pint to a quart, they usually operate gently as a cathartic; but in small doses their action is determined more particularly to the kidneys and skin. In general, they should be drank till they produce a slight evacuation from the bowels. Care, however, should be taken never to distend the stomach so as to occasion inconvenience. If from one to two or three pints daily produce no sensible effect, the quantity of fluid will be apt to prove more injurious as a load, than useful as a medicine. In most instances, perhaps, it will be advisable to begin with small quantities, and repeat them often. When taken to an improper extent, particularly if they do not produce some effect as a purgative or diuretic, they not unfrequently occasion much distress and disturbance of the whole system, being

followed by anxiety, headache, or vertigo, perturbation, pains in the stomach and bowels, or spasms. They should not be employed when the stomach and bowels are overloaded, or just before or after meals. When intended to act as an aperient, the proper time for administering them is in the morning, before breakfast. Their operation will be facilitated by the exercise of walking or riding. Taken after a meal, they are less apt to affect the bowels than they are the kidneys and skin.'"

A mineral spring exists in Cliff-street, in the city of New York, of which we find the following analysis :—

Carbonate of ammonia	5.00
Carbonate of lime	29.50
Carbonate of magnesia, (F.) 33.7 + 1 gr. (E,)	34.70
Carbonate of potassa	3.00
Chloride of magnesium	1.92
Chloride of sodium, (C b,) 4.98 grs. + 52.6 grs. (G, b,)	57.58
Sulphate of magnesia	6.00
Sulphate of soda	5.46
Sulphate of lime	0.25
Silica	0.20
Oxide of iron, (D,) (F,)	1.55
Extractive matter	5.
	<hr/> 150.16

GASEOUS MATTER.

	Cub. In.
Carbonic acid	68.57
Atmospheric air	4.57
	<hr/> 73.14

The American editor may remark, that this Cliff-street mineral spring no longer exists: the whole account seems to have been engendered in error.

At Bedford, in Pennsylvania, there is a very copious supply of mineral water, issuing from the foot of a cliff by no less than seven highly medicinal springs, all within the radius of a stone's throw, and some of them containing iron and sulphur. The Berkely springs, at Bath, in Virginia, are chiefly magnesian.

In order to render the notice by the English editor of the mineral waters of the United States the more satisfactory, the American editor has availed himself of an article recently published by Professor J. W. Francis, of New York, which, while it cursorily notices several of the more conspicuous mineral waters of the United States, includes a particular account of those valuable springs, of a sulphureous character, lately discovered at Avon, in Livingston county, New York. If report be true, few springs of equal importance are known to exist any where. Their curative properties will unquestionably give them a preference over many of those waters which have too long absorbed public attention, but which, from

accidental circumstances, have obtained a popularity which never otherwise could have been claimed for them. Professor Francis assures the editor that he has spoken in terms of moderation of their sanative qualities.

"The experiments and observations which have been made at different periods by various writers on the mineral waters of the United States, if properly grouped together, would constitute a work of great practical utility. This service has indeed been performed, to a considerable extent, by Dr. Bell, of Philadelphia, and a large amount of information on this interesting subject, which was scattered through numerous volumes, may be found in his work on Baths and Mineral Waters.

"Among the earliest papers which have appeared, of this nature, may be mentioned, an analysis of the chalybeate water of Bristol, Pennsylvania, by the late Dr. John De Normandie, of that place, and printed in the first volume of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. The investigations of this learned physician, though wanting in the philosophy of modern chemistry, were such as to awaken much public attention to the Bristol water; and some sixty years ago they were deemed to possess properties analogous to those of Bath and Spa: they were at that time largely employed for their curative powers, but have latterly fallen into disuse. So early as about 1789, Dr. Mitchill instituted his first series of experiments on the waters of Saratoga Springs, and subsequently added many pertinent observations on their medicinal qualities. These waters, with those adjacent, at Ballston, are now so universally known to both hemispheres, and so extensively had recourse to, that little more need be said in this place, than to recommend the reader, for the fullest details of chemical analysis and of a practical nature, to the recent work of Dr. Steele. These waters are designated *acidulous saline chalybeates*.

"The Schuyl's Hills, or *Schooley's Mountain* water, deserves also to be here noticed. The water of this mineral spring is said to have been known to the aborigines, and to have been employed by them as a remarkable remedy, which they concealed from the whites. Be this as it may: the Schooley's Mountain water is situated in Washington township, nineteen miles north-west of Morristown, and fifty miles from the city of New York. The chemical analysis of it made by Professor Macneven, my late colleague in Rutgers Medical College, furnishes an admirable specimen of this species of philosophical investigation; and were the products of other salubrious medicinal springs, within the United States, examined with a

like minuteness and accuracy, we should have little cause to lament our present imperfect knowledge of this class of products with which our country is so largely enriched. I may be pardoned for dwelling a moment longer on this water. Schooley's Mountain, by geometrical measurement, has been ascertained to be more than fifty-four hundred feet in height, above its immediate base. Dr. Mitchill calculates, by approximation on the falls of water at different mill-dams along the hurrying channel of the Musconet-chunk to its junction with the Delaware, and on the descent thence to Trenton, that the base itself is five hundred feet more above tide water.*

"This mineral spring issues from the perpendicular side of a steep rock, about forty or fifty feet above the level of a brook that gurgles over a rocky bottom, within a few paces of it. The spring discharges a gallon in about two minutes and a half, and the quantity is not observed to vary under any change of season or weather. Its temperature, at its issue from the rock, was found to be fifty-two degrees of Fahrenheit. The bare taste and appearance show that it is a chalybeate; and it is strongly characterized by the peculiar astringency and savour of ferruginous impregnations. The iron is easily separated from the mineral water: its carbonic acid is altogether in a state of combination, and hence it never occasions flatulence, while it proves a corroborant to feeble digestive powers. Hence it is recommended in many chronic diseases and general debility, and especially in calculus and affections of the kidney and bladder. In an instructive case which Dr. Macneven has recorded, the patient took from fifteen to twenty half pint tumblers a day, with most decided benefit; and he informs me, that other examples of its salutary action in other disorders have come within his knowledge and observation.

"The following are the results of Dr. Macneven's analysis.

"Vegetable extract, 92; muriate of soda, 43; muriate of lime, 2.40; muriate of magnesia, 50; carbonate of lime, 7.99; sulphate of lime, 65; carbonate of magnesia, 40; silice, 80; carbonated oxyde of iron, 2; loss, 41, = 16.50.

"The white sulphur springs of Virginia have long enjoyed a distinguished reputation, and are resorted to at the present day, as formerly, by numerous invalids, suffering from disorders of the digestive organs, chronic affections of the liver, the sequelæ of protracted intermittent and remittent fevers, the derangements induced by the preposterous use of mer-

curials, cutaneous diseases, certain female complaints, &c. &c. Where the various disorders are unconnected with inflammatory symptoms, they are pronounced to be of the greatest efficacy. So far as my acquaintance with these waters extends, it coincides with that of the most favourable opinion given in their behalf. Their action on the skin is of singular efficacy and importance. They are somewhat more exciting than ordinary saline sulphureous water. The reproach long ago made, still holds just, that they have not received the attention they merit, as objects of rigid chemical investigation. Dr. Bell's work, already referred to, contains the best exposition I have seen of their composition and remedial qualities. A Virginian is to be excused in lauding, in no common accents, the white sulphur springs: the facts in the case warrant it; and moreover in so doing he only follows his political apostle, Mr. Jefferson.†

"Kentucky boasts of numerous mineral springs of a sulphureous class. Dr. Drake, of Cincinnati, considers those of the Big Bone Spring, or *Salines*, and the Olympian Springs, as the most noted. The water of the Big Bone Spring, he affirms, contains sulphuretted hydrogen, in large quantities, and hold in solution the muriates of soda and lime, and the sulphates of soda or of magnesia. The disorders to which Dr. Drake thinks it more peculiarly adapted, are the torpor, obstruction, or chronic inflammation, produced by acute diseases of the lungs, liver, spleen, kidneys, in short any of the viscera, and which have continued so long that the constitution is exhausted. In these cases, experience has shown them to possess all the efficacy that could be expected in any mineral waters. From a pint to a gallon may be taken, according to the strength of the patient, and its sensible effects on the system. The quantity drank at first should be small, especially by those of reduced habits. These waters do not increase the pulse, but their sensible effects on the alimentary system, kidneys, and skin, are great. The action of the former is very much increased, and the latter is frequently affected in a few days with a violent itching, and an eruption of pimples or pustules, which are now and then connected with large biles.‡

"With these cursory remarks on some of the mineral waters of the United States, we may be the better enabled to estimate the composition and peculiar properties of the *sulphur springs of Avon*. Had the work of Dr. Bell included any account of these waters, I would have forborne to offer the present imperfect observations on the subject; the more so,

* Bruce's Mineralogical Journal.

† See Notes on Virginia.

‡ See Bell on Baths and Mineral Waters, p. 436-7.

as I am still engaged in a series of chemical inquiries, to determine their respective ingredients, assisted by my friend, Dr. Ellet, the late professor of chemistry in Columbia College.

"The Avon springs are situated in Livingston county, state of New York, within a mile of the village of Avon. The village is on the bank of the Genesee river, and is passed through by the great western road from Albany to Buffalo. The soil in its vicinity is of the richest and most productive quality, yielding the cultivator a full reward for his labour: that of the flats, as they are popularly called, consists entirely of alluvial deposit, while the table land presents all the varieties of calcareous and argillaceous mould. The sensibilities of the valetudinarian may here cherish to satiety the beauties of Avon scenery, and the botanist find the richest materials for enlarging his herbarium.

"The Avon springs seem to have been partially known to the Seneca tribe of Indians, who, until within a few years, inhabited a village on the opposite bank of the river, which they called Canawagus. The far famed chief, *Red Jacket*, enumerated them among his remedial measures for the cure of disorders of the skin; and *wasting disorders*, as they were termed, were supposed capable of being removed by their use, even applied externally.* They may now justly be deemed conspicuous among the mineral waters of the state of New York. They at present comprise two springs within about forty-two rods of each other; and are somewhat less than one third of a mile from the Genesee river: they issue from the foot or base of the highlands that border its low grounds. They are denominated the lower and the upper springs; while the former has been for several years known, the latter is but recently, and is preferred by some. I first became personally acquainted with them in the summer of 1827, when they were frequented by a number of infirm visitors. Professor Hadley has lately published an analysis of the upper spring, which seems to have been made with a good deal of accuracy. According to his analysis, one gallon of the water contains, carbonic acid, 5.6 cubic inches; sulphuretted hydrogen gas,

12 cubic inches; carbonate of lime, 8 grains; sulphate of lime, 84 grains; sulphate of magnesia, 10 grains; muriate of soda, 18.4 grains; sulphate of soda, 16 grains; and a small quantity of other matter. According to Dr. Salisbury, a resident at Avon, the weight of the constituents of the water of the lower spring, are as follows: arranged so as to form compounds existing in the water, and calculated for 10,000 parts by weight; are

Carbonate of lime	5.02
United to carbonic acid	1.70
	—6.72
Chloride of calcium	1.44
Sulphate of lime	9.83
Sulphate of magnesia	8.49
Sulphate of soda	2.35
	—28.83
By volume of 10,000 are,	
Hydro-sulphuric acid	4.34
Nitrogen	2.35
Oxygen	25
	—6.94

"Dr. Salisbury adds, the chlorine assigned to calcium as the chloride of calcium is often found in those waters which contain but little saline matter. There remains 00.6 of sulphuric acid, apparently in excess, which is accounted for by the difficulty of separating, accurately, magnesia from the other salts. The quantity of carbonate of lime exceeds the equivalent quantity of carbonic acid necessary to render it soluble in pure water, and this fact affords a probable explanation of the character this water exhibits when tested by coloured paper.

"The volume of water discharged from this spring, Dr. Salisbury further remarks, is the same at all seasons of the year, and does not appear to depend in the least upon atmospheric influence; as nearly as can be ascertained, under existing circumstances, it is fifty-four gallons in a minute. The temperature of the water is invariably forty-five degrees Fahrenheit. The specific gravity 10.018. As it issues from the spring it is very limpid and somewhat sparkling.

"The analysis of these waters, which I caused to be made about two years ago, did not afford satisfac-

* Doubtless this term, *wasting disorders*, included many physical infirmities, whose pathognomonic features greatly differed, and many other different sorts of pulmonary disorganization. Dr. Rush declares that pulmonary consumption is wholly unknown to the North American Indians. It is generally admitted, that in countries where fever and agues prevail, consumption is of rare occurrence. Dr. Dwight also makes this observation in particular reference to the great western country; and it is sufficiently proved that intermittent fever constitutes a great outlet to the lives of our aborigines. But the declaration of Dr. Rush is not tenable. Hunter, who may be deemed good authority on the subject, re-

marks, that pulmonary consumption among the North American Indians is established by too many familiar facts. The celebrated chief, Red Jacket, in an interview I had with him at his reservation, near Buffalo, in September, 1823, gave me the particulars of the cases of no less than seventeen of his relatives, (including, I think, ten or eleven of his own children,) who had died of pulmonary consumption. He was quite descriptive in his statement, and seemed sufficiently qualified to make a number of very fair distinctions in relation to the matter. This digression from our more immediate subject will probably be excused, on account of the curious character of the facts which it records.

tory evidence of either containing iodine. Nevertheless, a strong probability is, that both iodine and bromine enter into their constitution. Dr. Usher, of New York, and Dr. Steele, of Saratoga, have lately found iodine in the congress water at Saratoga; Dr. Steele has discovered a trace of bromine, the hydrobromite of potash, in the water of Hamilton spring. It is well known that iodine exists but in the smallest quantity in the waters in which it has, as yet, been discovered; and that in waters which have been repeatedly and carefully analyzed, it has escaped detection. This occurrence took place with the saline springs of Sales, in Piedmont, from which, so recently as in 1820, M. Angelina procured iodine. There are good reasons to suppose that waters so amply impregnated with sulphurous matter, as those of Avon springs, may contain both iodine and bromine.*

"The value of these waters has," says Dr. F., "within the past three or four years, been justly and highly appreciated, and induced numerous valetudinarians to partake of them. They may be ranked among the most powerful and remedial waters yet made known; but, like other active medicinal agents of a similar character, they are liable to great abuse, and in certain states of the system, may prove seriously detrimental. Possessing active emetic and cathartic properties, particularly the waters of the spring last discovered, it is requisite that caution be exercised not to indulge in them too freely at first; and as they are more or less exciting, they also demand that previous to commencing their use, the system should, in many cases at least, be first relieved by the employment of some efficient cathartic. This precaution is of saving importance, and I have known a disregard to it, to lead to almost entire disappointment in anticipated benefit, for many weeks; while, on the contrary, the general powers of the system being relieved by antiphlogistic and aperient means, the waters have often accomplished all that could be desired, in a comparatively short period. As in the administration of all sulphureous waters, so also those of Avon should be closely watched, and their use for a while suspended, when febrile irritation or undue local determinations occur. This is most apt to take place in habits preternaturally full, or when local inflammation exists: where a congested condition of the viscera happens, their best adjuvants are mild mercurials or saline cathartics.

"In disorders of the digestive organs, arising from torpor of the primæ viæ, hepatic obstructions, and

affections of the glandular system; in rheumatism and gout, and in many of the most formidable of cutaneous affections, these waters have secured the confidence of those who had previously suffered to the severest degree from these maladies. In many forms of ill-conditioned ulcers, their utility as a wash is abundantly manifest: while the invalid uses them internally, he may at the same time have recourse to them for some twenty or thirty minutes, on alternate days, in the form of a warm bath, the temperature of which may vary from 96° to 98° Fahrenheit.

"In pulmonary disorders their salutary agency is not yet confirmed, and further experience must determine their merits: if employed, their use is to be regulated by the nicest precepts of the healing art, in as much as these waters are eminently calculated to produce powerful changes on the system by their active operation. In the incipient and active stage of pulmonary irritation, it becomes our duty to precede their employment by venesection, and the other customary means of depletion, analogous to the practice we have recourse to with the Ballston or Congress waters. The same observation applies to hæmoptysis, to acute disorders of the digestive organs, liver, and other viscera. The direful consequences which inevitably occur in such cases, from the Saratoga waters, when these cautions are not heeded, are too painfully known to be dwelt upon in this place.

"In several forms of female disease, the Avon waters can be safely and efficaciously recommended. In many cases of difficult and painful menstruation, in chlorosis, and in certain complaints mainly depending on weakness, after a judicious course of preparatives, such as a careful clinical observer would enforce, these waters present themselves vested with sanative powers. Aware of the Protean character of constitutional disease depending upon uterine irritation, and chronic affections of that organ, I have no doubt, that future investigation will demonstrate that the Avon water, possess many advantages over other chalybeates in cases of this nature. I would extend the same remark to the complex affections connected with ovarian disease.

"I have for several years past recommended the Avon waters; to those of the lower spring I give the preference: they have proved available in the severest cases of rheumatism and gout, and in some affections of the urinary organs. After the prelimi-

* See Gairdner on Mineral and Thermal Springs. Very generally associated with iodine, says Dr. Gairdner, is the congenerate substance, bromine. Balard first discovered it in sea water, and

subsequently it has been detected in several saline springs; it exists almost always as a hydro-bromate of magnesia.

nary management of the case by depletory means, and appropriate alvine aperients, the use of the water for a few days, or perhaps weeks, has wrought an alteration the most gratifying, evinced by improved appetite, increase of flesh, and invigorated health; and while the body receives the impress and partakes of all the advantages of increased physical energy, a corresponding improvement marks the capacity of the intellectual powers. When taken internally, the Avon waters prove cathartic, diuretic, diaphoretic, and tonic. They thus constitute an effective alterative; and in as much as their tonic properties are the results of their general influence on all the emunctories of the body, particularly those of the cutaneous and urinary functions, they claim to themselves qualities which are denied to the entire class of tonics and stimulants strictly so called, and the mischief invariably induced by these last named articles, wherever local congestion exists, are entirely guarded against by the waters of Avon. Their manifestations on the surface are conspicuous.

"I am not able to say from experience that in this respect they surpass, or even equal, the white sulphur waters of Virginia; but am scarcely ready to believe that these last fairly boast of a superiority in their action on the skin. Their extraordinary alterative effects must unquestionably be greatly owing to the changes they induce on the cutaneous surface.

"In speaking of the constitutional influence of the Avon water, Dr. Salisbury, who has had much experience with them during a residence at the springs for four summers, has the following remarks: 'The operation of Avon water upon the human constitution is modified by the quantity drank in a given time, and by the constitution, habit, and disease of the individual. Generally speaking, four or six half pint tumblers of the water, drank during the day, produce a mild cathartic effect, and under its long continued exhibition to this extent, no debility ensues, but, on the contrary, the appetite and strength are very much increased. In very large doses, as from ten to fifteen tumblers a day, it operates powerfully upon the bowels, kidneys, and skin. A moderate use of this water, persevered in for a considerable length of time, will insure to it a powerfully alterative effect in cases where there is no acute inflammation.'

"A judicious mode of commencing the use of the Avon water, is to take six or seven half pint tumblers during the twenty-four hours: a couple of tumblers may be advantageously drunk before breakfast, and some two or three hours after that meal, the same quantity may again be taken, and an additional

tumbler full or two in the afternoon. To the sense of smell, they present the usual properties of sulphuretted hydrogen gas, but in a very small degree; they are nowise oppressive to the digestive organs. Some, however, take them in larger quantity, and oftener repeat the draught. Others, again, never use them until after the first meal. Like the Ballston and Saratoga waters, they are sometimes drunk to a most pernicious extent. It is expedient, therefore, in all cases, to regulate their administration by their immediate effects, and every regard must be paid to age, sex, disease, constitution, and individual peculiarity. To guard against undue local determination, either cerebral, thoracic, or visceral, will always become a matter of professional duty.

"All observations of a dietetical character are here designedly forborne: and I need scarcely add," concludes Dr. Francis, "that as these waters are armed with such potent qualities, their influence on the system must be either prejudicial or beneficial, and that they demand, in all cases, the advice of the physician."

To this account of the principal mineral waters, must be added a notice of the various gaseous matters which are likewise met with in the United States. In the state of New York, nitrogen gas is found issuing from the earth. The gas appears to issue from every part of a low hill comprising four or five acres of ground; for wherever there is water, it becomes manifest by bubbling through it. It issues abundantly through three springs, from the clean gravelly bottom of each; but it does not combine with the water in either of them. The gas probably accompanies the water from a considerable depth, since the water of the springs is not increased by the greatest spring and fall freshets. Sulphuretted hydrogen gas escapes in large quantity from varieties of argillite and graywacke, containing soft and fine-grained iron pyrites, by the decomposition of which it is produced. It burns along the surface of the water from which it issues with a bright red flame by day-light. The most interesting water of this kind is Lake Sodom, in a place nicknamed Satan's Kingdom. The bottom is grass-green ferriferous slate; the sides are white shell marl, and the brim is black vegetable mould. The water is perfectly limpid. The whole appears to the eye like a rich porcelain bowl filled with limpid nectar; but to the taste it is the true Harrowgate water, and readily convinces the visiter of the fitness of the name. Carburetted hydrogen gas issues from a stream in the neighbourhood of the Erie canal, at the rate of a gallon per minute, through the gravelly soil at the bottom. The carbonic acid gas, which is so abundant in the Saratoga springs, is

duced from an argillite, which contains large quantities of fine granulated pyrites and finely disseminated calcareous spar. It is a well-known fact, that this variety of pyrites produces sulphuric acid by the aid of water. The acid being in immediate contact with the spar, gypsum is produced, and carbonic acid is disengaged at considerable depths in the earth, and under great mechanical condensation, which causes its combination with water in such large proportions. When the water issues from the earth, the pressure which forces it up to the surface being taken off, it parts with that portion of the carbonic acid which is combined with it by the effect of pressure; while the solution of the carbonate of lime, which is caused by the carbonic acid, can no longer be continued, so that it is deposited in the form of tufa. Such is the origin of what is called the High Rock at Saratoga. Sulphuric acid, in large quantities, is produced in a diluted and in a concentrated state in the town of Byron, Genesee county, thirty miles west of Genesee river, and ten miles south of the Erie canal. Here is a hillock 230 feet long and 100 feet broad, elevated about five feet above the surrounding plain. It consists of a kind of ash-coloured soil, containing immense quantities of exceedingly minute grains of iron pyrites. It is mostly covered with a coat of charred vegetable matter, four or five inches thick, and as black as common charcoal. The same charred matter extends some distance from the base of the hillock on all sides. It appears as if it had been recently burned over, though it is in a meadow where no other traces of fire exist. Its charred state is caused wholly by the action of the sulphuric acid. Several holes have been dug in the hill, which now contain turbid diluted sulphuric acid, as do the depressions in the meadow ground surrounding it. Should curiosity or interest induce the proprietor to dig a trench about it, or to make an artificial pond on one side, which might be occasionally drained and cleaned, a bath of diluted sulphuric acid might be constructed. The strength of the acid increases in a drought. It appears to be perfectly concentrated, and nearly dry, in its combination with the charred vegetable coat. In this state it is diffused throughout the whole piece of ground, which presents a charred appearance to the depth of twelve or fifteen inches, and in some places three or four feet. It is everywhere the strongest at the surface. The strength of the acid combined with the vegetable matter, and several other circumstances enumerated, make this locality very interesting. But there is another, about 100 rods west of Byron hotel, being two miles east of this, which, in one point of view,

is still more remarkable; it is a spring, which issues from the earth in quantities sufficient for turning a light grist mill. Such an immense sulphuric acid laboratory is here conducted by nature, that all the water which supplies this perennial stream is sufficiently acid to give the common test with violets, and to coagulate milk. The continual formation of the sulphates of lime, iron, and magnesia, is also traced to a considerable extent.

It is impossible for us, consistently with the character of the present work, to enter more minutely into the peculiarities of American mineralogy. We can only say, that it affords much both to adorn the cabinet of the curious, and to enrich the collection of the scientific, as well as to furnish materials for commerce, manufactures, and the arts. There are found crystals of great beauty, we might almost say magnificence; for their dimensions, in many cases, are certainly extraordinary, and seem to correspond with the gigantic scale on which so many of the works of nature there have been produced. We have been struck with the testimony of Mr. Schoolcraft to the recent formation of quartz crystals.* They have been found, it appears, upon the handle of a spade, and the edge of some old shoes, which had been left for some years in an abandoned lead mine of the Shawnee Mountains. Many minerals which are rare in Europe, are found abundantly, and often in finer forms, in the United States; some, which have subsequently been detected elsewhere, were first discovered there, and not a few may still be claimed by that country as its peculiar treasure. We shall now close this chapter with the observation of Dr. Mead, that in general a great resemblance can be traced between the minerals of North America and those which have been found in the north of Europe, particularly in Norway and Sweden. This resemblance is stated to exist, not merely in the properties of the minerals themselves, but in their geological character and geognostic situation throughout the whole series. It is observed more particularly in those specimens which are found to accompany the primitive formation at Arendal, in Norway; it is not confined, however, to the primitive range of mountains alone, as the same resemblance can be frequently traced, on comparing American minerals with those of Piedmont, and even of the Hartz Mountains. Among the principal minerals of the north of Europe, there are none which are of more importance than the ores of iron, for which Norway and Sweden are so remarkable; and every variety of this mineral which

* Travels in Missouri.

has been met with there, has been found in the same class of rocks in America, in the greatest abundance, and of equally good quality. Titanium is one of those metals which have been found more particularly in the north of Europe. It is said to occur frequently in those primitive aggregates which contain beds of magnetic iron ore, associated with augite, scapolite, epidote, and hornblende, precisely the same rocks in which we find it in this country. There is scarcely any part of Europe where a greater variety of augites are found, than in Norway and Sweden; nor can there be any class of minerals in which the similitude between the specimens from those countries and America is more striking.

CHAPTER III.

BOTANY.

THE vegetation of the United States is as various as the climate and the soil. In the Floridas grows a majestic species of palm, (*chamærops palmetto*;) and the orange, the cotton, the indigo, and even the sugar cane, may be cultivated there to great perfection and advantage. In the Carolinas and the Floridas the eye of the traveller is charmed with the beauty and grandeur of the forest trees, the various species of evergreen oak, the numerous kinds of pine, walnut, and plane, the majestic tulip tree, (*liriodendron tulipifera*;) the curious deciduous cypress, and the superb magnolias. A different vegetation occurs in the more northerly of the states; and what renders the botany of this district peculiarly interesting to the British naturalist is, that a very large proportion of its vegetable productions may be assimilated to our own climate. The oaks and firs of this region now decorate many of our plantations and pleasure grounds; and as the quality of their timber comes to be better known and appreciated, may well occupy a conspicuous place in our woods and forests. Our shrubberies owe their greatest beauty to the various species of kalmia, azalea, rhododendron, robinia, cornus, sambucus, ceanothus, and lonicera, to the syringa, the flowering raspberry, and a hundred others, which flourish as if they were the aboriginal natives of our soil; whilst the gardens of the curious are indebted for many of their choicest productions to the herbaceous plants of North America, the greater number being remarkable for the brilliancy of their blossoms, and not a few, such as the dionæa and sarra-cenia, being ranked as amongst the most singular of all vegetable productions in their structure.

In the rapid survey we shall have to take of this wide and interesting field, our attention is naturally turned, in the first instance, to the forest or timber trees. We have already seen how large a portion of territory is covered with native forests, among which, varieties of the oak, the walnut, the maple, the birch, the ash, the elm, the chestnut, the beech, the pine, and the cypress, are the most prominent. It is a general observation, that the trees of the United States are larger, taller, and more of them useful for timber, than those of Europe. As to height, it is observed by Michaux, that, while in France only thirty-seven species of trees arrive at thirty feet, in the transatlantic republic, one hundred and thirty exceed that elevation. A general idea of the American forest has already been given; we shall now select the principal trees for more particular notice.

In the greater part of North America, as well as in Europe, there is no tree so generally useful as the oak. It seems also to have been multiplied in proportion to its utility, since it is indigenous to many climates, and diversified into many species. In America are found forty-four species, which are all comprised between the 20th and 48th degrees of north latitude; in the old continent are enumerated only thirty, which are scattered on both sides of the equator, beginning at the 60th degree north. Some of the species in the United States are small, scarcely larger than shrubs; but others are of great size and beauty, reaching an elevation of from sixty to eighty feet. The white oak is pre-eminent among these. It is a larger and handsomer tree in the Mississippi valley, than in the Atlantic country; but is less firm, hard, and durable. The same may be said of the swamp white oak, (*quercus aquatica*;) which grows of a prodigious height, size, and beauty. The black oak, with large and small leaves; the yellow oak, and the post oak, grow on cold, level, wet, and clayey lands. The last receives its name from the durability of posts made of it in the ground. It is said to be the most durable timber of the oak kind in the upper country for boat and ship building. South of thirty-one degrees, in the lower country along the coast of Florida, extending into the interior from sixty to a hundred miles, and along the shore of Louisiana for half that depth, is the region of the live oak, (*quercus sempervirens*.) It is not found west of the Sabine. It is not a tall, but a spreading tree, with long lateral branches, looking at a distance like an immense spread umbrella. It is extremely hard, compact, and difficult to cut; and when green, is so heavy as to sink in the water. It is almost incorruptible. The islands on the shore of the gulf furnish this tree in

abundance. It is so difficult to cut down, to burn, or otherwise to clear from the soil, that in these islands, which have recently begun to be in request as sugar lands, this tree, elsewhere considered so valuable for ship timber, is regarded as an incumbrance, though still valuable for its acorns, affording the finest range for swine. The value of this timber in ship-building is well known. Its trunk is sometimes undivided for eighteen or twenty feet, but often ramifies at half that height; and at a distance, it has the appearance of an old apple-tree or pear-tree. The live oak does not afford large timber; but its wide and spreading branching summit makes amends for this disadvantage, by furnishing a great number of knees, of which there is never a sufficient quantity in the dock-yards. The consumption has become threefold within twenty years, in consequence of the growing development of American commerce: hence the price has doubled, and the species is rapidly diminishing. The clearing of the islands for the culture of cotton, which they yield of a superior quality, has contributed greatly to its destruction. It is already difficult to procure sticks of considerable size in the southern states. As the live oak, from the peculiarities of its constitution, is multiplied with difficulty, Michaux considers its disappearance throughout the United States, within fifty years, as nearly certain. It will then be found only in the form of a shrub, like the *quercus ilex*, which formerly skirted the southern coast of France and Italy.

In the variety of trees which compose the forests of North America east of the Mississippi, the walnut ranks after the oak among the genera whose species are most multiplied. In this particular, the soil of the United States is more favoured than that of Europe, to no part of which is any species of this tree indigenous. There are distinguished in the United States ten species of walnut, and others are expected to be discovered in Louisiana. There is room to hope, also, that species may be discovered susceptible, like the pacanenut, of speedy melioration, by the aid of grafting and of attentive cultivation; to which consideration some weight is given by the fact, that the fruit of the common European walnut, in its natural state, is harder than that of the American species just mentioned, and inferior to it in size and quality. Throughout the United States, the common name of hickory is given to some species of walnut. This common appellation is due to certain properties of their wood, which, however modified, are possessed by them all, in a greater degree than by any other tree of Europe or America. The grain of the wood is coarse and open. Its chief properties are great weight,

strength, and tenacity, a speedy decay when exposed to heat and moisture, and peculiar liability to injury from worms. According to these prominent excellencies or defects, the uses of their wood are determined. Hickory timber is employed in no part of the United States in the building of houses, because it is too heavy, and soon becomes worm-eaten. But if its defects forbid its employment in architecture, its good qualities, on the other hand, render it proper for many secondary uses, which could not as well be subserved by any other wood. Of the numerous trees of North America east of the Apalachian Mountains, none except the hickory is perfectly adapted to the making of hoops for casks and boxes. For this purpose, vast quantities of it are consumed at home, and exported to the West India islands; and when it is considered how large a portion of the produce of the United States is packed in barrels, an estimate may be formed of the necessary consumption of hoops. All the hickories are very heavy, and in a given volume, contain a great quantity of combustible matter; they produce an ardent heat, and leave a heavy, compact, and livid coal. In this respect, no wood of the same latitude in Europe or America can be compared to them. The use of the young hickories for hoops, and of the old for fuel, threatens the speedy extermination of them, without much care: the more so, as they are of slow growth, and never sprout twice from the same root. Pignut hickory is loaded with a nut whose shell is softer than an acorn, and the meat to the pressure of the fingers yields a copious oil, of use in the finer kinds of painting. It is acrid and bitter to the taste. The large walnut is a fruit of the size of an apple, and is common in the middle regions of the central valley. The pecan, or pacanenut, is found far up the Mississippi and Illinois, and thence to the gulf of Mexico. It is a tree of beautiful form and appearance, and the most useful of the whole class, except the black walnut, for building and for rails. Its nut is long, cylindrical, and olive-shaped, with a shell comparatively soft. The meat lies in two oblong lobes, is easily taken out entire, and excels all other nuts in delicacy of flavour. Unfortunately it soon becomes rancid, and is seldom found in the Atlantic country in its original perfection. The black walnut is a splendid tree, and often grows to a great size. Its nuts much resemble those of the white walnut, or what is called butternut in the northern states. It is much used in the middle regions of the country for ornamental finishing of houses, and cabinet furniture; and when rubbed with a weak solution of nitric acid, can be distinguished from mahogany only by an experienced eye.

The maples in general are lofty and beautiful trees, capable of enduring an intense degree of cold. They form in the north of the old and of the new continent extensive forests, which, with those of the beech, appear to succeed the spruce, the larch, and the pine, and to precede the chestnut and the oak. The North American species are more numerous than those of Europe. The wood speedily ferments and decays when exposed to the weather; it is liable to be injured by worms, and hence it is unfit for building: it possesses properties, however, which compensate in part for these defects, and which render it useful in the arts and in domestic economy. Perhaps the most interesting tree of this genus is the sugar maple, which covers a greater extent of the American soil than any other species of this genus. It flourishes most in mountainous places, where the soil, though fertile, is cold and humid. Besides the parts where the face of the country is generally of this nature, it is found along the whole chain of the Alleghanies to their termination in Georgia, and on the steep and shady banks of the rivers which rise in these mountains. The sugar maple reaches the height of seventy or eighty feet, with a proportionate diameter; but it does not commonly exceed fifty or sixty feet, with a diameter of twelve or eighteen inches. Well-grown thriving trees are beautiful in their appearance, and easily distinguishable by the whiteness of their bark. When cut at the proper season, it forms excellent fuel, and its ashes are very rich in the alkaline principle. The work of making sugar from the juice of the maple is commonly commenced in the month of February or the beginning of March, while the cold continues intense, and the ground is still covered with snow. The sap begins to be in motion at this season, two months before the general revival of vegetation. In a central situation, lying convenient to the trees from which the sap is drawn, a shed is constructed, called a sugar camp, which is destined to shelter the boiler, and the persons who tend them, from the weather. An auger three quarters of an inch in diameter; small troughs to receive the sap; tubes of elder or sumee eight or ten inches long, corresponding in size to the auger, and laid open for a part of their length; buckets for emptying the troughs and conveying the sap to the camp; boilers of fifteen or eighteen gallons capacity; moulds to receive the syrup when reduced to a proper consistency for being formed into cakes; and, lastly, hatchets to cut and split the fuel, are the principal utensils employed in the operation. The trees are perforated in an obliquely ascending direction, eighteen or twenty inches from the ground, with two

holes four or five inches apart. Care is taken that the augers do not enter more than half an inch within the wood, as experience has shown the most abundant flow of sap to take place at this depth. It is also usual to insert the tubes on the south side of the tree. A trough is placed on the ground at the foot of each tree, and the sap is every day collected, and temporarily poured into casks, from which it is drawn out to fill the boilers. The evaporation is kept up by a brisk fire, and the scum is carefully taken off during this part of the process. Fresh sap is added from time to time, and the heat is retained till the liquid is reduced to a syrup; after which it is left to cool, and then strained through a blanket, or other woollen stuff, to separate the remaining impurities. Three persons are found sufficient to tend 250 trees, which give a thousand pounds of sugar, or four pounds from each tree. The sugar thus manufactured is superior to the brown sugar of the colonies, at least to such as is generally used in the United States; its taste is as pleasant, and it is as good for culinary purposes, and when refined, it equals in beauty the finest sugar consumed in Europe; it is made use of, however, only in the districts where it is made, and there only in the country. The cheapness of cane sugar, the abundance and excellence of its growth in the lower country, and the diminished expense of transporting it to the upper states in consequence of the multiplication of steam boats, have diminished the demand for what is called country sugar, and the manufacture of it has considerably decreased.

The sycamore, a species of maple, is described as the king of the western forests. It is the largest tree in the woods, and rises in the most graceful forms, with vast spreading lateral branches, covered with bark of a brilliant white. These hundred white arms of the sycamore, interlacing with the branches of the other forest trees in the rich alluvions, where it delights to grow, add one of the distinguishing traits of grandeur and beauty to the forest. A tree of this kind near Marietta measured fifteen feet and a half in diameter. Judge Tucker, of Missouri, cut off a section of the hollow trunk of a sycamore, and applied a roof to it, and furnished it for a study. It was perfectly circular; and when fitted up with a stove and other arrangements, made an ample and convenient apartment. This gigantic section of a tree was conveyed on sleds prepared on purpose, and drawn by a sufficient number of oxen to its resting-place. It is very common to see this beautiful tree, on the margin of rivers, from ten to fifteen feet in circumference.

Seven species of the birch have been discovered in North America, five of which may be ranked among tall trees. The northern extremity of the new continent, like that of the old, appears to be the native climate of this tree, which is less frequent towards the south; and it thus becomes of great interest and importance to man, in regions destitute of many of the larger vegetables. One of the most useful species is the canoe birch, which is abundant in the forests of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, a tract very much resembling Sweden and the eastern part of Prussia. The largest size of the canoe birch is seventy feet in height and three feet in diameter; and the wood is quite equal, if not superior, to the white birch of Sweden and Norway. On trees not exceeding eight inches in diameter, the bark is of a brilliant white, like that of the white birch of Sweden, and, like that too, it is almost indestructible. Trees long since prostrated by time, are often met with in the forests, whose trunk appears sound, while the bark contains only a friable substance, like vegetable mould. This bark, like that of the European species, is applied to many uses: in Canada and the district of Maine, the country people place large pieces of it immediately below the shingles of the roof, to form a more impenetrable covering for their houses; baskets, boxes, and port folios, are made of it, which are sometimes embroidered with silk of different colours; divided into very thin sheets, it forms a substitute for paper; and, placed between the soles of the shoes and in the crown of the hat, it is a defence against humidity. But the most important purpose to which it is put, and one for which it is equalled by the bark of no other tree, is the construction of canoes. To procure proper pieces, the largest and smoothest trunks are selected: in the spring two circular incisions are made, several feet apart, and two longitudinal ones on opposite sides of the tree; after which, by introducing a wooden wedge, the bark is easily detached. These plates are usually ten or twelve feet long, and two feet nine inches broad. To form the canoe, they are stitched together with fibrous roots of the white spruce, about the size of a quill, which are deprived of the bark, split and suppled in water. The seams are coated with resin of the balm of Gilead. Great use is made of these canoes by the savages and by the Canadians, in their long journeys into the interior of the country: they are very light, and are easily transported on the shoulders from one lake or river to another, which is called the portage. A canoe calculated for four persons with their baggage, weighs from forty to fifty pounds; some of them are made to carry fifteen passengers. The black

birch, called also sweet birch, cherry birch, and mountain mahogany, abounds in the middle states, particularly in New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland; farther south it is confined to the summit of the Alleghanies, on which it is found to their termination in Georgia, and to the steep and shady banks of the rivers which issue from these mountains.

Except the oak, no tree of Europe, or of North America, is so generally useful as the ash. The distinguishing properties of its wood are strength and elasticity; and it unites them in so high a degree, that, for many valuable purposes, it could not be replaced by any other tree. This remark is particularly applicable to the white ash of the United States, which is the largest species, the most multiplied, and the most useful in the arts. It is also the most remarkable for the rapidity of its growth, and the beauty of its foliage. It is most abundant north of the Hudson, and a cold climate seems most congenial to it. It sometimes attains a height of thirty feet, with a diameter of three feet, and is one of the largest trees of the United States.

The elms of the United States, though some of them are of magnificent growth, are not of equal value with the common elm of Europe. The principal species is the white elm, which has been observed from Nova Scotia to the extremity of Georgia, and abounds in all the western states; but it grows most freely in the north-eastern section of the republic. In clearing the primitive forests, a few stocks are sometimes left standing. Insulated in this manner, it appears in all its majesty, towering to the height of eighty or one hundred feet, with a trunk four or five feet in diameter, regularly shaped, naked, and insensibly diminishing to the height of sixty or seventy feet, where it divides itself into two or three primary limbs. The limbs, not widely divergent near the base, approach and cross each other eight or ten feet higher, and diffuse on all sides long, flexible, pendulous branches, bending into regular arches, and floating lightly in the air. A singularity is observed in this tree, which has been witnessed in no other: two small limbs, four or five feet long, grow in a reversed position near the first ramification, and descend along the trunk. The uses of the elm are few and unimportant, and it deserves attention only as the most magnificent vegetable of the temperate zone.

The chestnut does not venture beyond the forty-fourth degree of latitude. It is found in New Hampshire, between the forty-third and forty-fourth degrees, but such is the severity of the winter, that it is less common than in Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. It is most multiplied in the moun-

tainous districts of the Carolinas and of Georgia, and abounds on the Cumberland Mountains, and in East Tennessee. The coolness of the summer, and the mildness of the winter, in these regions, are favourable to the chestnut; the face of the country also is perfectly adapted to a tree which prefers the sides of mountains, or their immediate vicinity, where the soil in general is gravelly, though deep enough to produce its development. The chestnut is little esteemed for fuel, and is not used in the cities of the United States: like the kindred species in Europe, it is filled with air, and snaps as it burns. The coal is excellent; and on some of the mountains of Pennsylvania, where the chestnut abounds, the woods in the neighbourhood of the forges have been transformed into copses, which are cut every sixteen years for the furnaces. This period is sufficient to renew them, as the summer is warmer in America than in Europe, the atmosphere more moist, and consequently vegetation more rapid.

In North America, as in Europe, the beech is among the tallest and most majestic trees of the forest. Two species, the white and the red, so called from the colour of their wood, are found in the United States. A deep, moist soil, and a cool atmosphere, are necessary to the utmost expansion of the white beech; and it is accordingly most multiplied in the middle and western states. Though it is common in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and throughout the country east of the mountains, it is insulated in the forests, instead of composing large masses, as in Genesee, Kentucky, and Tennessee. "I have found the finest beeches," says Michaux, "on the banks of the Ohio, between Gallipolis and Marietta, and have measured several stocks, growing near each other, which were eight, nine, and eleven feet in circumference, and more than one hundred feet high." In these forests, where the beeches vegetate in a deep and fertile soil, their roots sometimes extend to a great distance, even with the surface; and being entangled so as to cover the ground, they embarrass the steps of the traveller, and render the land peculiarly difficult to clear. The red beech is almost exclusively confined to the north-eastern parts of the United States. In the district of Maine, and in the states of New Hampshire and Vermont, it is so abundant as often to constitute extensive forests, the finest of which grow on fertile, level, or sloping lands, which are proper for the culture of corn. It bears a very close resemblance to the beech of Europe.

The pines and the spruces constitute a large and interesting class of American forest trees. The most valuable species is that which is known in England

and the West Indies as the Georgia pitch pine; and which, in the United States, is variously called yellow pine, pitch pine, broom pine, southern pine, red pine, and long-leaved pine, a name which, after Michaux, we adopt. Towards the north, the long-leaved pine makes its appearance near Norfolk, in Virginia, where the pine-barrens begin. It seems to be especially assigned to dry sandy soils; and it is found, almost without interruption, in the lower part of the Carolinas, Georgia, and the Floridas, over a tract more than six hundred miles long, from northeast to southwest, and more than a hundred miles broad from the sea towards the mountains of the Carolinas and Georgia. Immediately beyond Raleigh, it holds almost exclusive possession of the soil, and is seen in company with other pines only on the edges of the swamps, enclosed in the barrens; even there not more than one stock in a hundred is of another species, and with this exception, the long-leaved pine forms the unbroken mass of woods which covers this extensive country. The mean stature of the long-leaved pine is sixty or seventy feet, with a uniform diameter of fifteen or sixteen inches for two thirds of this height. Some stocks, favoured by local circumstances, attain much larger dimensions, particularly in East Florida. The timber is very valuable, being stronger, more compact, and more durable, than that of all the other species of pine; it is besides fine grained, and susceptible of a high polish. Its uses are diversified, and its consumption great. But the value of the long-leaved pine does not reside exclusively in its wood: it supplies nearly all the resinous matter used in the United States in shipbuilding, with a large residue for exportation to the West Indies and Great Britain; and in this view its place can be supplied by no other species, those which afford the same product being dispersed through the woods, or collected in inaccessible places. In the northern states, the lands, which, at the commencement of their settlement, were covered with the pitch pine, were exhausted in twenty-five or thirty years, and for more than half a century have ceased to furnish tar. The pine-barrens are of vast extent, and are covered with trees of the finest growth, but they can not all be rendered profitable, from the difficulty of communicating with the sea. Formerly tar was made in all the lower parts of the Carolinas and Georgia; and throughout the Floridas vestiges are everywhere seen of kilns that have served in the combustion of resinous wood; but, at present, this branch of industry is confined to the lower districts of North Carolina, which furnish almost all the tar and turpentine exported from Wilmington and other

ports. All the tar of the southern states is made from dead wood of the long-leaved pine, consisting of trees prostrated by time or by the fire kindled annually in the forests, of the summits of those which are felled for timber, and of limbs broken off by the ice which sometimes overloads the leaves. It is worthy of remark, that the branches of resinous trees consist almost wholly of wood of which the organization is even more perfect than in the body of the tree; the reverse is observed in trees with deciduous leaves. As soon as vegetation ceases in any part of the tree, its consistence speedily changes, the sap decays, and the heart, already impregnated with resinous juice, becomes surcharged to such a degree as to double its weight in a year; the accumulation is said to be much greater in four or five years. To procure the tar, a kiln is formed in a part of the forest abounding in dead wood; this is first collected, stripped of the sap, and cut into billets two or three feet long, and about three inches thick. The next step is to prepare a place for piling it: for this purpose a circular mound is raised, slightly declining from the circumference to the centre, and surrounded with a shallow ditch. The diameter of the pile is proportioned to the quantity of wood which it is to receive: to obtain 200 barrels of tar, it should be eighteen or twenty feet wide. In the middle is a hole with a conduit leading to the ditch, in which is formed a receptacle for the resin as it flows out. Upon the surface of the mound, beaten hard and coated with clay, the wood is laid in radiations from the centre; and the pile, when finished, may be compared to a cone truncated at two thirds of its height, and reversed, being twenty feet in diameter below, twenty-five or thirty feet above, and ten or twelve feet high. It is then strewed over with pine leaves, covered with earth, and sustained at the sides with a slight cincture of wood. This covering is necessary in order that the fire kindled at the top may penetrate to the bottom with a slow and gradual combustion, because, if the whole mass was rapidly inflamed, the operation would fail, and the labour in part be lost: in a word, nearly the same precautions are required in this process as are observed in Europe in making charcoal. A kiln which is to afford 100 or 130 barrels of tar, is eight or nine days in burning. The tar flows off into the ditch.

The white pine is another valuable species. This tree is diffused, though not uniformly, over a vast extent of country. It is incapable of supporting intense cold, and still less extreme heat. It appears to be most abundant between the forty-third and forty-seventh degrees of latitude; further south it is

found in the valleys and on the declivities of the Alleghanies to their termination, but at a distance from the mountains on either side its growth is forbidden by the warmth of the climate. It is said with great probability to be numerous near the source of the Mississippi, which is in the same latitude with the district of Maine, the upper part of New Hampshire, the state of Vermont, and the commencement of the St. Lawrence, where it attains its greatest dimensions. "I measured two trunks," say Michaux, "felled for canoes, of which one was 154 feet long and 54 inches in diameter, and the other 142 feet long and 44 inches in diameter, at three feet from the ground. Mention is made in Belknap's History of New Hampshire, of a white pine felled near the river Merrimack, seven feet eight inches in diameter, and near Hollowell I saw a stump exceeding six feet: these enormous stocks had probably reached the greatest height attained by the species, which is about 180 feet, and I have been assured by persons worthy of belief, that in a few instances they had felled individual trees of nearly this stature." It is probable that the authors who have stated its height at 260 feet, have been misled by incorrect reports; but this ancient and majestic inhabitant of the North American forests is still the loftiest and most valuable of their productions, and its summit is seen at an immense distance aspiring towards heaven, far above the heads of the surrounding trees. The trunk is simple for two thirds or three fourths of its height, and the limbs are short and verticillate, or disposed in stages one above another to the top of the tree, which is formed by three or four upright branches, seemingly detached and unsupported. In forests composed of the sugar maple, the beeches, or the oaks, where the soil is strong and proper for the culture of corn, as for example on the shores of Lake Champlain, the white pine is arrested at a lower height and diffused into a spacious summit; but it is still taller and more vigorous than the neighbouring trees. The wood of this species is employed in greater quantities and for far more diversified uses than that of any other American pine; yet it is not without essential defects; it has little strength, gives a feeble hold to nails, and sometimes swells by the humidity of the atmosphere. These properties are compensated, however, by others which give it a decided superiority: it is soft, light, free from knots, and easily wrought; it is more durable, and less liable to split when exposed to the sun; it furnishes boards of a great width, and timber of large dimensions; in fine, it is still abundant and cheap. A very large proportion of the

houses in the United States are built of it. The vast consumption of this tree for domestic use, and for exportation to the West Indies and to Europe, renders it necessary every year to penetrate further into the country; and inroads are already made, in quest of this species only, upon forests which probably will not be cleared for cultivation in twenty-five or thirty years.

Of the several species of spruce, the two most considerable are the black spruce and the hemlock. They both appertain to the coldest regions of the new world. The regions in which the black spruce is the most abundant are often diversified with hills, and the finest forests are found in valleys where the soil is black, humid, deep, and covered with a thick bed of moss. Though crowded so as to leave an interval of only three, four, or five feet, these stocks attain their fullest development, which is seventy or eighty feet in height and from fifteen to twenty inches in diameter. The summit is a regular pyramid, and has a beautiful appearance on insulated trees; this agreeable form is owing to the spreading of the branches in a horizontal instead of a declining direction, like those of the true Norway pine, which is a more gloomy tree. The timber of the black spruce is distinguished by strength, lightness, and elasticity. Josselyn, in his *History of New England*, published in London, in 1672, informs us, that it was considered at that period as furnishing the best yards and topmasts in the world. From the young branches of the tree, by boiling, is made the salutary liquor called spruce beer. The hemlock spruce abounds in the district of Maine, the state of Vermont, and the upper part of New Hampshire, where it forms three quarters of the evergreen woods, of which the remainder consists of the black spruce. Further south it is less common, and in the middle and southern states is seen only on the Alleghanies, where it is often confined to the sides of torrents, and to the most humid and gloomy situations. In the country east and north of Massachusetts, which, without embracing Canada, is more than 750 miles long and 250 miles broad, the resinous trees are constantly found at the foot of the hills, and constitute nearly half of the unbroken forests which cover these regions. The hemlock spruce is always larger and taller than the black spruce. It attains the height of seventy or eighty feet, with a circumference of from six to nine feet, which is uniform for two thirds of its length; but if the number and distance of the concentric circles afford a certain criterion of the longevity of trees and the rapidity of their vegetation, it must be nearly two centuries in acquiring these di-

mensions. In a favourable soil this tree has an elegant appearance while less than thirty feet high, owing to the symmetrical arrangement of its branches, and to its tufted foliage; and at this age it is employed in landscape gardening. When arrived at its full growth, the large limbs are usually broken off four or five feet from the trunk, and the dried extremities are seen staring out through the little twigs which spring around them; in this mutilated state, by which it is easily recognised, it has a disagreeable aspect, and presents, while in full vigour, an image of decrepitude. This accident, which is attributed to the snow lodging upon the close, horizontal, tufted branches, never happens to the young trees, whose fibres are more flexible. The woods are also filled with dead stocks; but it is uncertain whether their destruction is occasioned by an insect which attaches itself of preference to the pines, or to some other cause. The dead moss-grown trees, which stand mouldering for twenty or thirty years, deform the forests of this part of the United States, and give them a gloomy and desolate appearance. Unhappily the properties of its wood are such as to give this species only a secondary importance, notwithstanding its abundant diffusion: it is the least valuable in this respect of all the large resinous trees of North America; but the regret which we should experience to see it occupying so extensively the place of more useful species, is forbidden by a property of its bark, inestimable to the country where it grows, that of being applicable in tanning.

Two species of cypress are indigenous to the United States. The banks of Indian river, a small stream that waters a part of Delaware, in latitude $38^{\circ} 50'$, may be assumed as its northern boundary. Hence, in proceeding southward, it becomes constantly more abundant in the swamps; but in Maryland and Virginia it is confined to the vicinity of the sea, where the winter is milder and the summer more intense. Beyond Norfolk its limits coincide exactly with those of the pine-barrens, and in the Carolinas and Georgia it occupies a great part of the swamps which border the rivers, after they have found their way out from among the mountains, and have entered the low lands. In the Mississippi valley it begins to be seen on the swampy and overflowed lands, near the mouth of the Ohio. It is, along with the swamp gum, the most common tree in the deep swamps from that point to the gulf of Mexico. It is in every respect a striking and singular tree. Under its deep shade arise a hundred curiously shaped knobs, called "cypress knees." They are regular, cone-shaped protuberances, of different heights and cir-

cumferences, not unlike tall and taper circular beehives. "We have often remarked," says Mr. Flint, "a very small cypress sprig, that had started from the apex of one of these cypress knees; and we believe, that it will ultimately be found that each one of these knees is the natural matrix of the tree." These noble trees rear their straight columns from a large, cone-shaped buttress, whose circumference at the ground is, perhaps, three times that of the regular shaft of the tree. This cone rises from six to ten feet, with a regular and sharp taper, and from the apex of the cone towers the perpendicular column, with little taper after it has left the cone, from 60 to 80 feet clear shaft. The largest stocks are 120 feet in height, and from 25 to 40 feet in circumference above the conical base. Very near its top it begins to throw out multitudes of horizontal branches, which interlace with those of the adjoining trees, and, when bare of leaves, have an air of desolation and death more easily felt than described. In the season of vegetation, the leaves are short, fine, and of a verdure so deep as almost to seem brown, giving an indescribable air of funereal solemnity to this singular tree. A cypress forest, when viewed from the adjacent hills, with its numberless interlaced arms covered with this dark brown foliage, has the aspect of a scaffolding of verdure in the air. It grows in deep and sickly swamps, the haunts of fever, mosquitoes, moccasins, snakes, alligators, and all loathsome and ferocious animals, that congregate far from the abodes of man, and seem to make common cause with nature against him. The cypress loves the deepest, most gloomy, inaccessible, and inundated swamps; and, south of 33 degrees, is generally found covered with the sable festoons of the long moss, hanging, like a shroud of mourning wreaths, almost to the ground. It seems to flourish best where water covers its roots for half the year. When it rises from eight or ten feet water of the overflow of rivers, the apex of its buttress is just on a level with the surface of the water, and it is then, in many places, that they cut it. The negroes surround the tree in boats, and thus get at the trunk above the huge and hard buttress, and fell it with comparative ease. They cut off the straight shaft, as it suits their purpose, and float it to a raft, or the nearest high grounds. Unpromising as are the places and the circumstances of its growth, no tree of the country where it is found is so extensively useful. It is free from knots, is easily wrought, and makes excellent planks, shingles, and timber of all sorts. It is very durable, and incomparably the most valuable tree in the southern country. It is a fortunate circumstance, that it inhabits the most

gloomy and inaccessible regions, which will not come into cultivation for ages, so that it will, of course, have a better chance of escaping the fate of the most useful timber on the valuable uplands. The improvident axe soon renders timber difficult to be procured, even in a country in the centre of forests. All the cypress forests that are easily accessible, on the lower Mississippi and its tributaries, have already been stripped of their timber by the lumberers, who have floated to New Orleans millions of feet of this timber from the lands of the United States, and who have already created a scarcity of this species on the margin of the river; there are, however, in the vast swamps of the Mississippi, Arkansas, Red river, and Florida, inexhaustible supplies of cypress still remaining.

In addition to these we may notice the acacia and the poplar. Several varieties of the acacia, or locust tree, are found in the United States, from whence this valuable tree was early imported into Europe. It is most multiplied in the south-west, and abounds in all the valleys between the chains of the Allegany mountains, particularly in Limestone valley. It is also common in all the western states, and in the territory comprised between the Ohio, the Illinois, the lakes, and the Mississippi. It is not found in the states east of the river Delaware, nor does it grow spontaneously in the maritime parts of the middle and southern states, to the distance of from fifty to one hundred miles from the sea; all the stocks that are seen in these parts having been planted at different periods. Though the locust is multiplied east of the mountains in the upper part of Virginia and of the two Carolinas, it forms a much smaller proportion of the forests than the oaks and walnuts; and it is nowhere found occupying exclusively tracts even of a few acres. For this reason it is the only tree, besides the black walnut, that is left standing in the clearing of new lands; hence these two species, which are not sufficiently multiplied to supply the demand for their wood, are frequently seen growing in the midst of cultivated fields. The greatest consumption of locust wood is for posts, which are employed by preference for the enclosing of court-yards, gardens, and farms, in the districts where the tree abounds, and in the circumjacent country. In naval architecture, the shipwrights use as much of it as they can procure. It combines great durability with strength and lightness. The sweet locust belongs peculiarly to the country west of the Allegany mountains, and it is found scarcely in any part of the Atlantic states, except in Limestone valley, and its branches, which lie between the first and second ranges of the Alleganies,

Of the poplar, several species exist in the United States. Of this family is the tulip tree, or yellow poplar, a splendid, lofty, and useful tree. The cotton wood belongs to the same genus. It is probably more abundant on the lower courses of the Ohio, on the whole course of the Mississippi, Missouri, St. Francis, White river, Arkansas, and Red river, than any other tree. It is a noble and lofty forest tree, and sometimes vies with the sycamore itself for predominance in size and grandeur. It is of singular beauty when its foliage is but partly unfolded in the spring. These trees, especially in the valley of Red river, have been seen twelve feet in diameter; and there are single trees, that will make a thousand rails. When they are cut in the winter, the moment the axe penetrates the centre of the tree, there gushes out a stream of water or sap, and a single tree will discharge gallons. On the sand bars and islands of the rivers, wherever the alluvial earth begins to be deposited, there springs up a growth of cotton wood, the young trees standing so thick as to render it difficult for a bird to fly among them, and having, to a person passing at a little distance on the river, a singular appearance of regularity, as though they had been put out to ornament a pleasure-ground. The popular name "cotton wood" is derived from the circumstance, that soon after its foliage is unfolded, it flowers, and when the flowers fall, it scatters on the ground a downy matter, in feeling and appearance exactly resembling short ginned cotton.

Among the ornamental trees of the American forest we have been led to assign the magnolias a conspicuous place. It is undoubtedly a beautiful tree; but seems to have been so extravagantly described by American writers, as to occasion disappointment when first beheld by a stranger in its native localities. There are six or seven varieties among the laurels of the magnolia tribe, some of which have smaller flowers than those of the grandiflora, but much more delicate, and more agreeably fragrant. A beautiful evergreen of this class is covered in autumn with berries of an intense blackness, and has been remarked in great numbers about St. Francisville. The holly is a well-known and beautiful tree of this class; but the handsomest of the family is the laurel almond. It is not a large tree. Its leaves strongly resemble those of the peach; it preserves a most pleasing green through the winter, and its flowers yield a delicious perfume. It grows in families of ten or fifteen trees in a cluster; and planters of taste in the valley of Red river, where it is common, often select the place of their dwelling in the midst of them.

The catalpa, or catawba, is an ornamental tree, abounding in West Florida and the southern part of the Mississippi valley. It is beautiful from the great size, peculiar shape, and deep green of its foliage. When in blossom, its rounded top is a tuft of flowers, of great beauty and unequalled fragrance. One tree in full flower fills the atmosphere, for a considerable circumference round it, with its delicious odours. For the gracefulness of its form, for the grandeur of its foliage, and the rich and ambrosial fragrance of its flowers, as well as for the length and various forms of its knife-shaped, pendent seed capsules, two feet in length, it is considered by some writers unequalled among ornamental trees.

The bow-wood is a striking and beautiful tree, found on the upper courses of the Washita, the middle regions of Arkansas, and occasionally on the northern limits of Louisiana. It inhabits a very limited region, and is supposed not to be native elsewhere. Taken altogether, it is a tree of extraordinary beauty. It bears a large fruit of most inviting appearance, and resembling a very large orange; but tempting as it is in aspect, it is the apple of Sodom to the taste. Many people consider it the most splendid of all forest trees. It receives its name from the circumstance, that all the south-western savages use it for bows. The china tree is much cultivated in the southern regions of the Mississippi valley for ornamental shade. The verdure is the most brilliant and deep in nature. In the flowering season, the top is one tuft of blossoms, in colour and fragrance resembling the lilac, except that the tufts are larger, and it holds in flower for a long time. These trees, planted out in a village, in a few years completely embower it; and, from the intenseness of their verdure, they impart a delightful freshness to the landscape in that sultry climate. After the leaves have fallen in autumn, the tree is still covered with a profusion of reddish berries, of the size of haws, that give it the appearance at a little distance of remaining in flower. Robins migrate to this region in the latter part of winter, settle on these trees in great numbers, and feed on the berries, which possess an intoxicating or narcotic quality, so that the robins, sitting on the trees in a state of stupefaction, may be killed with a stick. The dog-wood and the red-bud are of an intermediate size, between shrubs and trees. The former has a beautiful heart-shaped and crimped leaf, and an umbrella-shaped top. It covers itself in spring with a profusion of brilliant white flowers, and in autumn with berries of a fine scarlet. The red-bud is the first shrub that is seen in blossom on the Ohio. The shrub is

then a complete surface of blossoms resembling those of the peach tree, and a stranger would take it, at that time, to be that tree. The shrubs are dispersed everywhere in the woods; and in descending the Ohio early in the spring, these masses of brilliant flowers contrast delightfully with the general brown of the forest: the first time that the voyager descends this river, the red-bud imparts a charm to the landscape that he will never forget. These two are at once the most common and the most beautiful shrubs in the Mississippi valley. The dog-wood, especially, is found everywhere from Pittsburgh to the gulf of Mexico; and, seen through the forests, in blossom, is far more conspicuous for its flowers than the magnolia. The rhododendron, or dwarf rose bay, and the kalmia, or mountain laurel, are plants with which our own shrubberies have now rendered us familiar. The west end of Long Island, and the river Hudson below the Highlands, may be considered as the limit far beyond which the rhododendron ceases to be found in the forests of the United States. It is abundant in the middle states, and in the upper parts, particularly in the mountainous tracts of the southern section. In the low lands it is almost exclusively seen on the borders of creeks and rivers, and is observed to be more multiplied in approaching the Alleghanies; till, in the midst of these ranges, especially in Virginia, it becomes so abundant on the side of the torrents as to form impenetrable thickets, in which the bear finds a secure retreat from the pursuit of the dogs and of the hunters.

The kalmia abounds in New Jersey, and covers Wheelock Hill, nearly opposite to the city of New York. It grows also near the Schuylkill, in the immediate neighbourhood of Philadelphia. It is found along the steep banks of all the rivers which rise in the Alleghany mountains; but it is observed to become less common in following these streams from their source, towards the Ohio and Mississippi on one side, and towards the ocean on the other. In the southern states it disappears entirely when the rivers enter the low country, where the pine-barrens commence. In North Carolina, on the loftiest part of the Alleghanies, it occupies tracts of more than 100 acres, and forms upon the summit, and for a third of the distance down the sides, thickets eighteen or twenty feet in height, which are rendered nearly impenetrable by the crooked and unyielding trunks, crossed and locked with each other. As the shrubs which compose these copses are of a uniform height, and richly laden with evergreen foliage, they present, at a distance, the appearance of verdant meadows surrounded by tall trees. The snowberry

is an ornamental shrub, inhabiting the banks of the upper Missouri. It bears at the same time flowers and fruit, which continue successively expanding and ripening during the whole summer; and when in the autumn the large bunches of ivory or wax-like berries are matured, the appearance is stated to be extremely beautiful. Of the gaudy genus *erythrina*, or coral tree, the United States lay claim to one species. It is an herbaceous shrub from two to three feet high. It is a native of the open bushy forests of Carolina, Georgia, and Florida; and its brilliant red blossom makes a superb appearance at the time of florescence.

The southern regions of the United States, as far north as Cape Hatteras, present to us one species of palm. It is the palmetto, or cabbage tree. A trunk from forty to fifty feet in height, of a uniform diameter, and crowned with a regular and tufted summit, gives the cabbage tree a beautiful and majestic appearance. The base of the undisclosed bundle of leaves is white, compact, and tender; it is eaten with oil and vinegar, and resembles the artichoke and the cabbage in taste, whence is derived the name of cabbage tree: but to destroy a vegetable which has been a century in growing, to obtain three or four ounces of a substance neither richly nutritious nor peculiarly agreeable to the palate, seems to be nothing short of prodigality. The cabbage tree bears long clusters of small greenish flowers, which are succeeded by a black inesculent fruit, about the size of a pea. In the southern states the wood of this tree, though extremely porous, is preferred to every other for wharves: its superiority consists in being secure from injury by sea-worms, which, during the summer, commit great ravages in structures accessible to their attacks; but when exposed to be alternately wet and dry by the flowing and ebbing of the tide, it decays as speedily as other wood. The use of the cabbage tree is rapidly diminishing its numbers, and probably the period is not distant when it will cease to exist within the boundaries of the United States. In the war of independence, the cabbage tree was found eminently proper for constructing forts, as, on the passage of the ball, it closes without splitting.

Among wild fruit-bearing shrubs, the pre-eminence seems to be due to the papaw, or Indian fig. It is not uncommon in the bottoms which stretch along the rivers of the middle states; but it is most abundant in the rich valleys intersected by the western waters, where, at intervals, it forms thickets exclusively occupying several acres. In Kentucky, and in the western part of Tennessee, it is sometimes seen also in forests where the soil is luxuriantly fer-

tile, of which its presence is an infallible proof; in these forests it attains the height of thirty feet, and the diameter of six or eight inches, though it generally stops short of half this elevation. The fruit closely resembles a cucumber, having, however, a more smooth and regular appearance; when ripe, it is of a rich yellow, and there are generally from two to five in a cluster. The pulp resembles egg custard in consistence and appearance; it has the same creamy feeling in the mouth, and unites the taste of eggs, cream, sugar, and spice: in short, it is a natural custard, and is too luscious for the relish of most people. The fruit is nutritious, and a great resource to the savages. So many tastes are unexpectedly and whimsically compounded in it, that, it is said, a person of the most hypochondriac temperament relaxes to a smile when he tastes papaw for the first time.

Three species of cherry are found in the United States, one of which occurs both in the Atlantic and the western states, as a tall timber tree. None of them produce eatable fruit; but the red cherry bears the greatest analogy to the cultivated cherry of Europe, and is the most likely to allow of grafting.

The persimon varies surprisingly in size in different soils and climates. In the vicinity of New York it is not more than half as large as in the more southern states, where, in favourable situations, it is sometimes sixty feet in height, and eighteen or twenty inches in diameter. The ripe fruit is about as large as the thumb, of a reddish complexion, round, fleshy, and furnished with six or eight semi-oval stones; but it is not eatable till it has felt the first frost, by which the skin is shrivelled, and the pulp, which before was hard and extremely harsh to the taste, is softened and rendered palatable. The fruit is so abundant, that in the southern states a tree often yields several bushels; and even in New Jersey are seen the branches of stocks, not more than seven or eight feet in height, bent to the ground by their burden. In the south the fruit adheres to the branches long after the shedding of the leaf; and when it falls, it is eagerly devoured by wild and domestic animals. In Virginia, the Carolinas, and the western states, it is sometimes gathered up, pounded with bran, and formed into cakes, which are dried in the oven, and kept in order to make beer; for which purpose they are dissolved in warm water, with the addition of hops and leaven. It was long since found that brandy might be made from this fruit, by distilling the water, previously fermented, in which they had been bruised. This liquor is said to become good as it acquires age: but it will be impossible to de-

rive profit from the persimon in these modes, and in the country where it is most abundant a few farmers only employ its fruit occasionally for their households. The apple and the peach tree are far more advantageous, as their growth is more rapid and their produce more considerable.

The Chickasaw plum is common from 34° north latitude to the gulf of Mexico. It is found in the greatest abundance, and ripens early in June. Prairie plums are most abundant in Illinois and Missouri on the hazel prairies. They are of various sizes and flavours; their general colour is reddish and their flavour tart, but some of them are large and delicious. In some places they are found in inconceivable quantities, the surface of acres being red with them; and two bushels have been gathered from one tree. The yellow Osage plum of this class, when the better kinds are cultivated, is delicious. In the middle regions of the central valley, on prairies of a particular description, there are great tracts covered with an impenetrable mat of crab apple shrubs. The form, colour, and fragrance of the blossoms, are precisely those of the cultivated apple tree, and when the southern breeze comes over a large tract of these shrubs in full blossom, it is charged with a concentrated fragrance almost too strong to be grateful. They are useful as stocks in which the cultivated apple and pear tree may be engrafted. Their fruit, when properly prepared, makes fine cider, and the apple is much used as a preserve. The mulberry is of rare occurrence in the Atlantic states, but is found in every part of the valley of the Mississippi, and in some places constitutes no inconsiderable portion of the timber. Its wood is very valuable, and scarcely less durable than that of the locust. The American species is not the black mulberry of Europe, but the red mulberry. The white mulberry, on which the silkworm feeds, has been asserted to be indigenous to the United States; but the stocks of this kind which may now be seen there, are stated by Michaux to have been planted "a century ago, when attempts were made to introduce the raising of silkworms;" as the soil and climate of the United States, however, are well adapted to the white mulberry, there is no reason why that branch of industry should not be cultivated successfully, though the experiments hitherto made have had no very promising result.

The common grape vine is diffused through all the climates. Nothing is more common than, in the richer lands, to see vines, often of a prodigious size, perpendicularly attached at the top to branches sixty or eighty feet from the ground, and at a great lateral distance from the trunk of the tree. It is common

to puzzle a man first brought into these woods, by putting him to account for the manner in which a vine, perhaps nearly of the size of the human body, has been able to rear itself to such a height: there can be, however, no doubt that the vine in this case is coeval with the tree; that the tree, as it grew, reared the vine; and that the vine receded from the trunk with the projection of the lateral branch, until, in the lapse of time, this singular appearance is presented. In many places, half the trees in a bottom are covered with these vines. In the deep forests, on the hills, in the barrens, in the hazel prairies, and in the pine woods, every form and size of the grape vine presents itself. Of the plants of the winter grape, which so generally clings to the trees in the alluvial forests, probably not one in fifty bears any fruit at all. The fruit, when produced, is a small circular berry, not unlike the wild black cherry. It is austere, sour, and unpleasant, until it has been mellowed by the frosts of winter; but it is said, when fermented by those who have experience in the practice, to make a tolerable wine. The summer grape is found on the rolling barrens and the hazel prairies. It is more than twice the size of the winter grape, is ripe in the first month in autumn, and, when matured under the full influence of the sun, is a pleasant fruit. It grows in the greatest abundance, but is too dry a grape to be pressed for wine. The muscadine grape is seldom seen north of 34 degrees. More southerly it becomes abundant, and is found in the deep alluvial forests, clinging to the tall trees. The fruit grows in more scanty clusters than that of other grapes. Like other fruits, they fall as they ripen, and furnish a rich treat to bears and other animals that feed on them; they are of the size of a plum, of a fine purple black, with a thick tough skin, tasting not unlike the rind of an orange; the pulp is deliciously sweet, but is reputed unwholesome. The pine woods grape has a slender, bluish purple vine, that runs on the ground among the grass. It ripens in the month of June; is large, cone-shaped, transparent, with four seeds, reddish purple, and is a fine fruit for eating. On the sandy plains at the sources of Arkansas and Red river, the gentlemen of Long's expedition concur with hunters and travellers in relating, that there are found large tracts of sandy plain, from which grows a grape, probably of this species. They have stated that the clusters are large and delicious, and that the sand, drifting about them, covers up the redundant vegetation, performing the operation of pruning on the vine: the sun, too, strongly reflected from a surface of sand, must have a powerful influence to mature the fruit. It is possible,

that some part of the admiration which has been felt, in seeing such sterile tracts covered with these abundant and rich clusters, and the high zest with which they were devoured, may have been owing to the surprise of finding such a phenomenon in contrast with a white and moving sand, and eating the fruit under associations created by hunger and thirst. The universal diffusion of such numbers and varieties of the vine, would seem to indicate this valley to possess a natural aptitude for the cultivation of the vine.

The gooseberry, in all its natural varieties, is indigenous to the United States. In the middle regions of the Mississippi valley it grows to a great height and size, and covers itself with fruit. It makes a high, compact, and impervious hedge. Immense tracts of the prairies are covered with the hazel, and the nuts are fine and abundant; the bushes are often surmounted with wreaths of the common hop. The whortleberry abounds in the Atlantic states, but is less common in the interior. The red raspberry is also indigenous, and grows of a fine size and flavour from the middle to the northern regions of the great valley: one species of it, the rose-flowering raspberry, has a large and ornamental blossom. Blackberries, high and creeping, are found in prodigious abundance, and the prairies in many places, in the season, are red with fine strawberries. The cranberry is a native fruit of the North American continent. It grows in morasses and swamps of rich boggy bottoms, from Labrador to Carolina. When found it is in great abundance, and gives to such localities the name of cranberry swamps. Extensive cranberry swamps are met with in New Jersey.

The cane grows on the lower courses of the Mississippi, Arkansas, and Red river, from fifteen to thirty feet in height; some, in these rich soils, would almost vie in size with the bamboo. The leaves are of a beautiful green, long, narrow, and dagger-shaped, not unlike those of the Egyptian millet. It grows in equidistant joints, perfectly straight, and in almost a compact mass, so that the smallest sparrow would find it difficult to fly among it. Looking at its ten thousand stems almost contiguous to each other, and at the impervious roof of verdure which it forms at its top, it has the aspect of a solid layer of vegetation. A man could not advance at the rate of three miles in a day through a thick cane-brake. It is the chosen resort of bears and panthers, (cougars,) which break it down, and make their way into it as a retreat from man. It indicates a dry soil, above the inundation, and of the richest character; and the ground is never in better preparation for maize, than after this prodigious mass of vegetation

is first cut down and burned. When the cane has been cut, and is so dried that it will burn, it is an amusement of high holyday to the negroes to set fire to it. The rarefied air in the hollow compartments of the canes bursts them, with a report not much inferior to a discharge of musketry; and the burning of the whole brake makes the noise of a conflicting army, in which thousands of muskets are continually discharging. This beautiful vegetable is generally asserted to have a life of five years, at the end of which period, if it has grown undisturbed, it produces an abundant crop of seed, with heads very like those of the broom corn; the seeds are farinaceous, and are said to be not much inferior to wheat, for which the Indians, and occasionally the first settlers, have substituted it. No prospect so strikingly shows the exuberant prodigality of nature, as a thick cane-brake; nothing affords such a rich and perennial range for cattle, sheep, and horses; and the butter that is made from the cane pastures of this region is of the finest kind. The seed easily vegetates in any rich soil. It rises from the ground like the richest asparagus, with a large succulent stem, and it grows six feet high before it loses its succulency and tenderness. No vegetable furnishes a fodder so rich or abundant; and it has been recommended to make trial of the annual cultivation of the cane in regions where it can not survive the winter. A species of flax was found by Lewis and Clark growing in the valleys of the Chippewayan Mountains, and on the banks of the Missouri. The bark possesses the same kind of tough fibres as the common flax, and the Indians are in the habit of making lint and wadding for their guns from it.

Many parts of the United States are tangled with annual and perennial creepers of various kinds, foliage, and forms. The trumpet flower (*bignonia*) is a creeper, beautiful for its foliage and flowers. It has a vine of a grayish white colour, and long and delicate spike-shaped leaves in alternate sets. It climbs the largest trees in preference to others, mounts to their summits, and displays a profusion of large, trumpet-shaped flowers, of a flame colour. Planted near a house, in two or three seasons a single vine will cover a roof, throwing its fibrous and parasitic roots so strongly under the shingles, as to detach them from the rafters. Various species of ivy abound, especially in the rich alluvions, where thousands of the forest trees, and often huge dead trunks, are wreathed with it. The supplejack is remarkable for attaching itself so strongly to the shrub it entwines, as to cause those curious spiral curves and inner flattenings which give value to its cane.

The gramineous vegetation of the United States is extremely luxuriant, and species of grass are found adapted to every locality, except the sands of the Chippewayan desert. The aspect of the eastern, however, differs in this respect from that of the western states. The northern Atlantic country covers itself naturally with a fine sward, but the friable soil of the western lands is the region of coarse grass, and tall flowering plants with gaudy blossoms. The numbers, forms, and gigantic height of these weeds and plants, are not among the least surprising objects to an observer of nature. We have already noticed the kind of sedge which occupies the salt marshes of the Atlantic coast, and the various changes in it as the uplands are approached. In the boggy meadows of New England, and elsewhere in low, wet, and miry swamps, on parts elevated above the water, grows the swamp grass; it is of the brightest verdure, remaining green through the frosts of winter, and its sharp edges, when drawn rapidly through the fingers, cut them. In the middle regions of the Mississippi valley, cattle are driven to these swamps, to subsist through the winter. The universal indigenous grass of this country, in all its climates and extent, covering the millions of acres of the prairies, is what is commonly called the prairie grass, (*poa pratensis*.) It grows equally in the forests and barrens, wherever there is an interval sufficiently unshaded to admit its growth. It is tall, coarse, and full of seeds at the top; and when ripe, is rather too wiry for fodder. It is cut for that purpose in September. If it were cut earlier, and before it had lost its succulence and tenderness, it would probably be excellent feed. The prairies yield inexhaustible quantities, and the towns and villages in the prairie regions are copiously supplied with it. When young, and before it has thrown up its stem, it resembles wheat in appearance. The speargrass of New England yields a fine, soft sward. In the western country it is observed growing about deserted houses and Indian villages, and it is said in many places to be displacing the prairie grass, on the upper prairies of Illinois; like the robin-redbreast, it seems to be attached to the abodes of civilized man. The fowl meadow grass of New England is also valuable; but it does not abound, if it exists, in the western states, to the wet prairies of which it would be an important acquisition.

A useful herbaceous plant is the rush, (*equisetum hyemale*), which grows in bottoms, on grounds of an intermediate elevation between those of the cane-brake and the deeply-flooded lands. This grass is sometimes a perfect mat, as high as the shoulders.

Nothing can exceed the brilliance of its verdure, especially when seen in winter in contrast with the universal brown. Where it grows high and thick, it is difficult to make way through it; and it has a disagreeable kind of rustling, which produces the sensation that is called setting the teeth on edge. In the northern regions its tubular stem is apt to fill with compact icicles. It is the favourite range of horses and cattle, and is devoured by them with more greediness than even cane; but if swallowed when filled with ice, it produces a chill in the stomach of the cattle that is apt to prove fatal. To the boats that descend the Mississippi, the rush is an invaluable resource, the cattle and horses, after being pent up in these floating barns for many days in succession, being turned loose, and finding holyday pasture in this rich range. The pea vine is a small fibrous vine, that covers the soil in the richer forest lands; it receives its name from the resemblance of its leaves and flowers to those of the cultivated pea. It is a rich and almost universal forest range for cattle, but when once eaten down, it is not apt to renew itself; of course, it disappears in the vicinity of compact population.

A plant of great importance is the wild rice, (*zizania aquatica*.) It is found in the greatest abundance on the marshy margins of the northern lakes, and in the shallow waters on the upper courses of the Mississippi. It grows in these regions on a vast extent of country. It is here that the millions of the migrating water-fowls fatten, before they take their autumnal migration to the south; it is here, too, that the northern savages, and the Canadian traders and hunters, find their annual supplies of grain, a resource, without which they could hardly subsist. It is a tall, tubular, reedy water-plant, and very much resembles the cane grass of the swamps and marshes on the gulf of Mexico. It springs up from waters of six or seven feet in depth, where the bottom is soft and muddy, and rises nearly as high above the water. Its leaves and spikes, though much larger, resemble those of oats, from which the French give it its name. When it is intended to be preserved for grain, the spikes are bound together, to secure them from the ravages of birds and water-fowls, which prey upon them in immense numbers, and it thus has a chance to ripen; at the season for gathering it, canoes are rowed among the grain, a blanket is spread upon them, and the grain is beaten on to the blankets. It is perhaps of all the *cerealia*, except maize, the most prolific. It seems also not peculiar to any climate, since it arrives at perfection equally at the sources and at the mouths of the Mississippi.

A perennial plant of the palm kind, and called also palmetto, appears about latitude 33°. It throws up from a large root, so tough as to be cut with difficulty by an axe, and very hard to be eradicated from the soil, large fan-shaped leaves, of the most striking and vivid verdure, and ribbed with wonderful exactness. It indicates a deep swampy soil, and grows to six feet in height. The infallible index of swamp and of southern climate, and having no resemblance to any plant seen at the north, its foreign aspect, and its deep green, unchanged by winter, when first seen by the traveller from the north, is apt to produce considerable surprise, and strongly reminds him that he is a stranger, and in a new climate. It is used by the savages and the poorer creoles as thatch for their cabins; and from the tender shoots of the season, properly prepared, a very useful kind of summer hats, called palmetto hats, is manufactured. The May apple is a beautiful plant that completely covers the ground, where it grows, with the freshest and most cheering verdure of spring. It has a handsome white blossom, and bears a fruit of the appearance and taste of a lemon, and its root is a powerful cathartic. Stramony is a poisonous weed, perniciously common through the western country. On the richest bottoms it grows fifteen feet in height, and of such a size and compactness, as to prevent cattle from running among it. It has splendid flowers, and a great quantity of oily seeds; its smell is nauseous, and it is a common and annoying tenant of the villages on the alluvial margin of rivers: in some places, no inconsiderable part of the labour on the highways is to cut up this weed from the roads and outlets of the villages. Its popular name is jimson, probably a corruption of Jamestown, the place whence it was said to have been brought. It is used as medicine in spasmodic asthma. The next most common and annoying weed along the roads, especially in Louisiana, is a very tall plant resembling *cassia marilandica*; it renders the paths, and the banks of the streams, in that region, almost impassable in autumn, until the cattle have trodden it down. Cockle burrs in the same situations are excessively annoying weeds, filling the outlets and uncultivated places to such a degree, that the burrs adhere to the clothes of passengers, and mat the wool of sheep running among it with an inextricable tangle. The common nettle is everywhere annoying to the summer traveller in the woods. One of the most singular of the forest productions is the wax plant, every part of which, except the root and the anthers, is snow white, and has the appearance of the most delicate wax preparation. It grows in rich shady woods, and is

greatly prized because of its delicate appearance. The beautiful blue flower with golden anthers, the Virginian spiderwort, now common in our gardens, is a native of the sandy margins of rivers and creeks in the United States. It is disputed whether tobacco, long naturalized and now extensively cultivated in North America, is indigenous to the country or not.

The common kinds of aquatic plants are found in the still and shallow waters of the swamps; particularly a beautiful kind of water lily, highly fragrant, but not identical with the New England pond lily. This is the *nymphaea odorata*, closely resembling the European water lily. Another of this genus, *nymphaea nelumbo*, is much larger, and, for size and beauty, is said to be unrivalled. Dr. Barton,* who calls it *cyamus luteus*, considers it to be the same as the sacred bean of India, and mentions it as abundant near Philadelphia, but rare otherwise, and refusing propagation. Mr. Flint found it in the southern states, and speaks of it as attaining great splendour on the lakes and stagnant waters of the Arkansas. It rises from a root resembling the large stump of a cabbage, and from depths in the water of from two or three to ten feet; it has an elliptical, smooth, and verdant leaf, some of the largest of them being of the size of a parasol. The muddy creeks and stagnant waters are often so covered with these leaves, that the sandpiper walks on the surface of them without dipping her feet in the water. They have their home in still lakes, in the centre of cypress swamps; mosquitoes swarm above; obscene fowls wheel their flight over them; alligators swim among their roots, and moccasin snakes bask on their leaves: in such lonely and repulsive situations, under such circumstances, and for such spectators, is arrayed, what is represented as the most brilliant display of flowers in the creation. In the capsule are imbedded from four to six acorn-shaped seeds, which the Indians roast and eat when green; or they are dried and eaten as nuts, or reduced to meal, and made into a kind of bread. A singular kind of aquatic vegetation, which has given rise to the fiction of floating islands of vegetation on the waters, is seen to cover a great extent of shallow lakes and muddy streams. It appears, indeed, to float on the water, and great masses of it, no doubt, often are detached and floating, as though there were no roots affixed to the soil at the bottom; but its twiny stem, of many yards in length, is ordinarily bound to the bottom by a thousand fibrous roots. It has a small beautiful elliptical leaf, and a diminutive but delicate white flower.

* Barton's Flora of North America.

Under them fishes dart, alligators gambol, and in the proper season, multitudes of water-fowl are seen patting their bills among these leaves. This plant has been designated by the name *pistia stratiotes*. One species of the *orontium*, or golden club, is indigenous to the United States. It grows on the marshy borders of rivers and creeks, or on the margins of ditches and ponds, so far as the tide penetrates, but no further. The only other known species of this plant is a native of Japan.

Besides the mistletoe, which is abundant, a singular parasitic plant of the southern states, is the long moss. It hangs down in festoons, like the stems of the weeping willow. It attaches itself of choice to the cypress, and gives its next preference to the acacia. Its pendent wreaths often conceal the body of the tree to such an extent, that, when bare of foliage, little is seen but a mass of moss. These wreaths, waving in the wind, attach themselves to the branches of other trees, and thus sometimes form curtains of moss which darken the leafless forest of winter. It is in colour of a darkish gray, and the wreaths are many yards in length. It has a small trumpet-shaped flower, of peach-blossom colour, and seeds still finer than those of tobacco. Associated as it naturally is with marshy and low alluvions, where it grows in the greatest profusion, and with the idea of sickness, this dark drapery of the forest has an aspect of inexpressible gloom. When fresh, it is a tolerable fodder for horses and cattle, and the deer feed upon it in winter. It soon dies on dead trees. Prepared something after the manner of water-rotted hemp, the bark is decomposed and the fibre remains, fine, black, strong, elastic, and apparently incorruptible; in this state, in appearance and elasticity it resembles horse hair, and like that, is used for mattresses. Most of the people in the lower country sleep on these mattresses, and they are becoming an article of commerce in the upper country. The creoles make various articles of harness, as horse-collars, and saddle-stuffing, of this material; for which purposes also, considerable quantities are exported to the upholsterers and carriage-makers in the Atlantic country.

Of course it will be understood that in this chapter we have noticed only the more conspicuous and considerable of the vegetable productions of the United States. A mere catalogue of the whole would occupy all the space we can allot to the subject, and would afford our readers neither gratification nor instruction. Scientific works may be referred to for more extended information.

The notice which this chapter contains of the vegetable products of the American states, is lamenta

bly brief; but the editor does not feel himself justified in attempting to enlarge it, inasmuch as various works on the subject are abundantly scattered throughout the union. In the correspondence of Sir James Edward Smith, the president of the Linnæan Society of London, there is a letter of some considerable importance, on a species of indigenous *wild wheat*, which it would appear abounds in the western country. This letter is from the late governor of New York, De Witt Clinton, and is addressed to Sir James: it bears date, Utica, July 18, 1817. The scarcity of the work in which it is to be found, and the valuable facts which, in an agricultural point of view, it records, will justify its insertion in this place.

"A few days ago," says Governor Clinton, "a farmer stopped with his wagon at a house in the village of Rome, about fifteen miles from this place. A respectable gentleman, who was conversing with him on business, observing among some hay, lying in the wagon, a few stalks of a strange plant, inquired what they were; and on being told that they were wild wheat, and were cut with common grass in a beaver meadow and on a wet soil in the town of Western in this county, he took out a few grains, and gave them to an honest and industrious farmer in his vicinity, who planted them in his garden. The second crop produced about a peck of grain, which yielded upwards of twenty bushels the third year. Wheat of the same species has also been found in a wild state in a swamp covered with trees near Rome. It is said to differ from the common wheat in a variety of respects,—in the compactness of the stalk, in the largeness of its leaves, in the peculiar position of beards at the apex of the head, which is in all other respects bald, and in its superior height, being considerably taller. Since the comparative scarcity of snow, which formerly served as a protection against the attacks of frost, our wheat has suffered severely by what the farmers denominate winter-killing. Our ground freezes during the winter about a foot and a half in depth. When the sun resumes its vernal power, a partial thaw of two inches takes place in the course of the day; and owing to the porosity and hollowness of the common wheat, the water is absorbed in it. On the return of night, the ground is again frozen, and then the expansive power of frost produces the destruction of the plant, by eradicating it, or breaking the roots to pieces, and bursting the stalk where the water has penetrated. Rye is not affected in this way, because it is not so permeable by water, and because its roots are stronger, more elastic, and strike deeper into the earth. In like manner the wild wheat

of Oneida county is said to resist the power of frost; and this is imputed to the same causes which protect the rye.

"As I am persuaded that the history which I have given of this wheat is substantially correct, it presents a very interesting subject for investigation. Is it indigenous, or was it originally imported wheat, and accidentally conveyed to the places where it was found? If the former, it is the very grain which nature created for our soil and climate. If the latter, it has been evidently improved by its wild state and spontaneous growth;—a circumstance of an anomalous character, and contrary to the usual course of nature.

"Although I am not prepared to give a decided opinion on this subject, yet I may be permitted to observe, that there are cogent arguments against the latter hypothesis.

"The plant was found in a swamp and in a meadow, and appears to delight in a wet soil, which is not congenial with the common wheat. It presents not only a different aspect, but seems to have peculiar and characteristic qualities.

"Linnæus, if I remember rightly, made six species of *Triticum*. Sixteen species are now enumerated, besides varieties; and these are found in the most diversified climates: the Murwaary Wheat of Barbary; the Spring Wheat of Siberia; the Spelter of Germany; the Wheat of Egypt, of Switzerland, of Poland, and of Sicily, cannot be derived from the same country. Ceres, who, according to the heathen mythology, discovered corn, was said to have had her principal seat in Sicily; but this granary of the ancient world has no exclusive claims to the most important of the *Cerealia*. The *Froment tremais*, which arrives at maturity in these marshes, is as different from the other kinds of *Triticum*, as it is possible for different species to be; and it unquestionably could not have had an identity of local origin with them.

"I have been a long time of opinion, that many of our native plants have been improperly considered as naturalized; and as I am anxious to claim the most important culmiferous plant as an indigenous production, I have no hesitation in denominating this wheat, discovered near Rome, *Triticum Americanum*.

"I also transmit by this opportunity specimens of a plant called the Wild Rye, which grows spontaneously and in considerable quantities in the country bordering on the upper parts of the Mohawk River; and I believe it might be cultivated to advantage."

CHAPTER IV.

ZOOLOGY.

THE living tribes occurring in the transatlantic republic open a wide and interesting field of observation. The ornithological department is particularly rich and striking; and the reptiles are numerous and powerful; and on the whole, the zoology of the United States may be said to be still more peculiar than either their mineralogy or their botany. We shall notice, in as copious a manner as our limits will allow, the principal objects of interest in the respective animal tribes.

The following general view of the mammiferous animals inhabiting the North American continent, is given by Dr. Harlan.* The number of species now ascertained is 147, in which, however, this author, like some other American and European writers, includes *man*; but, as it does not correspond with the purpose of this chapter to do so, we shall reckon the species at 146. Of these 28 are cetacea, and 118 are quadrupeds. Among the quadrupeds it is also to be noticed that Dr. Harlan reckons eleven species of which no living trace whatever is found, either in North America or in any other part of the world, and which he introduces only by virtue of their fossil remains; but if we allow a sufficient reason to exist for placing such animals in a scientific arrangement, they cannot, at all events, be regarded as forming a part of the present zoology of the North American continent. The number of living species of quadrupeds is, therefore, 107. The comparative numbers of the several orders are stated to be as follows:—

Primates, (not including man)	0
Carnivora, (in which Dr. Harlan includes the bat)	60
Glires	37
Edentata	6
Pachydermata	2
Ruminantia	13
Cetacea	28

It thus appears that the monkey tribe is wholly excluded from the territory under review, together with the kindred animals constituting the order primates. In this order, however, the bat has been commonly reckoned, and we think with more propriety than where Dr. Harlan has placed it. Several species of this animal are found in the United States, but exhibiting no remarkable features. The following account of their manner of hybernation in a cave is given by Professor Green. "They did not appear to be much disturbed by the light of the torches

carried by our party, but, upon being touched with sticks, they instantly recovered animation and activity, and flew into the dark passages of the cavern. As the cave was for the most part not more than six or seven feet in height, they could very easily be removed from the places to which they were suspended; and some of the party who were behind me disturbed some hundreds of them at once, when they swept by me in swarms to more remote, darker, and safer places of retreat. In flying through the caves they made little or no noise; sometimes, upon being disturbed in one place, they flew but a few yards, and then instantly settled in another, in a state of torpor apparently as profound as before. These bats, in hybernating, suspended themselves by the hinder claws, from the roof or upper part of the cave: in no instance did I observe one along the sides. They were not promiscuously scattered, but were collected into groups or clusters of some hundreds, all in close contact. On holding a candle within a few inches of one of these groups, they were not in the least troubled by it; their eyes continued closed, and I could perceive no signs of respiration. On opening the stomach of one of these bats, it was found entirely empty."

The strictly carnivorous animals, or beasts of prey, form, as might be expected in so extensive and diversified a tract of uncultivated country, a large class of tenants of the American wilds. Here, however, we find neither the lion, nor the tiger, the hyæna, nor the leopard, nor any of those creatures, with which, as beasts of prey, we are most familiar, and which make so conspicuous a figure in African and Asiatic regions. The largest animal of this kind in the United States is the cougar. This is commonly, but improperly, called the panther, and has occasionally received the name of the American lion, from the similarity of its proportions and colour to the lion of the old world. He is little inferior in size, and not at all in the fancied qualities of magnanimity, clemency, and generosity, which have been so lavishly attributed to the "king of beasts." He may be stated to be about one third less than the lion; he has no mane, nor any tuft at the extremity of the tail, which is about half the length of the body and head. The cougar was at an early period distributed in considerable number over the whole of the warm and temperate regions of this continent, and it is still found, though by no means abundantly, in the southern, middle, and north-western parts of the union, becoming, however, gradually more rare as the population increases, and cultivation is extended. It is a savage and destructive animal, yet

* Fauna Americana.

timid and cautious. In ferocity it is quite equal to most of its kindred species; it kills numbers of small animals for the sake of drinking their blood, and, when pressed by hunger, attacks large quadrupeds, though not always with success. When the cougar seizes a sheep or a calf, it is by the throat; and then, flinging the victim over its back, it dashes off with great ease and celerity, to devour it at leisure. Deer, hogs, sheep, and calves, are destroyed by the cougar whenever they are within reach; and occasionally these animals have committed extensive ravages among the stock of the frontier settlers. They climb, or rather spring up large trees with surprising facility, and vigour, and in that way are enabled, by dropping suddenly upon deer and other quadrupeds, to secure prey which it would be impossible for them to overtake. In the day-time the cougar is seldom seen: but its peculiar cry frequently thrills the experienced traveller with horror, while encamping in the forest at night; or he is startled to hear the cautious approaches of the animal, stealing step by step towards him over the crackling brushwood and leaves, in expectation of springing on an unguarded or sleeping victim, whom nothing but a rapid flight can save.

The northern lynx is a fierce and subtle creature, exhibiting most of the traits of character which distinguish animals of the cat kind. To the smaller quadrupeds, such as rabbits, hares, lemmings, &c., it is exceedingly destructive, never leaving the vicinities they frequent until their numbers are altogether destroyed, or exceedingly thinned. But the ravages of the northern lynx are not confined to such small game: it drops from the branches of trees on the necks of deer, and clinging firmly with its sharp-hooked claws, ceases not to tear at the throat and drink the blood of the animal, until it sinks exhausted, and expires. It attacks sheep and calves in the same manner, and preys upon wild turkeys and other birds, which it is capable of surprising even on the tops of the highest trees.

The United States, to which Dr. Godman thinks the brown bear is not native, presents us with two principal species of this animal, of remarkably different characteristics. The black bears feed principally on grapes, plums, whortleberries, persimmons, bramble and other berries; they are also particularly fond of the acorns of the live oak, on which they grow excessively fat in Florida. In attempting to procure these acorns, they subject themselves to great perils; for, after climbing these enormous oak trees, they push themselves along the limbs towards the extreme branches, and with their fore-paws bend the twigs within reach, thus exposing themselves to severe and

even fatal accidents, in case of a fall. They are also very fond of the different kinds of nuts and esculent roots; and often ramble to great distances from their dens in search of whortleberries, mulberries, and indeed all sweet-flavoured and spicy fruits. Birds, small quadrupeds, insects, and eggs, are also devoured by them whenever they can be obtained. They are occasionally very injurious to the frontier settlers, by their incursions in search of potatoes and young corn, both of which are favourite articles of food. Their claws enable them to do great mischief in potato grounds, as they can dig up a large number in a short time; and where the bears are numerous, their ravages are occasionally very extensive. In the vicinity of Hudson's Bay, the black bear has been observed to feed entirely on water-insects, during the month of June, when the berries are not ripe. These insects, of different species, are found in astonishing quantities in some of the lakes; the bear, swimming with his mouth open, gathers those on the surface of the water. They are even believed to feed on those which die, and are washed on shore. The flesh of the animal is spoiled by this diet; though individuals killed at a distance from the water are agreeably flavoured at the same time of the year. The black bear is in fact very indiscriminate in his feeding, and though suited by nature for the almost exclusive consumption of vegetable food, he refuses scarcely any thing when pressed by hunger; he is, moreover, voracious as well as indiscriminate in satisfying his appetite, and frequently gorges until his stomach loathes and rejects its contents. He seeks with great assiduity for the larvæ or grubs of various insects, and exerts a surprising degree of strength in turning over large trunks of fallen trees, which, whenever sufficiently decayed to admit of it, he tears to pieces in search of worms. When the bear seizes a living animal, he does not, as most other beasts do, first put it to death, but tears it to pieces and devours it, without being delayed by its screams or struggles, and may be actually said to swallow it alive.

The black bear, under ordinary circumstances, is not remarkably ferocious, nor is he in the habit of attacking man without provocation; but, when wounded, he turns on the aggressor with great fury, and defends himself desperately. They are occasionally found throughout the territories of the United States, in the wooded and mountainous regions, and in unsettled districts, where their skins are of great value to the inhabitants, as a substitute for blankets and other manufactured woollens. They are still numerous in the wooded and thinly settled parts of Pennsylvania, as well as in most of the other states

of the Union; and, where their favourite food is plentiful, they grow to a great size, and afford a large quantity of oil. Bartram relates that he was present at the cutting up of one which weighed five or six hundred pounds, and says that his hide was apparently as large as that of an ox of six or seven hundred weight. The Indians consider this bear as one of the noblest objects of the chase, and they always manifest the highest degree of exultation when they are successful in killing one. Every part of the animal is valuable to them, even to its intestines and claws; the latter are bored at the base, and strung on deer sinews, to be worn as ornaments; the flesh is considered most delicious food, and the fore-paws as an exquisite dainty. The black bear, in common with other species of the genus, endeavours to suffocate an adversary by violently hugging and compressing its chest. A man might end such a struggle in a few instants, if one hand were sufficiently at liberty to grasp the throat of the animal with the thumb and fingers, externally, just at the root of the tongue; as a slight degree of compression there will generally suffice to produce almost immediate suffocation.

The grizzly bear is of a totally opposite character. This animal is justly considered as the most dreadful and dangerous of North American quadrupeds, and is the despotic and sanguinary monarch of the wilds over which he ranges. Gigantic in size, and terrific in aspect, he unites to a ferociously blood-thirsty disposition a surpassing strength of limb, which gives him undisputed supremacy over every other tenant of the wilderness, and causes man himself to tremble at his approach. To the Indians, the very name of the grizzly bear is dreadful, and the killing of one is esteemed equal to a great victory. The white hunters are almost always willing to avoid an encounter with so powerful an adversary, and seldom wantonly provoke him. This formidable animal unhesitatingly pursues and attacks men or animals, when excited by hunger or by passion, and slaughters indiscriminately every creature whose speed or artifice is not sufficient to place them beyond his reach. He is capable, however, like the rest of his tribe, of living on vegetable food. This bear at present inhabits the country adjacent to the eastern side of the Chippewayan Mountains, where it frequents the plains, or resides in the copses of wood which skirt the margin of water-courses; and there is some traditional reason to believe, that it once inhabited the Atlantic regions of the United States. As a specimen of his manners, we extract the following narrative:—"One evening, the men in the hindmost of one of Lewis and Clark's canoes perceived one of

these bears lying in the open ground, about three hundred paces from the river; and six of them, who were all good hunters, went to attack him. Concealing themselves by a small eminence, they were able to approach within forty paces, unperceived: four of the hunters now fired, and each lodged a ball in his body, two of which passed directly through the lungs. The bear sprang up, and ran furiously with open mouth upon them: two of the hunters, who had reserved their fire, now gave him two additional wounds, and one, breaking his shoulder-blade, somewhat retarded his motions. Before they could again load their guns, he came so close on them that they were obliged to run towards the river; and before they had gained it, the bear had almost overtaken them. Two men jumped into the canoe; the other four separated, and concealing themselves among the willows, fired as fast as they could load their pieces. Several times the bear was struck, but each shot seemed only to direct his fury towards the hunter: at last, he pursued them so closely, that they threw aside their guns and pouches, and jumped from a perpendicular bank, twenty feet high, into the river. The bear sprang after them, and was very near the hindmost man, when one of the hunters on the shore shot him through the head, and finally killed him. When they dragged him on shore, they found that eight balls had passed through his body in different directions."

The common wolf of America is considered to be the same species as the wolf of Europe. When the aboriginal Americans first gave place to European adventurers, and the forests, which had flourished for ages undisturbed, began to fall before the unsparing axe, the vicinity of the settler's lonely cabin resounded with the nightly howling of wolves, attracted by the refuse provision usually to be found there, or by a disposition to prey upon the domestic animals. During winter, when food was most difficult to be procured, packs of these famished and ferocious creatures were ever at hand, to run down and destroy any domestic animal found wandering beyond the enclosures, which their individual or combined efforts could overcome; and the boldest house-dog could not venture far from the door of his master, without incurring the risk of being killed and devoured. The common wolf was then to be found in considerable numbers, throughout a great extent, if not throughout the whole, of North America; at present, it is only known as a resident of the remote wooded and mountainous districts, where man has not fixed his abode. The prairie, or barking wolf, frequents the prairies of the west, where troops or

packs, containing a considerable number of individuals, are frequently seen following in the train of a herd of the buffalo or deer, for the purpose of preying on such as may die from disease, or in consequence of wounds inflicted by the hunters; at night they also approach the encampments of travellers, whom they sometimes follow for the sake of the carcasses of animals which are relinquished, and, by their discordant howlings close to the tents, effectually banish sleep from those who are unaccustomed to their noise. They are more numerous than any of the other wolves which are found in North America. In appearance, the barking wolf closely resembles the domestic dog of the Indians, and is remarkably active and intelligent. Like the common wolf, the individuals of this species frequently unite to run down a deer, or a buffalo calf, which has been separated from the herd; though it requires the fullest exercise of their speed, sagacity, and strength, to succeed in this chase. They are very often exposed to great distress from want of food; and, in this state of famine, are under the necessity of filling their stomachs with wild plums, or other fruits no less indigestible, in order to allay the sensations of hunger.

Red foxes, resembling, but not identical with the common fox of Europe, are very numerous in the middle and southern states of the union, and are everywhere notorious depredators on the poultry-yards. Their haunts are most commonly in exceedingly dense thickets of young pine, where they can scarcely be followed even by dogs. The gray fox is very common throughout this country, and is found more immediately in the vicinity of human habitations than either of the other species. It is pursued by the sportsmen with more pleasure than the red fox, because it does not immediately forsake its haunts, and run for miles in one direction, but, after various doublings, is generally killed near the place whence it first started. A small species, called the swift fox, inhabits the plains east of the Chippewayan Mountains. The most remarkable circumstance peculiar to this fox is its extraordinary swiftness, which all who have seen it agree in declaring to surpass that of any other animal with which we are at present acquainted. The fleetest antelope or deer, when running at full speed, is passed by this little fox with the greatest ease; and such is the celerity of its motion, that it is compared to the flight of a bird along the ground, rather than the course of a quadruped. Other observers have stated, that, when in full speed over the plain, the effect produced on the eye makes the animal resemble a line drawn rapidly along the surface; so impossible is it to distinguish

any of the parts of its body, on account of its surprising velocity.

A species of otter, analogous to the European, is found in the United States. In the southern, middle, and eastern states of the union, they are comparatively scarce; but in the western states they are in many places still found in considerable numbers, and on the tributaries of the Missouri they are very common. A singular sportive habit has been observed in them, viz. that of sliding; and for this purpose, in winter, the highest ridge of snow is selected, to the top of which the otters scramble, where, lying, on the belly, with the fore feet bent backwards, they give themselves an impulse with their hind legs, and swiftly glide head foremost down the declivity, sometimes for the distance of twenty yards. This sport they continue, apparently with the keenest enjoyment, until fatigue or hunger induces them to desist. In the summer this amusement is obtained by selecting a spot where the river bank is sloping, has a clayey soil, and the water at its base is of a considerable depth. The otters then remove from the surface, for the breadth of several feet, the sticks, roots, stones, and other obstructions, and render it as level as possible. They climb up the bank at a less precipitous spot, and starting from the top, slip with velocity over the inclining ground, and plunge into the water to a depth proportioned to their weight and rapidity of motion. After a few slides and plunges, the surface of the clay becomes very smooth and slippery, and the rapid succession of the sliders shows how much these animals are delighted by the game, as well as how capable they are of performing actions which have no other object than that of pleasure or diversion. This amusement is so congenial to the frolic spirit of boyhood, that in vicinities where otter-slides are found, youngsters, while bathing, sometimes take possession of one, and, sitting at the top, glide thence with great glee into the water.

Pedestrians, led by business or by pleasure to ramble through the country during the morning or evening twilight, occasionally see a small and pretty animal a short distance before them in the path, scampering forward without appearing much alarmed, and advancing in a zig-zag or somewhat serpentine direction. Experienced persons generally delay long enough to allow this unwelcome fellow-traveller to withdraw from the path; but it often happens that a view of the animal arouses the ardour of the observer, who, in his fondness for sport, thinks not of any result but that of securing a prize. It would be more prudent to rest content with pelting this quadruped from a safe distance, or to drive it away by shouting loudly;

but almost all inexperienced persons, the first time such an opportunity occurs, rush forward with intent to run the animal down. This appears to be an easy task. In a few moments it is almost overtaken; a few more strides, and the victim may be grasped by its long and waving tail—but that tail is now suddenly curled over the back, its pace is slackened, and in one instant the condition of things is entirely reversed; the lately triumphant pursuer is eagerly flying from his intended prize, involved in an atmosphere of stench, gasping for breath, or blinded and smarting with pain, if his approach were sufficiently close to allow of his being struck in the eyes by the pestilent fluid of the skunk. Should the attack on this creature be led by a dog, and he be close when the disgusting discharge is made, he runs with tail between his legs howling away, and, by thrusting his nose into the soil as he retreats, tries to escape from the horrible effluvium, which renders the air in the immediate vicinity too stifling to be endured. This animal is the skunk, which inhabits the whole of North America, in the forests or their immediate vicinity.

Raccoons also are found throughout the whole of North America; and they still continue to be numerous in many of the well-peopled parts of the United States. Occasionally their numbers are so great as to render them very troublesome to the farmers in the low and wooded parts of Maryland, bordering on the Chesapeake Bay. To the capricious mischievousness of the monkey the raccoon adds a blood-thirsty and vindictive spirit peculiarly his own. In the wild state, his sanguinary appetite frequently leads to his own destruction, which his nocturnal habits might otherwise avert; but, as he slaughters the tenants of the poultry-yard with indiscriminate ferocity, the vengeance of the plundered farmer speedily retaliates on him the death so liberally dealt among the feathered victims. The fur of the raccoon forms an article of considerable value in commerce, as it is largely employed in the fabrication of hats. The American badger is a pretty little animal, and its aspect is not unlike that of some small pug-faced dogs. It is found most frequently on the plains adjacent to the Missouri and its tributaries, as well as on those near the Columbia river, both in the open country and in the woods. The wolverene, or American glutton, is one of the most destructive animals found in the northern parts of the continent. He is slow in his motions, but strong, and full of stratagem. He causes much trouble to hunters and travellers who attempt to secure provisions by burying them in the snow, or to protect them by coverings of boughs and trunks of

trees; since it is almost impossible to prevent this creature from gaining access to such places of deposit, either by strength or by stratagem, and destroying the stock on which the voyager may have counted for his future subsistence and safety. To the hunters the wolverene is also very injurious, by robbing their traps of the animals which are taken in them, before the arrival of the owners. Among the small quadrupeds inhabiting this continent, few are to be found equalling the ermine in beauty; perhaps none that excel it in the qualities of courage, graceful celerity of movement, and untiring activity. Its whole aspect inspires the beholder with an idea of its character, which is well supported by its actions. It is found in the northern and middle states, and its habits are similar to those of the common weasel of Europe.

The shrews belonging to this country are remarkable for their diminutive size and apparent helplessness. They are generally found in the country, where their residence is either in burrows, or among heaps of stones, or in holes made by other animals; near dung-heaps, or hay-ricks, or privies, they are more numerous than elsewhere. Insects are their principal subsistence, but they seem no less fond of grain, putrid flesh, and filth of various sorts; as they have been occasionally seen rioting in ordure, in a manner similar to the hog. The shrew-mole is found abundantly in North America, from Canada to Virginia, often living at no great distance from water-courses, or in dykes thrown up to protect meadows from inundation. This creature, when at rest, bears more resemblance to a small stuffed sack than to a living animal, its head being entirely destitute of external ears, and elongated nearly to a point, and its eyes so extremely small, and completely hidden by the fur, that it would not be surprising should a casual observer conclude this creature to be blind. It is endowed, however, with considerable powers of action, and doubtless of enjoyment; though we can not enter here into the details of its extensive and curious subterranean operations.

The usual haunts of the opossum are thick forests, and their dens are generally in the hollows of decayed trees, where they pass the day asleep, and sally forth mostly after nightfall to seek for food. The hunting of the opossum is a favourite sport with the country people, who frequently go out with their dogs at night, after the autumnal frosts have begun, and the persimmon fruit is in its most delicious state. The opossum, as soon as he discovers the approach of his enemies, lies perfectly close to the branch, or places himself snugly in the angle where two limbs sepa-

rate from each other; the dogs, however, soon announce the fact of his presence, by their baying, and the hunter, ascending the tree, discovers the branch upon which the animal is seated, and begins to shake it with great violence, to alarm and cause him to relax his hold. This is soon effected; and the opossum, attempting to escape to another limb, is pursued immediately, and the shaking is renewed with greater violence, until at length the terrified quadruped allows himself to drop to the ground, where hunters or dogs are prepared to dispatch him. Should the hunter, as frequently happens, be unaccompanied by dogs, when the opossum falls to the ground, it does not immediately make its escape, but steals slowly and quietly to a little distance, and then, gathering itself into as small a compass as possible, remains as still as if dead. After remaining in this apparently lifeless condition for a considerable time, or so long as any noise indicative of danger can be heard, the creature slowly unfolds himself, and, creeping as closely as possible upon the ground, would fain sneak off unperceived; but upon a shout or outcry in any tone from his persecutor, he immediately renews his deathlike attitude and stillness. If then approached, moved, or handled, he is still seemingly dead, and might deceive any one not accustomed to his actions. This artifice is repeated as frequently as opportunity is allowed him of attempting to escape, and is known so well to the country people as to have long since passed into a proverb. "He is playing the opossum," is a phrase applied with great readiness by them to any one who is thought to act deceitfully, or wish to appear what he is not.

The beaver has, at a former period, inhabited the territory of the United States much more extensively than, at present. In various parts of the western country, where they are at present entirely unknown, except by tradition, the dams constructed by their labours are still standing securely, and in many instances serve instead of bridges to the streams they obstruct. There are few states in the union in which some remembrance of this animal is not preserved by such names as Beaver-Dam, Beaver-Lake, Beaver-Falls, &c. In situations where it is frequently disturbed, all its singular habits are relinquished, and its mode of living changed to suit the nature of circumstances; instead of building dams and houses, its only residence is then in the banks of the stream, where it is forced to make an extensive excavation, and to be content to adopt the manners of a muskrat. More sagacity is displayed by the beaver in thus accommodating itself to circumstances, than in any other action it performs. Such is the caution

which it exercises to guard against detection, that were it not for the removal of small trees, the stumps of which indicate the sort of animal by which they have been cut down, the presence of the beaver would not be suspected in the vicinity. All excursions for the sake of procuring food are made late at night; and if it pass from one hole to another during the daytime, it swims so far under water as not to excite the least suspicion of the presence of such a voyager. On many parts of the Mississippi and the Missouri, where the beaver formerly built houses according to the usual mode, no such works are at present to be found, although beavers are still to be trapped in those localities. These circumstances throw light on the character of the European beaver, which has been thought to belong to another species, because it does not build. The value of the fur of these animals is well known. The capture, or trapping of them, is a large part of the business both of the Indians and the whites. It is a subject of regret that an animal so valuable and so prolific should be hunted in a manner tending to the extermination of the species, when a little care and management on the part of those interested might prevent unnecessary destruction, and preserve the sources of their revenue. In the Hudson's Bay possessions they are becoming annually more scarce, and the race will eventually be extinguished throughout the whole continent; though a few individuals may, for a time, elude the immediate violence of persecution.

The muskrat, which is closely allied in form and habits to the beaver, does not, like that timid animal, retire from the vicinities inhabited by man; but, relying on its peculiar instinct for concealment, remains secure, notwithstanding the changes induced by cultivation, and multiplies its species in the very midst of its enemies. Thus, while the beaver has long since entirely disappeared, and become forgotten, in the Atlantic states, the muskrat is found within a very short distance of the largest and oldest cities, and bids fair to maintain its place in such situations during an indefinite future period. The animal owes this security to its nocturnal and aquatic mode of life, as well as to the peculiar method in which its domicile is constructed. Along small streams, mill-races, and ponds, where the banks are of some elevation and strength, the muskrats form large and extensive burrows. These have their entrance always in the deep water, so as to be entered or left without betraying the presence of the animal. The mouth of the burrow ascends from its commencement near the bottom, and slopes upwards until it is above the level of the highest water; it then extends to great dis-

tances, according to the numbers or necessities of the occupants. Like most other animals residing in such burrows, the musk-rats frequently excavate them beneath the roots of large trees, where they are secure from being disturbed by having their home broken into from above. The injuries done by the musk-rat to the banks thrown up to exclude the tide from meadows and other grounds, are frequently very extensive. The tide encroaches more and more on the burrow, as the soil softens and is washed away; the animals extend their excavations in various directions, in order to free themselves from the intrusion of the water; and, at length, from the combination of both causes, the bank falls in, and the water is allowed free access, often laying waste the most valuable parts of the farm. To understand the extent to which such mischief may be carried, it is sufficient to take a walk along the banks thrown up to protect the meadows on the Delaware, on both sides of the river. Similar, though not as extensive injury, is produced along the borders of ponds, embankments, and small streams, by the falling in of the burrows formerly tenanted by the musk-rat.

The meadow-mouse is found in various degrees of abundance throughout this country, and, as implied in its name, prefers the meadow and grass fields to other situations. The banks of drains, and those thrown up to keep off the tide or the overflow of streams, are the favourite places for their burrows, which are both numerous and extensive, being continued in various directions and to considerable depths. These burrows are frequently causes of injury similar to that resulting from those of the musk-rat. "The wood-rat," says Bartram, "is a very curious animal: they are not half the size of the domestic rat, and of a dark brown or black colour; their tail slender and shorter in proportion, and covered thinly with short hair. They are singular with respect to their ingenuity and great labour in the construction of their habitations, which are conical pyramids, about three or four feet high, constructed with dry branches, which they collect with great labour and perseverance, and pile up without any apparent order; yet they are so interwoven with one another, that it would take a bear or wild cat some time to pull one of these castles to pieces, and allow the animals sufficient time to secure a retreat with their young." The wood-rat has, beyond doubt, been as common throughout this country at a former period, as it is at present in Florida and on the Missouri. It has very universally given place to the black-rat, and both have disappeared before the Norway rat. The wood-rat soon learns to infest the

houses of the settlers, and to do nearly, if not quite, as much mischief, as the common rat. In Florida, Georgia, and the plains adjacent to the Missouri, the pouched-rat is to be found in great numbers; their burrows are exceedingly numerous in various places, and give an appearance to the plains similar to that produced by ploughing. Over their burrows hillocks of loose earth are raised, resembling in some respects those thrown up by the shrew-mole. The jumping-mouse is a little animal very remarkable for the great length of its hind legs, and for its mode of progression, in both of which it bears some resemblance to the kangaroo of Australia, and the jerboa of the old continent. When the jumping-mouse is pursued by one or two persons, and permitted to advance in one direction, its movements resemble those of a bird rather than a quadruped, so high does it leap into the air, so great is the distance it measures at every bound, and so light and quick is its ascent and descent. The jumping-mouse, however, does not exclusively move in this manner, but is capable of running on all its feet with considerable speed; hence it frequently excites the wonder of the country people, or gives them much labour in vain, when they attempt to run it down.

The marmot is a common animal in all the temperate parts of the country, and is the cause of great injury, especially to the farmers engaged in the cultivation of clover, as their numbers become very considerable, and the quantity of herbage they consume is very large. They are the more capable of doing mischief, from their extreme vigilance and their acute sense of hearing, as well as from the security afforded them by their extensive subterranean dwellings. One species of this animal, under the name of the prairie marmot, or prairie dog, abounds near the Chipewayan Mountains. A traveller passing from the Mississippi towards the mountains, after traversing a vast expanse enlivened by numerous herds of browsing animals which here find a luxurious subsistence, and arriving at the higher and more barren parts of the tract, is startled by a sudden shrill whistle, which he may apprehend to be the signal of some lurking savage; but, on advancing into a clearer space, the innocent cause of alarm is found to be a little quadruped, whose dwelling is indicated by a small mound of earth, near which the animal sits erect in an attitude of profound attention. Similar mounds are now seen to be scattered at intervals over many acres of ground; and the whole forms one village or community, containing thousands of inhabitants, whose various actions and gambols awaken very pleasing emotions. In some instances these villages are very

limited, or at most occupy but a few acres; but nearer to the Rocky Mountains, where they are entirely undisturbed, they are found to extend even for miles. We may form some idea of the number of these animals, when we learn that each burrow contains several occupants, and that frequently as many as seven or eight are seen reposing upon one mound. Here, in pleasant weather, they delight to sport, and enjoy the warmth of the sun. On the approach of danger, while it is yet too distant to be feared, they bark defiance, and flourish their little tails with great intrepidity; but, as soon as it appears to be drawing nigh, the whole troop precipitately retire into their cells, where they securely remain until the peril be past; one by one they then peep forth, and vigilantly scrutinize every sound and object, before they resume their wonted actions. While thus near to their retreats, they almost uniformly escape the hunter; and, if killed, they mostly fall into their burrows, which are too deep to allow their bodies to be obtained. The villages found nearest the mountains have an appearance of greater antiquity than those observed elsewhere; some of the mounds in such situations are several yards in diameter, though of slight elevation, and, except about the entrance, are overgrown by a scanty herbage, which is characteristic of the vicinity of these villages. This active and industrious community of quadrupeds, like every other society, is infested by various depredators, who subsist by plunder, or are too ignorant or too indolent to labour for themselves; and hence a strange association is frequently observed in their villages; for burrowing-owls, rattlesnakes, lizards, and land-tortoises, are seen to take refuge in their habitations. The young of the marmot probably become the prey of the owl. The rattlesnakes also exact their tribute with great certainty, and without exciting alarm, as they can penetrate the inmost recesses of the burrow, and a slight wound inflicted by their fangs is followed by the immediate extinction of life.

The species of the squirrel inhabiting the United States are numerous and beautiful. Like most of the animals belonging to this order, they are very prolific, and multiply until large districts of country are injuriously overrun by them; they then invade, and literally lay waste the corn-fields, consuming vast quantities of grain, and destroy nearly as much as they eat, by breaking it down and scattering it on the ground. On such occasions, the farmers in thinly-settled districts severely suffer. The efforts of a whole family are sometimes insufficient to drive off or destroy these busy plunderers. In the state of Ohio, in the autumn of 1822, says Dr. Godman, parts

of the country appeared to swarm with squirrels, which were so numerous that, in travelling along the high road, they might be seen scampering in every direction; the woods and fields might be truly said, in the country phrase, to be "alive with them." A farmer, who had a large field of Indian corn near the road, stated, that, notwithstanding the continued exertions of himself and his two sons, he feared he should lose the greater part of his crop, in addition to his time, and the expense of ammunition used in killing and scaring off the little robbers. This man and his sons frequently took stations in different parts of the field, and killed squirrels until their guns became too dirty to be used with safety; yet they always found, on returning, that the squirrels had mustered as strong as before. Squirrel-shooters were frequently met with heavily laden with this game, which, in many instances, they had only desisted from slaying through want of ammunition, or through mere fatigue. Fortunately for the farmers, these animals are not at the same time equally numerous in all parts of the country. During some seasons, they appear to move in a mass, deserting certain districts entirely, and concentrating themselves in others; in such migrations, vast numbers are drowned in crossing the rivers, and many are also destroyed by beasts and birds of prey, and various other causes.

The American porcupine exhibits none of the long and large quills which are so conspicuous and formidable in the European species; and the short spines, or prickles, which are thickly set over all the superior parts of its body, are covered by a long coarse hair, which almost entirely conceals them. These spines are not more than two inches and a half in length, yet they form a very efficient protection to the animal against every other enemy but man. In the remote and unsettled parts of Pennsylvania, the porcupine is still occasionally found; but south of this state, it is almost unknown. In the Hudson's Bay country, Canada, and New England, as well as in some parts of the western states, and throughout the country lying between the Rocky Mountains and the great western rivers, they are found in great abundance, and are highly prized by the aborigines, both for the sake of their flesh and their quills, which are very extensively and very ingeniously employed by the Indian women, as ornaments of dress.

The American hare never burrows in the ground, like the common European rabbit. When confined in a yard, the animal has been known to attempt an escape by scratching a hole in the earth, near the fence or wall; but there are few wild animals, whatever may be their character, that will not do the

same under similar circumstances, though in their natural condition they may never attempt to burrow. Such is the fact in relation to the American hare, which never burrows while it is a free tenant of the fields and woods. It has been said, that this animal also occasionally ascends trees; this must be understood solely of its going up within the trunks of hollow trees, which it effects by pressing with its back and feet against opposite sides of the hollow, ascending somewhat in the same manner as a sweep climbs a chimney. The hare is not hunted in America as in Europe, but is generally roused by a dog, and shot, or is caught in various snares and traps. In its movements it closely resembles the common hare of Europe, bounding along with great celerity; and would, no doubt, when pursued, resort to the artifices of doubling, &c., so well known to be used by the European animal.

The sloth is not found in the republic, except in a fossil state; and these remains are of three gigantic but extinct species. Not even fossil traces have occurred of the kindred animals. We have already noticed the remains of the mastodon, which is allied to the elephant; and may here add, that bones of an extinct species of elephant also have been found. No living animal of that entire order appears to exist on the North American continent.

The ruminant animals abound. The species of deer come first to our notice. The moose was formerly found throughout the New England states, but is now confined to that of Maine, and is there becoming unfrequent. Judging by the rapid diminution of this species within a comparatively few years, it is to be feared that it will, at no great distance of time, be exterminated. The American elk is a stately and beautiful animal, which is believed at some period to have ranged over the greater part, if not the whole, of the continent. There is much confusion in the several accounts given by naturalists of the moose and the elk. Dr. E. H. Smith, of New York, pronounces them different animals, and has given a paper on the subject in the *Medical Repository*. The common deer is the smallest American species at present known, and is found throughout the country between Canada in the north, and the banks of the Orinoco in South America. It has always been of great importance to the aborigines of America, as an abundant source of food and raiment; nor has its value been less to the pioneers of civilization, in their advances into the untrodden solitudes of the west. The improvements in agriculture have

long since rendered this supply of food of comparatively little value to the white man; yet, vast numbers of this species are annually destroyed, equally for the sake of their flesh, hides, and horns. Notwithstanding this extensive consumption, however, the species does not appear to be very rapidly diminishing, if we except the immediate vicinity of very thickly-peopled districts. Even in these, where the destruction of deer during the breeding-season is prevented by law, the increase seems quite equal to the demand; and such humane and judicious provisions will probably preserve this beautiful race to adorn the forests, long after the species is exterminated in situations where it is not thus protected.

The prong-horn antelope is a beautiful creature, ranging over the Chippewyan Mountains. It is of wonderful fleetness, and so shy and timorous, as but seldom to repose, except on ridges which command a view of the surrounding country. The acuteness of their sight, and the exquisite delicacy of their smell, render it exceedingly difficult to approach them; and, when once danger is perceived, the celerity with which the ground is passed over appears to the spectator to resemble the flight of a bird, rather than the motion of a quadruped. "The chief game of the Shoshonees," say Lewis and Clarke, "is the antelope; which, when pursued, retreats to the open plains, where the horses have full room for the chase. But such is its extraordinary fleetness and wind, that a single horse has no possible chance of outrunning it, or tiring it down; and the hunters are, therefore, obliged to resort to stratagem. About twenty Indians, mounted on fine horses, armed with bows and arrows, left the camp: in a short time they descried a herd of ten antelopes; they immediately separated into squads of two or three, and formed a scattered circle round the herd for five or six miles, keeping at a wary distance, so as not to alarm them till they were perfectly enclosed, and usually selecting some commanding eminence as a stand. Having gained their positions, a small party rode towards the herd, and, with wonderful dexterity, the huntsman preserved his seat, and the horse his footing, as he ran at full speed over the hills and down the steep ravines, and along the borders of the precipices. They were soon outstripped by the antelopes, which, on gaining the other extremity of the circle, were driven back, and pursued by the fresh hunters. They turned, and flew, rather than ran, in another direction; but there, too, they found new enemies. In this way they were alternately pursued, backwards and forwards, till at length, notwithstanding the skill of the hunters, (who were merely armed with bows and ar-

rows,) they all escaped ; and the party, after running for two hours, returned without having caught any thing, and their horses foaming with sweat. This chase, the greater part of which was seen from the camp, formed a beautiful scene ; but to the hunters it is exceedingly laborious, and so unproductive, even when they are able to worry the animal down and shoot him, that forty or fifty hunters will sometimes be engaged for more than half a day, without obtaining more than two or three antelopes." The Chippewayan Mountains have afforded also one species of goat, and one of sheep, of which it might be well for more to be known.

Of the ox kind, the bison, or buffalo, is the only, and a very remarkable species. The buffalo was formerly found throughout the whole territory of the United States, with the exception of that part which lies east of Hudson's River and Lake Champlain, and of narrow strips of coast on the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. At present it is scarcely seen east of the Mississippi. Its great range is over the plains between this river and the Chippewayan Mountains, but it is met with also in the territory of Oregon. To the Indians and the visitors of the western regions, the bison is almost invaluable : they supply a large part of the food used by the natives, and covering to their tents and persons ; while, in many parts of the country, there is no fuel to be obtained but the dried dung of this animal. The herds of bison wander over the country in search of food, usually led by a bull most remarkable for strength and fierceness. While feeding, they are often scattered over a great extent of country ; but when they move in a mass they form a dense and almost impenetrable column, which, once in motion, is scarcely to be impeded. Their line of march is seldom interrupted, even by considerable rivers, across which they swim without fear or hesitation, nearly in the order in which they traverse the plains. When flying before their pursuers, it would be in vain for the foremost to halt, or to attempt to obstruct the progress of the main body ; as the throng in the rear still rush onward, the leaders must advance, although destruction awaits the movement. The Indians take advantage of this circumstance, to destroy great quantities of this favourite game ; and, certainly, no mode could be resorted to more effectually destructive, nor could a more terrible devastation be produced, than by forcing a numerous herd of these large animals to leap together from the brink of a dreadful precipice, upon a rocky and broken surface a hundred feet below. When the Indians determine to destroy bison in this way, one of their swiftest-footed and

most active young men is selected, who is disguised in a bison skin, having the head, ears, and horns adjusted on his own head, so as to make the deception very complete ; and, thus accoutred, he stations himself between the bison herd and some of the precipices which often extend for several miles along the rivers. The Indians surround the herd as nearly as possible ; when, at a given signal, they show themselves, and rush forward with loud yells. The animals being alarmed, and seeing no way open but in the direction of the disguised Indian, run towards him, and he, taking to flight, dashes on to the precipice, where he suddenly secures himself in some previously-ascertained crevice. The foremost of the herd arrives at the brink—there is no possibility of retreat, no chance of escape : the foremost may, for an instant, shrink with terror ; but the crowd behind, who are terrified by the approaching hunters, rush forward with increasing impetuosity, and the aggregated force hurls them successively from the cliff, where certain death awaits them.

We may here introduce, from Dr. Harlan, a statement of North American quadrupeds which he conceives to be common both to the new and the old world.

Species.	Species.	Species.
1 Mole.	2 Wolf.	1 Field-mouse.
2 Shrew.	2 Fox.	1 Campagnol, (rat.)
1 Bear.	2 Seal.	1 Squirrel.
1 Glutton.	2 Weasel.	2 Deer.
1 Otter.	1 Beaver.	1 Sheep.

The whole number of common species is twenty-one ; leaving eighty-six species as peculiar to North America, though not all of them to the United States.

Among cetaceous animals, the lamantin, or sea-cow, is found on the coast of Florida. When full grown, it is from fifteen to twenty feet in length, by eight in circumference, and weighs several thousand pounds. After having satisfied its hunger by feeding on the sea grass or fucus, which constitutes its principal nourishment, it delights to sleep upon the marshy grounds in the shallows, where it lies with the snout elevated above the water. It is there easily taken by the harpooners. "Shoals of dolphins," says Dr. Godman, "may be seen almost every day, and at any hour, feeding or sporting in the bay and rivers near the city of New York, where we have sometimes enjoyed an opportunity of observing, from the wharf, a large shoal of them moving down the Hudson with the tide ; some plunging along, as if in haste, others apparently at play, and others very slowly rising to the surface for breath, and as gradually disappearing, allowing their dorsal fin to remain for a considerable

time above the surface." From the month of May until towards the end of autumn, the true dolphins frequent the bays and salt-water rivers of the United States, in great numbers. They are most numerous and are best observed during the run of the herring and shad, upon which they doubtless feast abundantly; they appear gradually to diminish in number as these fish retire from the rivers and coast, though a small party may be occasionally seen very late in the season. The gladiator dolphins, so celebrated for attacking and destroying the whales, are found on the New England coasts. As they commonly swim in small troops, they attack the whale in a body, and tear off great pieces of his flesh, until, becoming excited to a certain degree, he thrusts out his tongue, when they immediately fasten on this organ and devour it, and finally gaining access to his mouth, they destroy the life of the animal. The porpoise, or sea-swine, is not ascertained to have been seen in the waters of the republic; the animal generally called by this name is the true dolphin. The spermaceti cachalot is found in the greatest abundance in the Pacific Ocean, where large numbers of them are annually killed by the American and other whalers, for the sake of their oil and spermaceti.

The Ornithology of the United States exhibits a rich display of the most splendid colours, from the green, silky, gold-bespangled down of the minute humming-bird, scarcely three inches in extent, to the black coppery wings of the gloomy condor, of sixteen feet, an occasional visitant of the republic; a numerous and powerful band of songsters, which, for sweetness, variety, and melody, are surpassed perhaps by no country on earth; an ever-changing scene of migration from torrid to temperate, and from northern to southern regions, in quest of suitable seasons, food, and climate; and an amazing diversity in habit, economy, form, disposition, and faculties. The study of this branch of the natural history of their adopted country seems to have been long neglected by its new inhabitants, the manners, language, and faces of the feathered tribes being in general either overlooked or unknown; and the substantial enlargement of science in this department is mainly to be referred to Alexander Wilson, a Scotchman, whose name cannot be recorded without attaching to it as high an encomium as a passionate attachment to natural science, manifested in a thousand instances, of personal labour and hazardous adventure, can deserve. Other writers, among whom we may mention Ord, Bonaparte, and Audubon, have meritoriously followed in his train; and from them we shall gather our brief notices of the principal birds of the United States.

We begin with the birds of prey. Vultures of several species are common. One called the turkey buzzard is remarked for a habit of repelling an assailant by vomiting matter intolerably offensive. They eat so immoderately, that frequently they are incapable of rising, and may be caught without much difficulty; but few that are acquainted with them will have the temerity to undertake the task. A man in the state of Delaware, a few years since, observing some turkey buzzards regaling themselves upon the carcass of a horse, which was in a highly putrid state, conceived the design of making a captive of one, to take home for the amusement of his children. He cautiously approached, and, springing upon the unsuspecting group, grasped a fine plump fellow in his arms, and was bearing off his prize in triumph, when, lo! the indignant vulture disgorged such a torrent of filth in the face of our hero, that it produced all the effects of the most powerful emetic, and for ever cured him of his inclination for turkey buzzards.—The habits of the black vulture, or carrion crow, which is not found higher than North Carolina, are singular. In the towns and villages of the southern states, the carrion crows may be seen either sauntering about the streets, or sunning themselves on the roofs of the houses, and the fences; or, if the weather be cold, cowering round the tops of the chimneys, to enjoy the benefit of the heat, which to them is a great pleasure. They are protected either by law or by usage, and may be said to be completely domesticated, being as common as the domestic poultry, and equally familiar. The inhabitants generally are disgusted with their filthy, voracious habits; but, notwithstanding, being viewed as conducive to the removal of the dead animal matter, which, if permitted to putrify during the hot season, would render the atmosphere impure, they have a respect paid them as scavengers, whose labours are subservient to the public good. It sometimes happens, that, after having gorged themselves, these birds vomit down the chimneys, which must be intolerably disgusting, and can scarcely fail to provoke the ill-will of those whose hospitality is thus required.

For strength, spirit, and activity, the ring-tailed eagle ranks among the first of its tribe. A still more interesting species is the bald eagle, which, as he is one of the most beautiful of his tribe in this part of the world, and the adopted emblem of the republic, is entitled to particular notice. The celebrated cataract of Niagara is a noted place of resort for the bald eagle, as well on account of the fish procured there, as for the numerous carcasses of squirrels, deer, bears, and various other animals, which, in their attempts

to cross the river above the falls, have been drawn into the current, and precipitated down that tremendous gulf, where, among the rocks that bound the rapids below, they furnish a rich repast for various predaceous birds. He is also found generally in the vicinity of the sea, and along the shores and cliffs of the lakes and large rivers. Formed by nature for braving the severest cold; feeding equally on the produce of the sea, and of the land; possessing powers of flight capable of outstripping even the tempests themselves; unawed by any thing but man; and, from the ethereal heights to which he soars, looking abroad, at one glance, on an immeasurable expanse of forests, fields, lakes, and ocean, deep below him, he appears indifferent to the little localities affected by change of seasons; as, in a few minutes, he can pass from summer to winter, from the lower to the higher regions of the atmosphere, the abode of eternal cold; and from thence descend, at will, to the torrid or the arctic regions of the earth. He is, therefore, found at all seasons, in the countries he inhabits; but he prefers such places as have been mentioned above, from the great partiality he has for fish. In procuring these, he displays in a very singular manner the genius and energy of his character, which is fierce, contemplative, daring, and tyrannical; attributes not exerted but on particular occasions, but, when put forth, overpowering all opposition. Elevated on the high dead limb of some gigantic tree that commands a wide view of the neighbouring shore and ocean, he seems calmly to contemplate the motions of the various feathered tribes that pursue their busy avocations below: the snow-white gulls slowly winnowing the air; the busy *tringæ* coursing along the sands; trains of ducks streaming over the surface; silent and watchful cranes, intent and wading; clamorous crows; and all the winged multitudes that subsist by the bounty of this vast liquid magazine of nature. High over all these appears one, whose action instantly arrests his whole attention. By his wide curvature of wing, and sudden suspension in air, he knows him to be the fish-hawk, settling over some devoted victim of the deep. His eye kindles at the sight, and, balancing himself, with half-opened wings, on the branch, he watches the result. Down, rapid as an arrow, descends the distant object of his attention, the roar of its wings reaching the ear as it disappears in the deep, making the surges foam around. At this moment, the eager looks of the eagle are all ardour; and, levelling his neck for flight, he sees the fish-hawk once more emerge, struggling with his prey, and mounting in the air with screams of exultation. These are the signal for our hero, who,

launching into the air, instantly gives chase, and soon gains on the fish-hawk; each exerts his utmost strength to mount above the other, displaying in these rencontres the most elegant and sublime aerial evolutions. The unencumbered eagle rapidly advances, and is just on the point of reaching his opponent, when, with a sudden scream, probably of despair and honest execration, the latter drops his fish; the eagle, poising himself for a moment, as if to take a more certain aim, descends like a whirlwind, snatches it in his grasp ere it reaches the water, and bears his ill-gotten booty silently away to the woods. These predatory attacks and defensive manœuvres of the eagle and the fish-hawk are matters of daily observation along the whole of the seaboard, from Georgia to New England, and frequently excite great interest in the spectators. Sympathy, however, on this as on most other occasions, generally sides with the honest and laborious sufferer, in opposition to the attacks of power, injustice, and rapacity, qualities for which our hero is so generally notorious, and which, in his superior, man, are certainly detestable. As for the feelings of the poor fish, they seem, altogether out of the question. When driven, as the eagle sometimes is, by the combined courage and perseverance of the fish-hawks from their neighbourhood, and forced to hunt for himself, he retires more inland, in search of young pigs, of which he destroys great numbers. In the lower parts of Virginia and North Carolina, where the inhabitants raise vast herds of those animals, complaints of this kind are very general against him. He also destroys young lambs, in the early part of spring; and will sometimes attack old sickly sheep, aiming furiously at their eyes. This eagle is said to live to the great age, of sixty, eighty or even a hundred years. A still finer bird, the sea-eagle, which dives for its own prey, has also been discovered in the United States, though it is not common. An account of it is given by Audubon, who has called it the bird of Washington.*

The fish-hawk is migratory, arriving on the coasts of New York and New Jersey about the twenty-first of March, and retiring to the south about the twenty-second of September. This formidable, vigorous-winged, and well-known bird, subsists altogether on the finny tribes that swarm in the bays, creeks, and rivers; procuring his prey by his own active skill and industry, and seeming no further dependent on the land than as a mere resting place, or, in the usual season, a spot of deposit for his nest, eggs, and young. On the arrival of these birds in the north-

ern parts of the United States, in March, they sometimes find the bays and ponds frozen, and experience a difficulty in procuring fish for many days; yet there is no instance on record of their attacking birds, or inferior land animals, with intent to feed on them; though their great strength of flight, as well as of feet and claws, would seem to render this no difficult matter: but they no sooner arrive, than they wage war on the bald eagles, as against a horde of robbers and banditti; sometimes succeeding, by force of numbers and perseverance, in driving them from their haunts, but seldom or never attacking them in single combat. The flight of the fish-hawk, his manœuvres while in search of fish, and his manner of seizing his prey, are deserving of particular notice. In leaving the nest, he usually flies direct until he comes to the sea; he then sails round in easy curving lines, turning sometimes in the air as on a pivot, apparently without the least exertion, rarely moving the wings, his legs extended in a straight line behind, and his remarkable length, and curvature or bend of wing, distinguishing him from all other hawks. The height at which he thus elegantly glides is various, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty and two hundred feet, sometimes much higher, all the while calmly reconnoitring the face of the deep below. Suddenly he is seen to check his course, as if struck by a particular object, which he seems to survey for a few moments with such steadiness that he appears fixed in air, flapping his wings. This object, however, he abandons, or rather the fish he had in his eye has disappeared, and he is seen sailing round as before. Now his attention is again arrested, and he descends with great rapidity; but ere he reaches the surface, shoots off on another course, as if ashamed that a second victim had escaped him. He now flies at a short height above the surface, and by a zig-zag descent, and without seeming to dip his feet in the water, seizes a fish, which, after carrying a short distance, he perhaps drops, or yields up to the bald eagle, and again ascends, by easy spiral circles, to the higher regions of the air, where he glides about in all the ease and majesty of his species. At once, from this aerial height, he descends like a perpendicular torrent, plunging into the sea with a loud rushing sound, and with the certainty of a rifle. In a few moments he emerges, bearing in his claws his struggling prey, which he always carries head foremost, and, having risen a few feet above the surface, shakes himself as a water-spaniel would do, and directs his heavy and laborious course directly for the land; and if the wind blow hard, and his nest lie in the quarter from whence it comes, it is amusing to ob-

serve with what judgment and exertion he beats to windward, not in a direct line, that is, in the wind's eye, but making several successive tacks to gain his purpose. His flight will appear the more striking, when we consider the size of the fish which he sometimes bears along. A shad was taken from a fish-hawk near Great Egg Harbour, on which he had begun to regale himself, and had already eaten a considerable portion of it; the remainder weighed six pounds. Another fish-hawk was passing Mr. Beasley's, at the same place, with a large flounder in his grasp, which struggled and shook him so, that he dropped it on the shore; the flounder was picked up, and served the whole family for dinner. It is singular that the hawk never descends to pick up a fish which he happens to drop, either on the land or on the water. In his fishing pursuits, he sometimes mistakes his mark, or overrates his strength, by striking fish too large and powerful for him to manage: in this case he is dragged under the water, and though he sometimes succeeds in extricating himself, after being taken three or four times down, yet oftener both parties perish. The bodies of sturgeon, and of several other large fish, with a fish-hawk fast grappled in them, have at different times been found dead on the shore, cast up by the waves.

The peregrine falcon, or, according to Wilson, the great-footed hawk, is in the United States the terror of the waterfowl. When they perceive the approach of their enemy, a universal alarm pervades their ranks; even man himself, with his engine of destruction, is not more terrible, but the effect is different. When the latter is beheld, the whole atmosphere is enlivened with the whistling of wings; when the former is recognised, not a duck is to be seen in the air; they all speed to the water, and there remain till the hawk has passed them, diving the moment he comes near them. The ducks which are struck down by this bird have their backs lacerated from the rump to the neck; a proof that he strikes with his talons, and not, as vulgarly supposed, with his breast. The Mississippi kite is one of the numerous species peculiar to the western continent, feeding chiefly on insects, with an occasional repast on lizards, snakes, and small birds. Wilson gives the following account of one shot by himself: "This hawk, which proved to be a male, though wounded, and precipitated from a vast height, exhibited in his distress symptoms of great strength, and an almost unconquerable spirit. I no sooner approached to pick him up, than he instantly gave battle, striking rapidly with his claws, wheeling round and round as he lay partly on his rump, and

defending himself with great vigilance and dexterity, while his dark red eye sparkled with rage. Notwithstanding all my caution in seizing him to carry him home, he struck his hind claw into my hand with such force as to penetrate to the bone. Anxious to preserve his life, I endeavoured gently to disengage it; but this made him only contract it the more powerfully, causing such pain that I had no other alternative but that of cutting the sinew of his heel with my penknife. The whole time he lived with me, he seemed to watch every movement I made, erecting the feathers behind his head, and eyeing me with savage fierceness, and considering me, no doubt, as the greater savage of the two.*

The republic is visited by the snow owl, the great winged hunter, which inhabits the coldest and most dreary regions of the northern hemisphere on both continents. The great horned owl is found in almost every quarter of the United States. His favourite residence, however, is in the dark solitudes of deep swamps, covered with a growth of gigantic timber; and here, as soon as evening draws on, and mankind retire to rest, he sends forth such sounds as seem scarcely to belong to this world, startling the solitary pilgrim as he slumbers by his forest fire, and

"Making night hideous."

"Along the mountainous shores of the Ohio, and amidst the deep forests of Indiana, alone, and reposing in the woods, this ghostly watchman has frequently warned me," says Wilson, "of the approach of morning, and amused me with his singular exclamations, sometimes sweeping down and around my fire, uttering a loud and sudden *Waugh O! Waugh O!* sufficient to have alarmed a whole garrison. He has other nocturnal solos no less melodious, one of which very strikingly resembles the half-suppressed screams of a person suffocating, or throttled, and can not fail of being exceedingly entertaining to a lonely benighted traveller, in the midst of an Indian wilderness. It preys on young rabbits, squirrels, rats, mice, partridges, and small birds of various kinds. It has been often known to prowl about the farm-house, and carry off chickens from roost. A very large one, having been wing-broken while on a foraging excursion of this kind, was kept about the house for several days, and at length disappeared, no one knew how; almost every day after this hens and chickens also disappeared, one by one, in an unaccountable manner, till, in eight or ten days, very few were left remaining. The fox, the minx, and the weasel, were alternately the reputed authors of this mischief,

until one morning the old lady rising before day to bake, in passing towards the oven surprised her late prisoner, the owl, regaling himself on the body of a newly-killed hen. The thief instantly made for his hole under the house, from whence the enraged matron soon dislodged him with the brush-handle, and without mercy dispatched him. In this snug retreat were found the greater part of the feathers, and many large fragments of her whole family of chickens." The barn owl, though so common in Europe, is rare in the United States, and is only found there during very severe winters; this may possibly be owing to the want of those favourite recesses in this part of the world, which it so much affects in the eastern continent.

The most singular bird of this species, and one whose habits are strikingly at variance with the general characteristics of the family, is the burrowing owl. He is found in the trans-mississippian territories of the United States, residing exclusively in the villages of the marmot, or prairie dog, whose excavations are so commodious as to render it unnecessary that our bird should dig for himself, as he is said to do in other parts of the world, where no burrowing animals exist. In all these prairie dog villages the burrowing owl is seen moving briskly about, or else in small flocks scattered among the mounds; and, at a distance, it may be mistaken for the marmot itself when sitting erect. They manifest but little timidity, and allow themselves to be approached sufficiently close for shooting; but, if alarmed, some or all of them soar away, and settle down again at a short distance; if further disturbed, their flight is continued until they are no longer in view, or they descend into their dwellings, whence they are difficult to dislodge. Mr. Say uniformly noticed the ruinous condition of the burrows tenanted by the owl, which had frequently fallen in, and their sides channelled by the rains; while the neat and well-preserved mansion actually occupied by the marmot showed the active care of a skilful and industrious owner. We have no evidence that the owl and marmot habitually resort to one burrow; yet we are assured, by Pike and others, that a common danger often drives them into the same excavation, where lizards and rattlesnakes also enter for concealment and safety.

Of 168 kinds of parrots enumerated by European writers as inhabiting the various regions of the globe, the Carolina parrot is the only species found native within the territory of the United States. This bird inhabits the interior of Louisiana, and the shores of the Mississippi and Ohio, and their tributary waters,

* Wilson's American Ornithology.

even beyond the Illinois river, to the neighbourhood of Lake Michigan in lat. 42 degrees north; and, contrary to the generally received opinion, is chiefly resident in all these places. Eastward of the Apalachian, it is seldom seen further north than the state of Maryland, though straggling parties have been occasionally observed among the valleys of the Juniata, and, according to some, even twenty-five miles to the north-west of Albany, in the state of New York. "At Big-bone Lick," says Wilson, "thirty miles from the mouth of Kentucky river, I saw them in great numbers. They came screaming through the woods in the morning, about an hour after sunrise, to drink the salt water, of which they, as well as the pigeons, are remarkably fond. When they alighted on the ground, it appeared at a distance as if covered with a carpet of the richest green, orange, and yellow; they afterwards settled in one body on a neighbouring tree, which stood detached from any other, covering almost every twig of it; and the sun, shining strongly on their gay and glossy plumage, produced a very beautiful and splendid appearance. Here I had an opportunity of observing some very particular traits of their character. Having shot down a number, some of which were only wounded, the whole flock swept repeatedly around their prostrate companions, and again settled on a low tree, within twenty yards of the spot where I stood. At each successive discharge, though showers of them fell, yet the affection of the survivors seemed rather to increase; for, after a few circuits round the place, they again alighted near me, looking down on their slaughtered companions with such manifest symptoms of sympathy and concern as entirely disarmed me." We are tempted to give a further extract, though somewhat long, from Wilson's account, not merely for the sake of exhibiting the habits of the bird, but because it shows something of the manner in which this enthusiastic naturalist prosecuted his inquiries. "Anxious to try the effects of education on one of those which I procured at Big-bone Lick, and which was but slightly wounded in the wing, I fixed up a place for it in the stern of my boat, and presented it with some cockle burrs, which it freely fed on in less than an hour after being on board. The intermediate time between eating and sleeping was occupied in gnawing the sticks that formed its place of confinement, in order to make a practicable breach, which it repeatedly effected. When I abandoned the river and travelled by land, I wrapped it up closely in a silk handkerchief, tying it tightly round, and carried it in my pocket. When I stopped for refreshment I unbound my prisoner, and gave it its allowance, which it ge-

nerally dispatched with great dexterity, unhusking the seeds from the burr in a twinkling; in doing which it always employed its left foot to hold the burr, as did several others that I kept for some time. I began to think that this might be peculiar to the whole tribe, and that they all were, if I may use the expression, left-footed; but by shooting a number afterwards while engaged in eating mulberries, I found sometimes the left, sometimes the right foot stained with the fruit, the other always clean: from which, and the constant practice of those I kept, it appears, that, like the human species in the use of their hands, they do not prefer one or the other indiscriminately, but are either left or right-footed. But to return to my prisoner; in recommitting it to 'du-rance vile' we generally had a quarrel, during which it frequently paid me in kind for the wound I had inflicted and for depriving it of liberty, by cutting and almost disabling several of my fingers with its sharp and powerful bill. The path through the wilderness between Nashville and Natchez is in some places bad beyond description. There are dangerous creeks to swim, miles of morass to struggle through, rendered almost as gloomy as night by a prodigious growth of timber, and an underwood of canes and other evergreens; while the descent into these sluggish streams is often ten or fifteen feet perpendicular, into a bed of deep clay. In some of the worst of these places, where I had, as it were, to fight my way through, the paroquet frequently escaped from my pocket, obliging me to dismount and pursue it, through the worst of the morass, before I could regain it. On these occasions I was several times tempted to abandon it; but I persisted in bringing it along. When at night I encamped in the woods, I placed it on the baggage beside me, where it usually sat, with great composure, dozing and gazing at the fire till morning. In this manner I carried it upwards of a thousand miles in my pocket, where it was exposed all day to the jolting of the horse, but regularly liberated at meal times and in the evening, at which it always expressed great satisfaction. In passing through the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations, the Indians, wherever I stopped to feed, collected around me, men, women, and children, laughing, and seeming wonderfully amused with the novelty of my companion. The Chickasaws called it in their language *kelinky*; but when they heard me call it Poll, they soon repeated the name; and wherever I chanced to stop among these people, we soon became familiar with each other through the medium of Poll. On arriving at Mr. Dunbar's, below Natchez, I procured a cage, and placed it under the piazza; where,

by its call, it soon attracted the passing flocks, such is the attachment they have for each other. Numerous parties frequently alighted on the trees immediately above, keeping up a constant conversation with the prisoner. One of these I wounded slightly in the wing, and the pleasure Poll expressed on meeting with this new companion was really amusing. She crept close up to it as it hung on the side of the cage, chattering to it in a low tone of voice, as if sympathizing in its misfortune, scratched about its head and neck with her bill; and both, at night, nestled as close as possible to each other, sometimes Poll's head being thrust among the plumage of the other. On the death of this companion, she appeared restless and inconsolable for several days. On reaching New Orleans, I placed a looking-glass beside the place where she usually sat, and the instant she perceived her image, all her former fondness seemed to return, so that she could scarcely absent herself from it a moment. It was evident that she was completely deceived. Always, when evening drew on, and often during the day, she laid her head close to that of the image in the glass, and began to doze with great composure and satisfaction. In this short space she had learnt to know her name, to answer and come when called on, to climb up my clothes, to sit on my shoulder, and to eat from my mouth. I took her with me to sea, determined to persevere in her education; but, destined to another fate, poor Poll, having one morning, about daybreak, wrought her way through the cage while I was asleep, instantly flew overboard, and perished in the Gulf of Mexico."

A stranger who visits the United States for the purpose of examining their natural productions, and passes through the woods in the month of May or June, will sometimes hear, as he traverses the borders of deep, retired, high-timbered hollows, an uncouth guttural sound, or note, resembling the syllables *kove, kove, kove, kove, kove*, beginning slowly, but ending so rapidly, that the notes seem to run into each other, and *vice versa*: he will hear this frequently, without being able to discover the bird or animal from which it proceeds, as it is both shy and solitary, seeking always the thickest foliage for concealment. This is the yellow-billed cuckoo. From the imitative sound of its note, it is known in many parts by the name of the cow-bird; it is also called in Virginia, the rain-crow, being observed to be most clamorous immediately before rain. Unlike the European cuckoo, the bird now before us builds its own nest, hatches its own eggs, and rears its own young; and, in conjugal and parental affection,

seems nowise behind any of its neighbours of the grove.

The woodpeckers constitute a large and interesting class of American birds. The ivory-billed woodpecker is a majestic and formidable species, which, in strength and magnitude, stands at the head of the whole class of woodpeckers hitherto discovered. He may be called the king or chief of his tribe; and nature seems to have designed him a distinguished characteristic in the superb carmine crest, and bill of polished ivory, with which she has ornamented him. His eye is brilliant and daring; and his whole frame admirably adapted for his mode of life, and method of procuring subsistence. His manners have also a dignity in them superior to the common herd of woodpeckers, to whom trees, shrubberies, orchards, rails, fence-posts, and old prostrate logs, are alike interesting in their humble and indefatigable search for prey; but the royal hunter now before us scorns the humility of such situations, and seeks the most towering trees of the forest, seeming particularly attached to those prodigious cypress swamps, whose crowded giant sons stretch their bare and blasted or moss-hung arms midway to the skies. In these almost inaccessible recesses, amid ruinous piles of impending timber, his trumpet-like note and loud strokes resound through the solitary savage wilds, of which he seems the sole lord and inhabitant. Wherever he frequents, he leaves numerous monuments of his industry behind him. We there see enormous pine-trees with cart-loads of bark lying around their roots, and chips of the trunk itself in such quantities as to suggest the idea that half a dozen axe-men had been at work there for the whole morning. The body of the tree is also disfigured with such numerous and large excavations, that one can hardly conceive it possible for the whole to be the work of a woodpecker. With such strength, and an apparatus so powerful, what havoc might he not commit, if numerous, on the most useful of the forest trees; and yet, with all these appearances, and much of vulgar prejudice against him, it may fairly be questioned whether he is at all injurious, or rather, whether his exertions do not contribute most powerfully to the protection of the timber. Examine closely the tree where he has been at work, and you will soon perceive, that it is neither from motives of mischief nor amusement that he slices off the bark, or digs his way into the trunk. For the sound and healthy tree is the last object of his attention. The diseased, infected with insects, and hastening to putrefaction, are his favourites; there the deadly crawling enemy have formed a lodgement between the bark and tender

wood, to drink up the very vital element of the tree. It is the ravages of these vermin which the intelligent proprietor of the forest deplures, as the sole perpetrators of the destruction of his timber. Would it be believed that the larvæ of an insect, or fly, no larger than a grain of rice, should silently, and in one season, destroy some thousand acres of pine trees, many of them from two to three feet in diameter, and a hundred and fifty feet high? Yet whoever passes along the high road from Georgetown to Charleston, in South Carolina, about twenty miles from the former place, can have striking and melancholy proofs of this fact; and in some places the whole woods, as far as you can see around you, are dead, stripped of the bark, their wintry-looking arms and bare trunks bleaching in the sun, and tumbling in ruins before every blast, presenting a frightful picture of desolation. And yet ignorance and prejudice, it seems, persist in directing their indignation against the bird now before us, the constant and mortal enemy of these very vermin; as if the hand that probed the wound to extract its cause, should be equally detested with that which inflicted it, or as if the thief-catcher should be confounded with the thief. "Until some effectual preventive or more complete mode of destruction can be devised against these insects and their larvæ," says Wilson, "I would humbly suggest the propriety of protecting, and receiving with proper feelings of gratitude, the services of this and the whole tribe of wood peckers, letting the odium of guilt fall to its proper owners."

The same author furnishes us with the following account of an ivory-billed woodpecker which he shot: "Having wounded it slightly in the wing, on being caught it uttered a loudly reiterated and most piteous note, exactly resembling the violent crying of a young child, which terrified my horse so as nearly to have cost me my life. It was distressing to hear it. I carried it with me in the chair, under cover, to Wilmington. In passing through the streets its affecting cries surprised every one within hearing, particularly the females, who hurried to the doors and windows with looks of alarm and anxiety. I drove on, and on arriving at the piazza of the hotel where I intended to put up, the landlord came forward, and a number of other persons who happened to be there, all equally alarmed at what they heard; and their concern was greatly increased by my asking whether he could furnish me with accommodations for myself and my baby. The man looked blank and foolish, while the others stared with still greater astonishment. After diverting myself for a minute or two at their expense, I drew my woodpecker from

under the cover, and a general laugh took place. I took him up stairs, and locked him up in my room, while I went to see my horse taken care of. In less than an hour I returned, and, on opening the door, he set up the same distressing shout, which now appeared to proceed from grief that he had been discovered in his attempts at escape. He had mounted along the side of the window, nearly as high as the ceiling, a little below which he had begun to break through. The bed was covered with large pieces of plaster, the lath was exposed for at least fifteen inches square, and a hole, large enough to admit the fist, opened to the weather-boards; so that in less than another hour he would certainly have succeeded in making his way through. I now tied a string round his leg, and, fastening it to the table, again left him. I wished to preserve his life, and had gone off in search of suitable food for him. As I reascended the stairs, I heard him again hard at work, and, on entering, had the mortification to perceive that he had almost entirely ruined the mahogany table to which he was fastened, and on which he had wreaked his whole vengeance. While engaged in taking a drawing, he cut me severely in several places, and on the whole displayed such a noble and unconquerable spirit, that I was frequently tempted to restore him to his native woods. He lived with me nearly three days, but refused all sustenance, and I witnessed his death with regret." The ivory-billed woodpecker is seldom seen above Virginia; the pileated woodpecker, next in size, is the northern chief of his tribe.

There is perhaps no bird in North America more universally known than the red-headed woodpecker. His tricoloured plumage, red, white, and black, glossed with steel blue, is so striking and characteristic, and his predatory habits in the orchards and corn-fields, added to his numbers and fondness for hovering along the fences, so very notorious, that almost every child is acquainted with him. "In the immediate neighbourhood of our large cities," says Wilson, "where the old timber is chiefly cut down, he is not so frequently found; and yet, at this period, June, 1808, I know of several of their nests within the boundaries of the city of Philadelphia. Towards the mountains, particularly in the vicinity of creeks and rivers, these birds are extremely abundant, especially in the latter end of summer. Wherever you travel in the interior, at that season, you hear them screaming from the adjoining woods, rattling on the dead limbs of trees, or on the fences, where they are perpetually seen flitting from stake to stake, on the roadside before you. Wherever there is a tree of the wild cherry covered with ripe fruit, there you see

them busy among the branches; and in passing orchards, you may easily know where to find the earliest, sweetest apples, by observing those trees, on or near which the red-headed woodpecker is skulking, for he is so excellent a connoisseur in fruit, that wherever an apple or pear tree is found broached by him, it is sure to be among the ripest and best flavoured: when alarmed, he seizes a capital one by striking his open bill deep into it, and bears it off to the woods." When the Indian corn is in its rich, succulent, milky state, he attacks it with great eagerness, opening a passage through the numerous folds of the husk, and feeding on it with voracity. His favourite retreats are among the girdled, or deadened timber, so common in corn-fields in the back settlements, whence he sallies out to make his depredations. He is fond of the ripe berries of the sour gum, and pays pretty regular visits to the cherry trees when loaded with fruit; and towards autumn he often approaches the barn or farm-house, and raps on the shingles and weather boards. He is of a gay and frolicsome disposition; and half a dozen of the fraternity are frequently seen diving and vociferating around the high dead limbs of some large tree, pursuing and playing with each other, and amusing the passengers with their gambols.

On account of the vicious traits in their character, a war of extermination has been waged against these birds, and even the legislatures of some provinces, in former times, offered premiums to the amount of twopence per head for their destruction; yet Wilson, whose generous and simple-hearted advocacy for the feathered race forms one of the principal charms of his book, thus reasonably pleads their cause: "Though this bird occasionally regales himself on fruit, yet his natural and most usual food is insects, particularly those numerous and destructive species that penetrate the bark and body of the tree to deposit their eggs and larvæ, the latter of which are well known to make immense havoc. He searches for them with a dexterity and intelligence, I may safely say, more than human; he perceives, by the exterior appearance of the bark where they lurk below; when he is dubious, he rattles vehemently on the outside with his bill, and his acute ear distinguishes the terrified vermin shrinking within to their inmost retreats, where his pointed and barbed tongue soon reaches them. The masses of bugs, caterpillars, and other larvæ, which I have taken from the stomachs of these birds, have often surprised me. These larvæ, it should be remembered, feed not only on the buds, leaves, and blossoms, but on the very vegetable life of the tree, the alburnum, or newly-

forming bark and wood; the consequence is, that whole branches and whole trees decay under the silent ravages of these destructive vermin; witness the late destruction of many hundred acres of pine trees, in the north-eastern parts of South Carolina, and the thousands of peach trees that yearly decay from the same cause. Will any one say, that taking half a dozen or half a hundred apples from a tree is equally ruinous with cutting it down? Or, that the services of a useful animal should not be rewarded with a small portion of that which it has contributed to preserve? We are told, in the benevolent language of the scriptures, not to muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn; and why should not the same generous liberality be extended to this useful family of birds, which forms so powerful a phalanx against the inroads of many millions of destructive vermin?"

The kingfisher is a general inhabitant of the banks and shores of all the fresh-water rivers, from Hudson's Bay to Mexico, and is the only species of its tribe found within the United States. It is as universally known as its elegant little brother, the common kingfisher of Europe, is in Britain. Like the love-lorn swains of whom poets tell us, he delights in murmuring streams, and falling waters; not, however, merely that they may sooth his ear, but for a gratification somewhat more substantial. Amidst the roar of the cataract, or over the foam of a torrent, he sits perched upon an overhanging bough, glancing his piercing eye in every direction below for his scaly prey, which, with a sudden circular plunge, he sweeps from their native element, and swallows in an instant. His voice, which is not unlike the twirling of a watchman's rattle, is naturally loud, harsh, and abrupt, but it is softened by the sound of the brawling streams and cascades among which he generally rambles. He courses along the windings of the brook or river at a small height above the surface, sometimes suspending himself by the rapid action of his wings, like certain species of hawks, ready to pounce on the fry below; now and then settling on an old dead overhanging limb to reconnoitre. Mill-dams are particularly visited by this feathered fisher; and the sound of his pipe is as well known to the miller, as the rattling of his own hopper. Rapid streams with high perpendicular banks, particularly if they be of a hard clayey or sandy nature, are also favourite places of resort for this bird; not only because in such places the small fish are more exposed to view, but because those steep and dry banks are the chosen situations for his nest.

Among the most beautiful of the American birds is the oriole. Almost the whole genus of orioles be

long to America. With few exceptions, they build pensile nests; but few of them equal the Baltimore in the construction of these receptacles for their young, and in giving them convenience, warmth, and security. For these purposes he generally fixes on the high bending extremities of the branches, fastening strong strings of hemp or flax round two forked twigs, corresponding to the intended width of the nest; with the same materials, mixed with quantities of loose tow, he interweaves or fabricates a strong firm kind of cloth not unlike the substance of a hat in its raw state, forming it into a pouch of six or seven inches in depth, lining it substantially with various soft substances, well interwoven with the outward netting, and finishing with a layer of horse hair; the whole being shaded from the sun and rain by a natural pent-house, or canopy of leaves. The Baltimore inhabits North America from Canada to Mexico, and is even found as far south as Brazil. Since the streets of the American cities have been planted with that beautiful and stately tree the Lombardy poplar, these birds are constant visitors during the early part of summer; and, amidst the noise and tumult of coaches, drays, wheelbarrows, and the din of the multitude, they are heard chanting "their native wood notes wild," sometimes, too, within a few yards of an oyster-man, who stands bellowing, with the lungs of a stentor, under the shade of the same tree; so much will habit reconcile even birds to the roar of the city, and to sounds and noises, which, in other circumstances, would put a whole grove of them to flight. The orchard oriole, though partly a dependent on the industry of the farmer, is no sneaking pilferer, but an open, and truly beneficent friend. To all those countless multitudes of destructive bugs and caterpillars that infest the fruit trees in spring and summer, preying on the leaves, blossoms, and embryo of the fruit, he is a deadly enemy; devouring them wherever he can find them, and destroying, on an average, some hundreds of them every day, without offering the slightest injury to the fruit, however much it may stand in his way. "I have witnessed instances," says Wilson, "where the entrance to his nest was more than half closed up by a cluster of apples, which he could have easily demolished in half a minute; but, as if holding the property of his patron sacred, or considering it as a natural bulwark to his own, he slid out and in with the greatest gentleness and caution." Nor is the gayety of his song one of his least recommendations. Being an exceedingly active, sprightly, and restless bird, he is on the ground—on the trees—flying and carolling in his hurried manner, in almost one and the same instant. His

notes are shrill and lively, but uttered with such rapidity and seeming confusion, that the ear is unable to follow them distinctly; between these, he has a single note, which is agreeable and interesting. Wherever he is protected, he shows his confidence and gratitude by his numbers and familiarity. The orioles are birds of passage, spending the summer only in the northern parts of the United States.

The red-winged starlings, though generally migratory in the states north of Maryland, are found during winter in immense flocks, sometimes associated with the purple grackles, and often by themselves, through the lower parts of Virginia, both Carolinas, Georgia, and Louisiana, particularly near the sea coast, and in the vicinity of large rice and corn fields. "In the months of January and February," says the writer above quoted, "while passing through the former of these countries, I was frequently entertained with the aerial evolutions of these great bodies of starlings. Sometimes they appeared driving about like an enormous black cloud carried before the wind, varying its shape every moment; sometimes suddenly rising from the fields around me with a noise like thunder; while the glittering of innumerable wings of the brightest vermilion amid the black cloud they formed, produced on these occasions a very striking and splendid effect. Then descending like a torrent, and covering the branches of some detached grove or clump of trees, the whole congregated multitude commenced one general concert or chorus, which I have plainly distinguished at the distance of more than two miles; and which, when listened to at the distance of about a quarter of a mile, with a slight breeze of wind to swell and soften the flow of its cadences, was to me grand, and even sublime." The whole season of winter, which, with most birds, is passed in struggling to sustain life in silent melancholy, is with the red-wings one continued carnival. The profuse gleanings of the old rice, corn, and buckwheat fields, supply them with abundant food, at once ready and nutritious; and the intermediate time is spent either in aerial manœuvres, or in grand vocal performances, as if solicitous to supply the absence of all the tuneful summer tribes, and to cheer the dejected face of nature with their whole combined powers of harmony.

In summer these birds are very mischievous. Having migrated to the northward in the spring, before the beginning of September the flocks have become numerous and formidable; and the young ears of maize, or Indian corn, being then in their soft, succulent, milky state, present a temptation that cannot be resisted. Reinforced by numerous and daily flocks

from all parts of the interior, they pour down on the low countries in prodigious multitudes. Here they are seen, like vast clouds, wheeling and driving over the meadows and devoted corn fields, darkening the air with their numbers. Then commences the work of destruction on the corn, the husks of which, though composed of numerous envelopments of closely wrapt leaves, are soon completely or partially torn off, while from all quarters myriads continue to pour down like a tempest, blackening half an acre at a time: if not disturbed, they repeat their depredations till little remains but the cob and the shrivelled skins of the grain; and what little is left of the tender ear, being exposed to the rains and weather, is generally much injured. All the attacks and havoc made at this time among them by the gun and by the hawks, several species of which are their constant attendants, have little effect on the remainder. When the hawks make a sweep among them, they suddenly open on all sides, but rarely in time to disappoint them of their victims; and, though repeatedly fired at with mortal effect, they only remove from one field to an adjoining one, or to another quarter of the same enclosure. From dawn to nearly sunset, this open and daring devastation is carried on under the eye of the proprietor; and a farmer, who has any considerable extent of corn, would require half a dozen men at least, with guns, to guard it; and even then, all their vigilance and activity would not prevent a good tithe of it from becoming the prey of the blackbirds. The Indians, who usually plant their corn in a common field, keep all the young boys of the village all day patrolling round and among it; and each being furnished with a bow and arrows, with which they are very expert, they generally contrive to destroy great numbers of them. For this bird, though the notorious corn-thief of the United States, our humane author again puts in a plea, on the ground of the insects and larvæ destroyed by them, which he calculates at no less than sixteen thousand two hundred millions in the space of four months. A similar character and apology may be attached to the rice-bunting and the purple grackle.

The cow-bunting, or cow-pen finch, like the cuckoo of Europe, has the habit of dropping her eggs into the nests of other birds. The following account is given by Dr. Potter, of Baltimore:—"I once had an opportunity of witnessing a scene of this sort, which I cannot forbear to relate. Seeing a female prying into a bunch of bushes in search of a nest, I determined to see the result, if practicable; and, knowing how easily they are disconcerted by the near approach of man, I mounted my horse, and pro-

ceeded slowly, sometimes seeing and sometimes losing sight of her, till I had travelled nearly two miles along the margin of a creek. She entered every thick place, prying with the strictest scrutiny into places where the small birds usually build, and at last darted suddenly into a thick copse of alders and briers, where she remained five or six minutes, when she returned, soaring above the under-wood, and returned to the company she had left feeding in the field. Upon entering the covert, I found the nest of a yellow-throat, with an egg of each. The deportment of the yellow-throat on this occasion is not to be omitted. She returned while I waited near the spot, and darted into her nest, but quitted it immediately, and perched upon a bough near the place, remained a minute or two, and entered it again, returned, and disappeared. In ten minutes she returned with the male. They chattered with great agitation for half an hour, seeming to participate in the affront, and then left the place. I believe all the birds thus intruded on manifest more or less concern at finding the egg of a stranger in their own nests. Among these the sparrow is particularly punctilious; for she sometimes chirps her complaints for a day or two, and often deserts the premises altogether, even after she has deposited one or more eggs." The most remarkable circumstance connected with this habit is, that the young of the cow-bird is hatched before those of the proprietor of the nest, whose eggs, in fact, are never hatched at all, but pushed out of the nest, and in such a manner that no person can yet ascertain how it is done, or what becomes of them.

The raven is a general inhabitant of the United States, but is more common in the interior. On the lakes, and particularly in the neighbourhood of the falls of the Niagara river, they are numerous; and it is a remarkable fact, that where they abound, the common crow seldom makes its appearance. The crow is a constant attendant on agriculture, and a general inhabitant of the cultivated parts of North America. On an island in the Delaware is a very celebrated crow-roost. It is there known by the name of the Pea Patch, and is a low, flat, alluvial spot, of a few acres, elevated but a little above high-water mark, and covered with a thick growth of reeds; and it appears to be the grand rendezvous, or head-quarters, of the greater part of the crows within forty or fifty miles of the spot. It is entirely destitute of trees, the crows alighting and nestling among the reeds, which by these means are broken down and matted together. The noise created by them, both in their evening assembly and their reascension

in the morning, and the depredations they commit in the immediate neighbourhood of this great resort, are almost incredible. The strong attachment of the crows to this spot may be illustrated by the following circumstance:—Some years ago, a sudden and violent north-east storm came on during the night, and the tide, rising to an uncommon height, inundated the whole island. The darkness of the night, the suddenness and violence of the storm, and the incessant torrents of rain that fell, it is supposed, so intimidated the crows, that they did not attempt to escape, and almost all perished. Thousands of them were next day seen floating in the river; and the wind, shifting to the north-west, drove their dead bodies to the Jersey side, where for miles they blackened the whole shore. This disaster, however, seems long ago to have been repaired; for they now congregate on the Pea Patch in as immense multitudes as ever. One American species, the fish-crow, is a roving inhabitant of the sea coasts, ponds, and river-shores.

The magpie is much better known in Europe than in America, where it has not been long discovered, although it is now found to inhabit a wide extent of territory, and in great numbers. The blue jay is peculiar to North America, and is distinguished as a kind of beau among the feathered tenants of the woods, by the brilliancy of his dress; and, like most other coxcombs, makes himself still more conspicuous by his loquacity, and the oddness of his tones and gestures. It is an almost universal inhabitant of the woods, frequenting the thickest settlements as well as the deepest recesses of the forest, where his squalling voice often alarms the deer, to the disappointment and mortification of the hunter. In the charming season of spring, when every thicket pours forth harmony, the part performed by the jay always catches the ear. He appears to be among his fellow-musicians what the trumpeter is in a band, some of his notes having no distant resemblance to the tones of that instrument. These he has the faculty of changing, through a great variety of modulations, according to the particular humour in which he happens to be. When disposed for ridicule, there is scarcely a bird whose peculiarities of song he can not imitate. When engaged in the blandishments of love, his notes resemble the soft chatterings of a duck, and while he nestles among the thick branches of the cedar, are scarcely heard at a few paces distance; but he no sooner discovers your approach, than he sets up a sudden and vehement outcry, flying off, and screaming with all his might, as if he called the whole feathered tribes of the neighbourhood to witness some

outrageous usage he had received. When he hops undisturbed among the high branches of the oak and hickory, his notes become soft and musical; but his calls of the female a stranger would readily mistake for the repeated squeakings of an ungreased wheelbarrow. All these he accompanies with various nods, jerks, and other gesticulations, for which the whole tribe of jays are remarkable. They are among the most useful agents in the economy of nature for disseminating forest trees, and other ruciferous and hard-seeded vegetables on which they feed. In their autumnal foraging they drop abundance of seed; and they alone are capable, in a few years' time, of re-planting all the cleared lands.

The United States present to us specimens of a singular genus of birds, formed to subsist on the superabundance of nocturnal insects, and surprisingly fitted for their mode of life. Three species only of them are found within the United States; the chuckwill's widow, the whippoorwill, and the nighthawk. The first of these is confined to those states lying south of Maryland; the other two are found generally over the union. The chuckwill's widow and the whippoorwill, have received these singular names from the similarity of their call to these words. The nighthawk is a bird of strong and vigorous flight, and of large volume of wing. It often visits the city, darting and squeaking over the streets at a great height, diving perpendicularly with a hollow sound; they are also seen sitting on chimney tops in some of the most busy parts of the city, occasionally uttering their common note. Their favourite time for flight is from two hours before sunset until dusk. At such times they seem all vivacity, darting about in the air in every direction, making frequent short sudden turnings, as if busily engaged in catching insects. Near the sea-shore, in the vicinity of extensive salt marshes, they are very numerous, skimming over the meadows, in the manner of swallows, until it is so dark that the eye can no longer follow them. The whippoorwill is a singular and very celebrated species, universally noted over the greater part of the United States for the loud reiterations of his favourite call in spring. The notes of this solitary bird, from the ideas which are naturally associated with them, seem like the voice of an old friend, and are listened to by almost all with great interest. At first they issue from some retired part of the woods, the glen, or mountain; in a few evenings, perhaps, we hear them from the adjoining coppice, the garden fence, the road before the door, and even from the roof of the dwelling-house, long after the family have retired to rest. He is now a regular acquaintance. Every morning

and evening his shrill and rapid repetitions are heard from the adjoining woods, and when two or more are calling out at the same time, as is often the case in the pairing season, and at no great distance from each other, the noise, mingling with the echoes from the mountains, is really surprising. Strangers, in parts of the country where these birds are numerous, find it almost impossible for some time to sleep; while to those long acquainted with them, the sound often serves as a lullaby.

The American chimney-swallows, of a species peculiar to that continent, arrive in the spring, and disperse themselves over the whole country wherever there are vacant chimneys in summer, sufficiently high and convenient for their accommodation. In no other situation are they observed at present to build. This circumstance naturally suggests the query, Where did these birds construct their nests before the arrival of Europeans in America, when there were no such places for their accommodation? Probably in the same situations in which they still continue to build in the remote regions of the western forests, where European improvements of this kind are scarcely to be found, namely, in the hollow of a tree, which, in some cases, has the nearest resemblance to their present choice. One of the first settlers in the state of Kentucky informs us, that he cut down a large hollow beech tree, which contained forty or fifty nests of the chimney-swallow, most of which, by the fall of the tree, or by the weather, were lying at the bottom of the hollow; but sufficient fragments remained adhering to the sides of the tree to enable him to number them. They appeared, he said, to be of many years' standing. The present site which they have chosen must, however, hold out many more advantages than the former, since we see that, in the whole thickly-settled parts of the United States, these birds have uniformly adopted this new convenience, not a single pair being observed to prefer the woods. Security from birds of prey and other animals—from storms that frequently overthrow the timber, and the numerous ready conveniences which these new situations afford, are doubtless some of the advantages. In towns it is matter of curiosity to observe that they frequently select the court-house chimney for their general place of rendezvous, as being usually more central, and less liable to interruption during the night. The summer residence of the purple martin is universally among the habitations of man; who, having no interest in his destruction, and deriving considerable advantage, as well as amusement, from his company, is generally his friend and protector. Wherever he comes, he

finds some hospitable retreat fitted up for his accommodation. Even the solitary Indian seems to have a particular respect for this bird. The Choctaws and Chickasaws cut off all the top branches from a sapling near their cabins, leaving the prongs a foot or two in length, on each of which they hang a gourd, or calabash, properly hollowed out for their convenience; and on the banks of the Mississippi, the negroes stick up long canes, with the same species of apartment fixed to their tops, in which the martins regularly breed. The barn swallow is of particularly swift and incessant flight, and Wilson gives us the following computation of the distance he may be supposed to traverse. "Let us suppose that this little bird flies, in his usual way, at the rate of one mile in a minute, which, from the many experiments I have made, I believe to be within the truth; and that he is so engaged for ten hours every day; and further, that this active life is extended to ten years, (many of our small birds being known to live much longer, even in a state of domestication,) the amount of all these, allowing three hundred and sixty-five days to a year, would give us two million one hundred and ninety thousand miles; upwards of eighty-seven times the circumference of the globe."

Of the numerous family of flycatchers, the tyrant flycatcher, or king bird, is the principal. The name king as well as tyrant has been bestowed on this bird for its extraordinary behaviour, and the authority it assumes over all others, during the time of breeding. At that season his extreme affection for his mate, and for his nest and young, makes him suspicious of every bird that happens to pass near his residence, so that he attacks without discrimination every intruder; all his turbulence, however, vanishes as soon as his young are able to shift for themselves; and he is then as mild and peaceable as any other bird. But he has a worse habit than this; one much more obnoxious to the husbandman, and often fatal to himself. He loves not the honey, but the bees; and, it is confessed, is frequently on the look-out for these little industrious insects. He plants himself on a post of the fence, or on a small tree in the garden, not far from the hives, and from thence sallies forth on them as they pass and repass, making great havoc among them. His shrill twitter, so near to the house, gives intimation to the farmer of what is going on, and the gun soon closes his career: yet, the death of every king bird is an actual loss to the farmer, by multiplying the numbers of destructive insects, and encouraging the depredations of crows, hawks, and eagles, who avoid as much as possible his immediate vicinity. The yellow-breasted chat, which belongs

to this tribe, has a singular habit of concealed vociferation. When he has once taken up his residence in a favourite situation, which is almost always in close thickets of hazel, brambles, vines, and thick underwood, he becomes very jealous of his possessions, and seems offended at the least intrusions; scolding all passengers as soon as they come within view, in a great variety of odd and uncouth monosyllables, which it is difficult to describe, but which may be readily imitated, so as to deceive the bird himself, and draw him after you for half a quarter of a mile at a time. On these occasions, his responses are constant and rapid, strongly expressive of anger and anxiety; and while the bird itself remains unseen, the voice shifts from place to place, among the bushes, as if it proceeded from a spirit. All his notes are uttered with great vehemence, in such different keys, and with such peculiar modulations of voice, as sometimes to seem at a considerable distance, and instantly as if just beside you; now on this hand, now on that; so that, from these manœuvres of ventriloquism, you are utterly at a loss to ascertain from what particular spot or quarter they proceed.

Among the many novelties which the discovery of this part of the western continent first brought into notice, we may reckon the mocking-bird, which is peculiar to the new world, and inhabits a very considerable extent of both North and South America; having been traced from the states of New England to Brazil. The plumage of the mocking-bird, though none of the homeliest, has nothing gaudy or brilliant in it; but his figure is well proportioned, and even handsome. The ease, elegance, and rapidity of his movements, the animation of his eye, and the intelligence he displays in listening and laying up lessons from almost every species of the feathered creation within his hearing, are pre-eminent. To these qualities may be added that of a voice full, strong, and musical, and capable of almost every modulation, from the clear mellow tones of the wood-thrush, to the savage scream of the bald eagle. In measure and accent, he faithfully follows his originals; in force and sweetness of expression, he greatly improves upon them. In his native groves, mounted on the top of a tall bush, or half-grown tree, in the dawn of dewy morning, while the woods are already vocal with a multitude of warblers, his admirable song rises pre-eminent over every competitor. The ear listens to his music alone, to which that of all the others seems a mere accompaniment. Neither is this strain altogether imitative. His own native notes, which are easily distinguishable by such as are well acquainted with those of our vari-

ous song-birds, are bold and full, and varied seemingly beyond all limits. His expanded wings and tail, glistening with white, and the buoyant gayety of his action, arresting the eye, as his song most irresistibly does the ear, he sweeps round with enthusiastic ecstasy, and mounts or descends as his song swells or dies away; and, as Mr. Bartram has beautifully expressed it, "he bounds aloft with the celerity of an arrow, as if to recover or recall his very soul, expired in the last elevated strain." While thus exerting himself, a bystander destitute of sight would suppose that the whole feathered tribes had assembled together, on a trial of skill, each striving to produce his utmost effect; so perfect are his imitations. He many times deceives the sportsman, and sends him in search of birds that perhaps are not within miles of him, but whose notes he exactly imitates: even birds themselves are frequently imposed on by this admirable mimic, and are decoyed by the fancied calls of their mates, or dive, with precipitation, into the depth of thickets, at the scream of what they suppose to be the sparrow-hawk. The mocking bird loses little of the power and energy of his song by confinement. The only bird in the world worthy of being compared with him, is the European nightingale.

In his account of the cat-bird, a common and well known species, Wilson says,—“in passing through the woods in summer, I have sometimes amused myself with imitating the violent chirping or squeaking of young birds, in order to observe what different species were around me,—for such sounds, at such a season, in the woods, are no less alarming to the feathered tenants of the bushes, than the cry of fire or murder in the streets is to the inhabitants of a large and populous city. On such occasions of alarm and consternation, the cat-bird is the first to make his appearance, not singly, but sometimes half a dozen at a time, flying from different quarters to the spot. At this time, those who are disposed to play with his feelings may almost throw him into fits, his emotion and agitation are so great, at the distressful cries of what he supposes to be his suffering young. Other birds are variously affected; but none show symptoms of such extreme suffering. He hurries backwards and forwards, with hanging wings and open mouth, calling out louder and faster, and actually screaming with distress, till he appears hoarse with his exertions. He attempts no offensive means; but he bewails—he implores—in the most pathetic terms with which nature has supplied him, and with an agony of feeling which is truly affecting. Every feathered neighbour within hearing hastens to the

place, to learn the cause of the alarm, peeping about with looks of consternation and sympathy."

The robins are so fond of gum-berries, that wherever there is one of these trees covered with fruit and flocks of robins in the neighbourhood, the sportsman need only take his stand near it, load, take aim, and fire; one flock succeeding another, with little interruption, almost the whole day. When berries fail, they disperse themselves over the fields, and along the fences, in search of worms and other insects. Sometimes they disappear for a week or two, and return again in immense numbers; the cities then pour out their sportsmen by scores, and the markets are plentifully supplied with them at a cheap rate.

Among the numerous warblers of the United States, we can only further mention the blue bird. He is of pleasing manners and a sociable disposition. As one of the first messengers of spring, he bears his own recommendation always along with him, and meets with a hearty welcome from every body. In his motions and general character, he has a great resemblance to the robin redbreast of Britain; and, had he the brown olive of that bird, instead of his own blue, could scarcely be distinguished from him. Like him, he is known to almost every child; and shows as much confidence in man by associating with him in summer, as the other by his familiarity in winter. Few farmers neglect to provide for him, in some suitable place, a snug little summer-house, ready fitted and rent free; for which he more than repays them by the cheerfulness of his song, and the multitude of injurious insects which he daily destroys.

Several species of wren are common. The house wren, a familiar bird, is marked by a strong antipathy to cats; for, having frequent occasion to glean among the currant bushes, and other shrubs in the garden, those lurking enemies of the feathered race often prove fatal to him. "A box fixed up in the window of the room where I slept," says Wilson, "was taken possession of by a pair of wrens. Already the nest was built and two eggs laid, when one day, the window being open as well as the room-door, the female wren, venturing too far into the room to reconnoitre, was sprung upon by grimalkin, who had planted herself there for the purpose; and, before relief could be given, she was destroyed. Curious to see how the survivor would demean himself, I watched him carefully for several days. At first he sang with great vivacity for an hour or so, but becoming uneasy, went off for half an hour. On his return he chanted again as before, went to the top of the house, the stable, and the weeping willow, that she might

hear him; but seeing no appearance of her, he returned once more, visited the nest, ventured cautiously into the window, gazed about with suspicious looks, his voice sinking to a low melancholy note as he stretched his little neck about in every direction. Returning to the box, he seemed for some minutes at a loss what to do, and soon after went off, as I thought, altogether, for I saw him no more that day. Towards the afternoon of the second day he again made his appearance, accompanied with a new female, who seemed exceedingly timorous and shy, and who only after great hesitation entered the box; at this moment the little widower or bridegroom seemed as if he would warble out his very life with ecstasy of joy. After remaining about half a minute in, they both flew off, but returned in a few minutes, and instantly began to carry out the eggs, feathers, and some of the sticks, supplying the place of the two latter with materials of the same sort; and they ultimately succeeded in raising a brood of seven young, all of which escaped in safety."

The brown creepers are distributed over the whole United States; but are most numerous in the western and northern states, and particularly so in the depth of the forests, and in tracts of large-timbered woods, where they usually breed; visiting the thicker-settled parts of the country in fall and winter. The white-breasted nuthatch is common almost everywhere in the woods of North America, and may be known at a distance by the notes *quank, quank*, frequently repeated as he moves upward and downward, in spiral circles, around the body and larger branches of the tree, probing behind the thin scaly bark of the white oak, and shelling off considerable pieces of it, in his search after spiders, ants, insects, and their larvæ. The red-bellied black-capped nuthatch is particularly fond of the seeds of pine trees. You may traverse many thousand acres of oak, hickory, and chestnut woods, during winter, without meeting with a single individual; but no sooner do you enter among the pines, than, if the air be still, you have only to listen for a few moments, and their note will direct you where to find them. The brown-headed nuthatch is chiefly an inhabitant of Virginia and the southern states, and seems particularly fond of pine trees.

The humming-bird is migratory through the whole of the United States, excepting Florida. As it passes on to the northward as far as the interior of Canada, where it is seen in great numbers, wonder is excited how so feebly constructed and delicate a little creature can make its way over such extensive regions of lakes and forests, among so many enemies, all its superiors in strength and magnitude; but its very

minuteness, the rapidity of its flight, which almost eludes the eye, and that admirable instinct, reason, or whatever else it may be called, and daring courage, which heaven has implanted in its bosom, are its protectors. The humming-bird is extremely fond of tubular flowers. When arrived before a thicket of trumpet-flowers that are full-blown, he poises, or suspends himself on wing, for the space of two or three seconds, so steadily, that his wings become invisible, or only like a mist, and you can plainly distinguish the pupil of his eye looking round with great quickness and circumspection; the glossy golden green of his back and the fire of his throat, glistening in the sun, forms altogether a most interesting appearance. When he alights, which is frequently, he always prefers the small dead twigs of a tree or bush, where he dresses and arranges his plumage with great dexterity. His only note is a single chirp, not louder than that of a small cricket or grasshopper, generally uttered while passing from flower to flower, or when engaged in fights with his fellows: for, when two males meet at the same bush or flower, a battle instantly takes place; and the combatants ascend in the air, chirping, darting, and circling round each other, till the eye is no longer able to follow them. The conqueror, however, generally returns to the place, to reap the fruits of his victory. He is one of those few birds that are universally beloved; and, amidst the sweet dewy serenity of a summer's morning, his appearance among the arbours of honeysuckles, and beds of flowers, is truly interesting.

The tanagers are gaudy birds, who annually visit the republic from the torrid regions of the south. The scarlet tanager is, perhaps, the most showy. He spreads himself over the United States, and is found even in Canada. He rarely approaches the habitations of man, unless, perhaps, in the orchard, where he sometimes builds; or in the cherry trees, in search of fruit: the depth of the woods is his favourite abode. Among all the birds that inhabit our woods, there is none that strikes the eye of a stranger, or even a native, with so much brilliancy as this. Seen among the green leaves, with the light falling strongly on his plumage, he really appears beautiful. Another species, the summer red-bird, delights in a flat sandy country, covered with wood and interspersed with pine trees; and is, consequently, more numerous towards the shores of the Atlantic than in the interior. In both Carolinas, and in Georgia and Florida, they are in great plenty.

Among the numerous birds of the finch family we briefly notice a few. The indigo-bird is another of the rich-plumaged tribes, which migrate from the

south. It is numerous in all the settled parts of the middle and eastern states; in the Carolinas and Georgia it is also abundant. Its favourite haunts are about gardens, fields of deep clover, the borders of woods, and roadsides, where it is frequently seen perched on the fences. In its manners, it is extremely active and neat, and a vigorous and pretty good songster. In some lights, his plumage appears of a rich sky blue, and in others of a vivid verdigris green; so that the same bird, in passing from one place to another before your eyes, seems to undergo a total change of colour. The painted bunting is one of the most numerous of the little summer birds of Lower Louisiana, where it is universally known among the French inhabitants, and called by them "le pape," and by the Americans "the nonpareil." Its gay dress and docility of manners have procured it many admirers. The low countries of the southern states, in the vicinity of the sea, and along the borders of the large rivers, particularly among the rice plantations, are the favourite haunts of this elegant little bird. It is very commonly domesticated in the houses of the French inhabitants of New Orleans, appearing to be the most common cage bird they have. The negroes often bring them to market for sale. The cardinal grosbeak is one of the most common cage birds, and is very generally known, not only in North America, but even in Europe, numbers of them having been carried over both to France and England, in which last country they are usually called "Virginia nightingales." To this name Dr. Latham observes they are fully entitled, from the clearness and variety of their notes, which, both in a wild and domestic state, are very various and musical; many of them resemble the high notes of a fife, and are nearly as loud. The sprightly figure and gaudy plumage of the red-bird, his vivacity, strength of voice, and actual variety of note, and the little expense with which he is kept, will always make him a favourite. This species, like the mocking-bird, is more numerous to the east of the great range of the Apalachian mountains, and is found from New England to Carthage. Through the lower parts of the southern states, in the neighbourhood of settlements, they are numerous; their clear and lively notes, in the months of January and February, being almost the only music of the season. Along the roadsides and fences they are found hovering in half dozens together, associated with snow birds, and various kinds of sparrows. The crossbill is a regular inhabitant of almost all the pine forests situated north of 40°, from the beginning of September to the middle of April.

Respecting the melody of the transatlantic birds generally, Wilson makes the following observations: "The opinion which so generally prevails in England, that the music of the groves and woods of America is far inferior to that of Europe; I, who have a thousand times listened to both, can not admit to be correct. We can not with fairness draw a comparison between the depth of the forest in America, and the cultivated fields of England; because it is a well known fact, that singing birds seldom frequent the former in any country. But let the latter places be compared with the like situations in the United States, and the superiority of song, I am fully persuaded, would justly belong to the western continent. The few of our song-birds that have visited Europe extort admiration from the best judges. 'The notes of the cardinal grosbeak,' says Latham, 'are almost equal to those of the nightingale.' Yet these notes, clear and excellent as they are, are far inferior to those of the wood thrush; and even to those of the brown thrush, or thrasher. Our inimitable mocking-bird is also acknowledged, by themselves, to be fully equal to the song of the nightingale in its whole compass. Yet these are not one tenth of the number of our singing birds. Could these people be transported to the borders of our woods and settlements in the month of May, about half an hour before sunrise, such a ravishing concert would greet their ear as they have no conception of."

The American crossbill is a regular inhabitant of almost all the pine forests situated north of 40°, from the beginning of September till the middle of April. They then appear in large flocks, feeding on the seeds of the hemlock and white pine, have a loud, sharp, and not unmusical note, chatter as they fly, alight, during the prevalence of deep snows, before the door of the hunter, and around the house, picking off the clay with which the logs are plastered, and searching in corners where any substance of a saline quality has been thrown. At such times they are so tame as only to settle on the roof of the cabin when disturbed, and in a moment afterwards descend to feed as before. They are then easily caught in traps, and will frequently permit a person to approach so near as to knock them down with a stick. On first glancing at the bill of this extraordinary bird, one is apt to pronounce it deformed and monstrous; but on attentively observing the use to which it is applied by the owner, and the dexterity with which he detaches the seeds of the pine tree from the cone and from the husks that enclose them, we are obliged to confess on this, as on many other occasions where

we have judged too hastily of the operations of nature, that no other conformation could have been so excellently adapted to the purpose.

The turtle dove is a general inhabitant, in summer, of the United States, from Canada to Florida, and from the sea-coast to the Mississippi, and far to the westward. This is a favourite bird with all those who love to wander among the woods in spring, and listen to their varied harmony. They there hear many a singular and sprightly performer; but none so mournful as this. The hopeless wo of settled sorrow swelling the heart of female innocence itself, could not assume tones more sad, or more tender and affecting. Its notes are four: the first is somewhat the highest and preparatory, seeming to be uttered with an inspiration of the breath, as if the afflicted creature was just recovering its voice from the last convulsive sobs of distress; this is followed by three long, deep, and mournful moanings, which no person of sensibility can listen to without sympathy. There is, however, nothing of real distress in all this. The bird who utters it wantons by the side of his beloved partner, or invites her by his call to some favourite, retired, and shady retreat. It is the voice of love, of faithful connubial affection, for which the whole family of doves are so celebrated; and, among them all, none more deservedly so than the species now before us.—The wild pigeon of the United States inhabits a wide and extensive region on this side of the Chippewayan Mountains. The most remarkable characteristic of these birds is their associating together, both in their migrations and during the period of incubation, in such prodigious numbers as almost to surpass belief, and certainly to have no parallel among any other of the feathered tribes on the face of the earth, with which naturalists are acquainted. Their roosting-places are always in the woods, and sometimes occupy a large extent of forest. When they have frequented one of these places for some time, the ground is covered to the depth of several inches with their dung; all the tender grass and underwood is destroyed; the surface is strewn with large limbs of trees, broken down by the weight of the birds clustering one above another; and the trees themselves, for thousands of acres, killed as completely as if girdled with an axe. The marks of this desolation remain for many years on the spot; and numerous places could be pointed out, where, for several years afterwards, scarcely a single vegetable made its appearance. When these roosts are first discovered, the inhabitants from considerable distances visit them in the night, with guns, clubs, long poles, pots of sulphur, and various other engines of destruc-

tion; and in a few hours they fill many sacks, and load their horses with the birds. The breeding-places are of greater extent than the woods. In the western countries they are generally in beech woods, and often extend nearly in a straight line across the country for a great way. Not far from Shelbyville, in the state of Kentucky, about five years ago, there was one of these breeding-places, which was several miles in breadth, and upwards of forty miles in length. In this tract, almost every tree was furnished with nests, wherever the branches could accommodate them. The pigeons made their first appearance there about the 10th of April, and left it altogether, with their young, before the 25th of May. As soon as the young were fully grown, and before they left the nests, numerous parties of the inhabitants, from all parts of the adjacent country, came with wagons, axes, beds, cooking-utensils, many of them accompanied by the greater part of their families, and encamped for several days at this immense nursery. "Several of them informed me," says Wilson, "that the noise in the woods was so great as to terrify their horses; and that it was difficult for one person to hear another speak, without bawling in his ear. The ground was strewn with broken limbs of trees, eggs, and young squab pigeons, which had been precipitated from above, and on which herds of hogs were fattening. Hawks, buzzards, and eagles, were sailing about in great numbers, and seizing the squabs from their nests at pleasure; while, from twenty feet upwards to the tops of the trees, the view through the woods presented a perpetual tumult of crowding and fluttering multitudes of pigeons, their wings roaring like thunder, mingled with the frequent crash of falling timber; for now the axe-men were at work, cutting down those trees that seemed to be most crowded with nests, and they contrived to fell them in such a manner, that, in their descent, they might bring down several others; by which means the falling of one large tree sometimes produced two hundred squabs, little inferior in size to the old ones, and almost one mass of fat. It was dangerous to walk under these flying and fluttering millions, from the frequent fall of large branches, which were broken by the weight of the multitudes above, and which in their descent often destroyed numbers of the birds themselves; while the clothes of those engaged in traversing the woods were completely covered with the excrements of the pigeons."

In his remarks on the *Columba Migratoria*, or passenger pigeon, the late Governor Clinton of New York embraces some observations of singular interest to the inquirer in natural history. "It is a

bird," says he, "peculiar to North America. It extends its migrations from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, and it occupies occasionally that vast region which reaches from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Rocky Mountains. Its change of residence is not owing to the influence of heat or cold, of rain or drought, but is made with a view to the acquisition of food. The vast flocks in which this bird congregates, are unequalled as to extent. La Hontan says that the bishop of Canada has been forced to exorcise them oftener than once, on account of the damage they do to the products of the earth. Weld, an English traveller, speaks of a flock eighty miles long flying over Lake Ontario; and Wilson the great ornithologist, estimates one seen in Kentucky two hundred and forty miles long, a mile broad, and containing two thousand two hundred and thirty millions, and two hundred and seventy-two thousand pigeons, which would consume, on a moderate allowance, seventeen millions four hundred and twenty-four thousand bushels of mast a day.

"The gregarious habits and vast flocks of this bird will of course occasion a correspondent consumption of food; and it is therefore compelled to be constantly erratic, and to be among the feathered race what the nomades are among mankind. The rapidity of its flight is superior to that of the carrier pigeon, which has been known to pass from St. Edmundsbury to London in two hours and a half. At this rate, the passenger pigeon can travel seven hundred miles in twenty-four hours; and at the rate of a mile a minute, the same distance in less than twelve hours; and this velocity may account for undigested rice being found in its craw six hundred miles from the rice fields: but as this has been observed in the spring of the year, it must have been derived in that case from the gleanings of a former season, or procured at a greater distance, or confounded with the *zizania aquatica* of the western waters. The favourite food of this bird is the beech nut, and it prefers to establish its roosting quarters and its breeding place within the reach of this aliment. It also subsists on the acorn, chestnut, wild cherry, seeds of the red maple, and of some weeds, poke, and other kinds of berry, buckwheat, and the principal cerealia. It resorts to the sea-shore and the salines of the west for salt, and it is frequently seen at the mineral springs of Saratoga enjoying the luxury of the waters.

"This bird is in much request as an article of food: and in the spring it arrives at an opportune period for our markets, during a scarcity of domestic poultry, and in the interval after the consumption of most of the old stock, and before the maturity of the

new brood. In the hard winter, as it is commonly called, of 1741, the weather was intensely cold from the middle of November to the latter end of March. The snow was six feet deep. The Hudson river was passed on ice at the city of New York. The cattle perished; and the deer were starved for want of food. The prices of food and fuel were exorbitant, and the sufferings of the poor were severe. In this crisis, and five or six weeks earlier than the time of their usual appearance, flights of wild pigeons appeared in greater numbers than were ever before known, and which, by the abundance of the food thus afforded, greatly relieved the prevalent distress. This at the time was attributed to a special interposition of providence, under a supposition that this bird is incapable of resisting severe cold; and this is now the general impression, which shows that its nature is not well understood. It has been seen at Hudson's Bay in the month of December, and large flocks were observed in Albany and the north-western parts of this state in January and February, 1819.

"There are other errors with respect to this bird. It is generally believed, that it will not breed in captivity, and that it is incapable of domestication. And our distinguished ornithologist, Wilson, has unhesitatingly asserted, that it only has one squab or young at a time.

"If this latter position were true, it would furnish an anomaly in ornithology. All birds of the Columba genus, have heretofore been supposed to produce by pairing, and to have two young at a time, generally a male and female. The male pigeon participates in the labours of nidification and incubation, supplies the female with food when on the nest, and assists in feeding the young. But where polygamy prevails among birds, the whole labour devolves on the mother. The domestic or exotic pigeon lays two eggs at a time; and our only indigenous birds of the Columba genus, (besides the passenger pigeon,) the turtle dove and the ground dove, do the same. Why then should the passenger pigeon be an exception? The male assists in building the nest, and occasionally relieves the female in incubation; and it is remarked, that in the breeding season, the two sexes are never seen together. This is owing to their divided labours: for the male makes up for the greater devotedness of the female to incubation, by occasionally supplying her and the young with food. We then can see no reason for so strange a departure from the general rule, attributed by Wilson to the passenger pigeon in the extent of its production; and when we further consider the prodigious flocks of this bird, transcending all other collections of birds, we cannot easily acqui-

esce in his opinion, especially as he admits that it only produces three or four times in a year. But there is no reasoning down facts, and this is a question of fact. On diligent inquiry, I am satisfied that Wilson has been misled by inaccurate information."*

The quail, or partridge, is a general inhabitant of North America. Where they are not too much persecuted by the sportsmen, they become almost half domesticated; they approach the barn, particularly in winter, and sometimes, in that severe season, mix with the poultry to glean up a subsistence. What is commonly called the pheasant in Pennsylvania and the southern districts, is the ruffed grouse. Its favourite places of resort are high mountains, covered with the balsam pine, hemlock, and similar evergreens. Unlike the pinnated grouse, it always prefers the woods; is seldom or never found in open plains, but loves the pine-sheltered declivities of mountains near streams of water. The pinnated grouse avoid wet and swampy places, and are remarkably attached to dry ground; the low and open brush is preferred to high shrubbery and thickets. Into these latter places they fly for refuge when closely pressed by the hunters; and here, under a stiff and impenetrable cover, they escape the pursuit of dogs and men. During the time of mating, and while the females are occupied in incubation, the males have a practice of assembling by themselves. To some select and central spot, where there is very little underwood, they repair from the adjoining district; and from the exercises performed there, this is called a scratching-place. As soon as the light appears the company assembles, sometimes to the number of forty or fifty. When the dawn is past, the ceremony begins by a low tooting from one of the cocks; this is answered by another; and they then come forth one by one from the bushes, and strut about with all the pride and ostentation they can display. Their necks are incurvated; the feathers on them are erected into a sort of ruff; the plumes of their tails are expanded like fans; and they strut about in a style resembling, as nearly as small may be illustrated by great, the pomp of the turkey cock; they seem to vie with each other in stateliness; and, as they pass each other, frequently cast looks of insult, and utter notes of defiance. These are the signals for battles, in which they engage with wonderful spirit and fierceness, and during which they leap a foot or two from the ground, and utter a cackling, screaming, and discordant cry. After the appearance of the sun, they disperse. These places of exhibition have been often discovered by the hunters,

* Letter to J. W. Francis; New York Medical and Physical Journal, vol. ii. 1823.

who have freely availed themselves of the facilities thus afforded for the destruction of the birds; and the grouse, after having been repeatedly disturbed, are afraid to assemble. Several new species of grouse have recently been discovered by Mr. Douglas, among the Chippewyan Mountains: the finest bird of this species, however, is described by Charles Lucien Bonaparte, under the name of the cock of the plains. It must have formed, from the earliest periods, a principal ornament of the distant wilds of the west: hardly inferior to the turkey in size, beauty, and usefulness, this bird is entitled to the first place in the series of North American grouse, with a pre-eminence like that which the cock of the woods so justly claims among those of Europe and Asia.

The native country of the wild turkey extends from the north-western territory of the United States to the Isthmus of Panama. In Canada, and the now densely-peopled parts of the United States, they were formerly very abundant; but, like the Indian and the buffalo, they have been compelled to yield to the destructive ingenuity of the white settlers, often wantonly exercised, and to seek refuge in the remotest parts of the interior. On hearing the slightest noise, they conceal themselves in the grass, or among shrubs, and thus frequently escape the hunter, or the sharp-sighted birds of prey; and the sportsman is unable to find them during the day, unless he has a dog trained for the purpose. When only wounded, they quickly disappear, and, accelerating their motion by a sort of half flight, run with so much speed that the swiftest hunter cannot overtake them. The traveller driving rapidly down the declivity of one of the Alleghanies, may sometimes see several of them before him, evincing no urgent desire to get out of the road; but on alighting in hopes of shooting them, he soon finds that all pursuit is vain.*

The wading birds of the United States, as might be expected from the great extent of its various waters, are of great multitude and variety. The killdeer plover, so called from its note, is a restless and noisy bird, known to almost every inhabitant of the republic, being a common and pretty constant resident. During the severity of winter, when snow covers the ground, it retreats to the sea-shore, where it is found at all seasons; but no sooner have the rivers broken up, than its shrill note is again heard, either roaming about high in air, tracing the shore of the river, or running amidst the watery flats and meadows; as spring advances, it resorts to the newly ploughed fields, or level plains bare of grass, inter-

persed with shallow pools; or, in the vicinity of the sea, to dry, bare, sandy fields. The oyster-catcher frequents the sandy sea-beach of New Jersey and other parts of the Atlantic coast, in summer, in small parties of two or three pairs together. They walk along the shore in a watchful, stately manner, at times probing it with their long wedge-like bills, in search of small shell fish. It is the only one of its genus hitherto discovered, and a fanciful observer might imagine, that it had borrowed the eye of the pheasant, the legs and feet of the bustard, and the bill of the woodpecker.

The whooping crane is the tallest and most stately species of all the feathered tribes of the United States; the watchful inhabitant of extensive salt marshes, desolate swamps, and open morasses in the neighbourhood of the sea. They wander along the marshy and muddy flats of the sea-shore in search of marine worms, sailing occasionally from place to place, with a low and heavy flight, a little above the surface; and they have at such times a very formidable appearance. At times they utter a loud, clear, and piercing cry, which may be heard at the distance of two miles; they have also various modulations of this singular note, from the peculiarity of which they derive their name. This bird is nearly five feet in height, and four feet six inches in length. The great heron is a constant inhabitant of the Atlantic coast, from New York to Florida; in deep snows and severe weather seeking the open springs of the cedar and cypress swamps, and the muddy inlets occasionally covered by the tides. On the higher inland parts of the country, beyond the mountains, they are less numerous; and one which was shot in the upper parts of New Hampshire, was considered as a great curiosity. The snowy heron is seen at all times during summer among the salt marshes, watching and searching for food, or passing, sometimes in flocks, from one part of the coast to another. They often make excursions up the rivers and inlets, but return regularly in the evening to the red cedars on the beach, to roost. The American bittern is a nocturnal species, common to all the sea and river marshes, though nowhere numerous: it rests all day among the reeds and rushes, and, unless disturbed, flies and feeds only during the night. In some places it is called the Indian hen; on the sea-coast of New Jersey, it is known by the name of *dunkadoo*, a word probably imitative of its common note. They are also found in the interior. It utters at times a hollow guttural note among the reeds, but has nothing of that loud booming sound for which the European bittern is remarkable.

* Bonaparte's Continuation of Wilson's Ornithology.

The United States present several species of the ibis, the curlew, and the sandpiper. One of the most common strand birds is the purre. It is extremely active and expert in running and searching among the sand on the reflux of the waves, as it nimbly darts about for food. These birds, in conjunction with several others, sometimes collect together in such flocks, as to seem, at a distance, a large cloud of thick smoke, varying in form and appearance every instant, while it performs its evolutions in the air: as this cloud descends and courses along the shores of the ocean with great rapidity, in a kind of waving serpentine flight, alternately throwing its dark and white plumage to the eye, it forms a very grand and interesting appearance. At such times the sportsman makes prodigious slaughter among them; while, as the showers of their companions fall, the whole body often alight, or descend to the surface with them, till he is completely satiated with destruction. The semipalmated snipe is one of the most noisy and noted birds that inhabit the salt marshes in summer. Its common name is the willet, by which appellation it is universally known along the shores of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, in all of which places it breeds in great numbers. It is peculiar to America. It arrives from the south on the shores of the Middle States about the 20th of April, or beginning of May; and, from that time to the last of July, its loud and shrill reiterations of *pill-will-willet*, *pill-will-willet*, resound almost incessantly along the marshes, and may be distinctly heard at the distance of more than half a mile. The American woodcock is universally known to the sportsman; but from the nature of the ground where they are to be sought, viz. deep mire intersected with old logs, which are covered and hid from sight by high reeds, weeds, and alder bushes, both men and dogs are soon tired out.

The clapper-rail is a very numerous and well-known species, inhabiting the whole Atlantic coast from New England to Florida. It is called by different names, such as the mud-hen, clapper-rail, meadow-clapper, big-rail, &c. Its principal residence is in the salt marshes. None of the species afford the American sportsmen greater entertainment, or a more delicate repast, than the Carolina rail. Early in August, when the reeds along the shores of the Delaware have attained their full growth, the rail resort to them in great numbers to feed on the seeds of this plant, of which they are immoderately fond. When the reeds are ripening, and even while they are in blossom, the rail are found to have taken possession of them in great numbers. As you walk

along the embankment of the river at this season, you hear them squeaking in every direction like young puppies; if a stone be thrown among the reeds, there is a general outcry, and a reiterated *kuk, kuk, kuk*, something like that of a guinea-fowl. In the mean time none are to be seen, unless it be at or near high water; for, when the tide is low, they universally secrete themselves among the interstices of the reeds, and you may walk past, and even over them, where there are hundreds, without seeing a single individual. On their first arrival, they are generally lean, and unfit for the table; but, as the reeds ripen, they rapidly fatten, and from the 20th of September to the middle of October they are excellent, and eagerly sought after. The usual method of shooting them in this quarter of the country is as follows:—The sportsman furnishes himself with a light boat, and a stout experienced boatman, with a pole of twelve or fifteen feet long, thickened at the lower end to prevent it from sinking too deep into the mud. About two hours or so before high water, they enter the reeds, and each takes his post, the sportsman standing in the bow ready for action, the boatman on the stern seat pushing her steadily through the reeds. The rail generally spring singly as the boat advances, and at a short distance ahead are instantly shot down, while the boatman, keeping his eye on the spot where the bird fell, directs the boat forward, and picks it up as the sportsman is loading. In this manner the boat moves steadily through and over the reeds, the birds flushing and falling, the sportsman loading and firing, while the boatman is pushing and picking up; and the sport continues till an hour or two after high water, when the shallowness of the water,* and the strength and weight of the floating reeds, as also the backwardness of the game to spring as the tide decreases, oblige them to return.—The red flamingo is occasionally seen in Florida; and the roseate spoonbill inhabits the coast as high as Georgia. The latter bird has been found as far up the Mississippi as Natchez.

The black-skimmer, or sheerwater, is a truly singular fowl, the only species of its tribe hitherto discovered. It inhabits the whole Atlantic coast, during the summer, and retires early in September. Its favourite haunts are low sand bars, raised above the reach of the summer tides, and dry flat sands on the beach in front of the ocean. The sheerwater is formed for skimming while on wing the surface of the sea for its food, which consists of small fish, shrimps, young fry, &c. whose usual haunts are near the shore, and towards the surface. That the lower

mandible, when dipped into and cleaving the water, might not retard the bird's way, it is thinned and sharpened like the blade of a knife; the upper mandible being at such times elevated above the water, is curtailed in its length, as being not wanted, but it tapers gradually to a point, so that, on shutting, it offers little opposition. To prevent inconvenience from the rushing of the water, the mouth is confined to the mere opening of the gullet, which, indeed, prevents mastication taking place there; but the stomach, or gizzard, to which this business is solely allotted, is of uncommon hardness, strength, and muscularity, far surpassing in these respects any other water bird yet known. To these peculiarities is added a vast expansion of wing, to enable the bird to sail with sufficient celerity while dipping in the water. The general proportion of the length of the swiftest hawks and swallows to their breadth, is as one to two; but, in the present case, as there is not only the resistance of the air, but also that of the water, to overcome, a still greater volume of wing is given, the sheerwater measuring nineteen inches in length, and upwards of forty-four in breadth. The bill of this bird and his way of life have by some authors been depreciated; but whoever attentively examines this curious apparatus, and observes the possessor, with his ample wings, long bending neck, and lower mandible occasionally dipt into and ploughing the surface, and the facility with which he procures his food, cannot but consider it a more playful amusement, when compared with the dashing immersions of the tern, the gull, or the fish-hawk, who, to a superficial observer, appear so much better accommodated. The laughing gull, known in America by the name of the black-headed gull, is one of the most beautiful and most sociable of its genus. They make their appearance on the coast of New Jersey in the latter part of April; and do not fail to give notice of their arrival by their familiarity and loquacity. The inhabitants treat them with the same indifference that they manifest towards all those harmless birds which do not minister either to their appetite or their avarice; and hence the black-heads may be seen in companies around the farm-house, coursing along the river shores, gleaning up the refuse of the fishermen and the animal substances left by the tide; or scattered over the marshes and newly-ploughed fields, regaling on the worms, insects, and their larvæ, which, in the vernal season, the bounty of nature provides for the sustenance of myriads of the feathered race.

The Canada goose is the common wild goose of the United States, whose migrations are the sure signals

of returning spring or winter. In their aerial voyages to and from the north, these winged pilgrims pass over the interior on both sides of the mountains, as far west, at least, as the Osage river. Wounded geese have, in numerous instances, been completely domesticated, and they readily pair with the tame gray geese; the offspring are said to be larger than either, but the characteristic marks of the wild goose still predominate. The sportsmen on the sea-shore have long been in the practice of taming the wounded of both sexes, and have sometimes succeeded in getting them to pair and produce. On the approach of every spring, however, these birds discover symptoms of great uneasiness, frequently looking up into the air, and attempting to go off; and some whose wings have been closely cut, have travelled on foot in a northern direction, and have been found at the distance of several miles from home. They hail every flock that passes overhead, and the salute is sure to be returned by the voyagers, who are prevented from alighting among them only by the presence and habitations of man. Our readers will be entertained with the following surprising but well-authenticated narrative:—

"Mr. Platt, a respectable farmer on Long Island, being out shooting in one of the bays which, in that part of the country, abound with water-fowl, wounded a wild goose. Being wing-tipped, and unable to fly, he caught it, and brought it home alive. It proved to be a female; and, turning it into his yard with a flock of tame geese, it soon became quite tame and familiar, and in a little time its wounded wing entirely healed. In the following spring, when the wild geese migrated to the northward, a flock passed over Mr. Platt's barn-yard; and, just at that moment, their leader happening to sound his bugle note, our goose, in whom its new habits and enjoyments had not quite extinguished the love of liberty, remembering the well-known sound, spread its wings, mounted into the air, joined the travellers, and soon disappeared. In the succeeding autumn, the wild geese, as was usual, returned from the northward in great numbers, to pass the winter in our bays and rivers. Mr. Platt happened to be standing in his yard when a flock passed directly over his barn. At that instant, he observed three geese detach themselves from the rest, and, after wheeling round several times, alight in the middle of the yard. Imagine his surprise and pleasure, when, by certain well-remembered signs, he recognised in one of the three his long-lost fugitive. It was she indeed! She had travelled many hundred miles to the lakes; had there hatched and reared her offspring; and had now re-

turned with her little family, to share with them the weets of civilized life.”*

The mallard, or the common wild duck, is found in every fresh-water lake and river of the United States in winter, but seldom frequents the sea-shores or salt marshes. This bird is numerous in the rice-fields of the southern states during winter, many of the fields being covered with a few inches of water; and, the scattered grains of the former harvest lying in abundance, the ducks swim about and feed at pleasure. This is the original stock of the common domesticated duck, reclaimed time immemorial from a state of nature, and now become so serviceable to man. In many individuals, the general garb of the tame drake seems to have undergone little or no alteration; but the stamp of slavery is strongly imprinted in his dull indifferent eye and grovelling gait, while the lofty look, long tapering neck, and sprightly action of the free bird, bespeak his native spirit and independence.

The canvass-back duck, a celebrated American species, altogether unknown in Europe, arrives in the United States from the north about the middle of October. A few resort to the Hudson and Delaware, but the great body of these birds descend to the numerous rivers in the neighbourhood of the Chesapeake, particularly the Susquehannah, the Patapsco, Potomac, and James rivers, which appear to be their general winter rendezvous. They are chiefly found in that particular part of tide water where a certain grass-like plant grows, on the roots of which they feed. They swim with great speed and agility, and sometimes assemble in such multitudes as to cover several acres of the river; when they rise suddenly, they produce a noise resembling thunder. They float about the shoals, diving and tearing up the grass by the root, which is the only part they eat. They are extremely shy, and can rarely be approached, unless by stratagem; and when wounded in the wing, they dive to such prodigious distances, and with such rapidity, continuing it so perseveringly, and with such cunning and vigour, as almost always to render the pursuit hopeless. From the great demand for these ducks, and the high price they uniformly bring in market, various artifices are practised to get within gunshot of them. The canvass-back, in the rich juicy tenderness of its flesh, and its delicacy of flavour, stands unrivalled by the whole of its tribe in this, or perhaps in any other quarter of the world; and those killed in the waters of the Chesapeake are generally esteemed superior to all others, doubtless

from the great abundance of their favourite food which these rivers produce. At public dinners, hotels, and particular entertainments, the canvass-backs are universal favourites.

The widgeon is the constant attendant of the canvass-back duck, by the aid of whose labour he has ingenuity enough to make a good subsistence. This bird is extremely fond of the tender roots of that aquatic plant on which the canvass-back feeds, and for which that duck is in the constant habit of diving. The widgeon, who never dives, watches the moment of the canvass-back's rising, and, before he has his eyes well opened, snatches the delicious morsel from his mouth, and escapes. On this account the canvass-backs and widgeons, or, as they are called round the bay, bald-pates, live in a state of perpetual contention; the only chance the latter have is to retreat, and make their approaches at convenient opportunities. The goosander, called by some the water-pheasant, and by others the sheldrake, fisherman, diver, &c. is a winter inhabitant only of the sea-shores, fresh-water lakes, and rivers of the United States. They usually associate in small parties of six or eight, and are almost continually diving in search of food. Several species of merganser are common. The snake bird is an inhabitant of the Carolinas, Georgia, the Floridas, and Louisiana. It seems to have derived its name from the singular form of its head and neck, which at a distance might be mistaken for a serpent. Its habits too, while in the water, have not a little contributed to its name. It generally swims with its body immersed, especially when apprehensive of danger, with its long neck extended above the surface, and vibrating in a peculiar manner. “The first individual that I saw in Florida,” says Wilson, “was sneaking away to avoid me, along the shore of a reedy marsh which was lined with alligators, and the first impression on my mind was that I beheld a snake; but the recollection of the habits of the bird soon undeceived me. On approaching it, it gradually sank, and my next view of it was at many fathoms' distance, its head merely out of the water.” To pursue these birds at such times is useless, as they cannot be induced to rise, or even to expose their bodies. Wherever the limbs of a tree project over and dip into the water, there the snake birds are sure to be found; these situations being convenient resting-places for the purpose of sunning and preening themselves, and probably giving them a better opportunity than when swimming, of observing their funny prey. They crawl from the water upon the tree, and fix themselves in an upright position, which they maintain in the ut-

* Wilson's Ornithology.

most silence; and if there be foliage or long moss, they secrete themselves in it in such a manner that they cannot be perceived, unless one be close to them. When approached, they drop into the water with such surprising skill, that one is astonished how so large a body can plunge with so little noise, the agitation of the water being apparently not greater than that occasioned by the gliding of an eel.—The noise of the countless flocks of migratory water-fowl, as they journey through the air in the spring to the sources of the great rivers and lakes, and in autumn to the gulf of Mexico, is one of the most familiar sounds to the ear of an inhabitant of the west, and is one of his strongest and pleasantest associations with spring and autumn. The noise of migrating geese and ducks, at those periods, is also familiar to the ear of an Atlantic inhabitant; that of the swans, pelicans, and cranes, is peculiar to the central valley. The swan is well known for its stateliness and brilliant white. Its migrating phalanxes are in perfectly regular forms, as are those of the geese; and they sometimes join forces, and fly intermixed with each other. Their noise on the wing is like the distant sound of a trumpet. They are killed on the rice-lakes at the north in the summer, and in the gulf and its neighbouring waters in the winter; the younger ones are as fine for the table as geese.

Mr. Flint makes the following observation respecting the birds of the Mississippi valley, as compared with those of the Atlantic regions:—"This valley, embracing all the varieties of climate of the country east of the mountains, might be supposed to have the same birds, and those birds the same habits. The former is true, and the latter is not. We have noted no birds in the Atlantic country that we have not seen here; we have many that are not seen there; and those that are common to both regions have not the same habits here as there. We have no doubt, that cultivation and the presence of civilized man affect the habits, and even the residence, of birds. There are many in the more populous and cultivated regions beyond the mountains, that seem to belong to orchards and gardens, and that appear to exult and be at home only in the midst of fruit arbours, and groves reared by art and luxury. It is remarked in the more populous and cultivated districts of the west, that, in proportion as the wilderness disappears, and is replaced by apple, pear, peach, and plum trees, and fruit gardens, the birds which cheered the infancy of the immigrants, and whose notes are associated in recollection with the charms of youthful existence, and the tender remembrances of the natal spot, and a distant and

forsaken country, are found among the recent orchards. Every immigrant, especially, who was reared in New England, remembers the magpie, the bird of half-formed leaves, of planting, and the freshness of spring; and he remembers to have heard them chattering in the woods, almost to tiresomeness. They are occasionally seen in the middle and northern regions of this valley; but they are seldom heard to sing, and are only known by the lover of nature, who hears in the air, as they pass over his head, the single note which they utter in the east, when they are leaving that country. Some years since, in Missouri, we saw a number of the males gathered on a spray, in the midst of a low prairie, of a sunny morning, after a white frost; they were chattering away in their accustomed style, but they did but half carry out the song that we used to hear in the meadows of New England."

Reptiles, or animals of the serpent, turtle, and lizard class, are, of course, numerous in the United States.

All the varieties of the rattlesnake are seen, in some places in pernicious abundance. The yellow rattlesnake is the largest of the species; they are sometimes seen as large as a man's leg, and from six to nine feet in length. A species of small rattlesnake is sometimes seen in great numbers on the prairies; they are said, in the regions far to the west, to consort with prairie dogs, and to inhabit the same burrows. There is a very troublesome species, called snappers, or ground rattlesnakes; they travel in the night, and frequent roads and house-paths. The copper head is a terrible serpent, supposed to inflict a more dangerous bite than the rattlesnake; they inhabit the same region, but are not so common as the former. They are of a dirty brown colour; and when they have recently shed their skin, some parts of their body resemble burnished copper, whence they derive their name. There are three or four varieties of the moccasin snake inhabiting the southern country. The upland moccasin has many aspects in common with the rattlesnake, but is a serpent still more repulsive in appearance. They have been seen of great size, and their fang teeth are extremely large and long: they are most frequently seen basking among the bastard cane. The largest variety of the water moccasin resembles the water-snake of the Atlantic country. It has a very large flat head, and it opens its upper jaw at right angles to the under one. It is a lazy, reckless animal, neither flying nor pursuing man; it is a serpent of the largest size; has a ground-coloured, scaly back; and, in point of venom, is classed with the rattlesnake.

There is another species of the moccasin rarely seen out of the water, of a brilliant copper colour, with annular gray stripes, marking off compartments at equal distances. The brown viper, or hissing snake, is of a dirty brown colour, from six to eight inches long, with a body large in proportion, and terminating abruptly in a sharp tail: when angry, their backs change colour, and their heads flatten, and dilate to twice the common extent, and their hiss is like that of a goose. They are extremely ugly animals; and, though very diminutive, are supposed to be of the most venomous class. One being confined by a stick across its back, it instantly bit itself in two or three places; and when set at liberty it soon became very much swollen, and died. The accounts of the deadly venom of the horn-snake, being without actual attestation by fact, are considered as unfounded. Mr. Flint expresses his conviction that the Mississippi valley presents a greater number of serpents, and is more infested by them, than the country on the Atlantic, excepting perhaps the southern portion of it. Wherever the population becomes dense, the swine prey upon them, and they quickly disappear. Their most permanent and dangerous resorts are near the bases of rocky and precipitous hills, about ledges and flint knobs, and in the lower and southern country, along the stagnant water channels, and near those vast swamps that cannot be inhabited for ages. People are often bitten by these terrible animals; the pain is excruciating, and the person that is badly bitten swells, and soon becomes blind. The more venomous of the serpents themselves become blind during the latter part of summer: they are then, of course, less apt to strike their aim; but their bite, at this period, is most dangerous. The people suppose this blindness to be occasioned by the absorption of their own poison into their system. Whether it be that the numerous remedies that are prescribed are really efficacious, or whether the bite of these venomous reptiles is not fatal unless the poison is conveyed into some leading vein, or from whatever cause it be, it so happens that few fatalities occur from this cause.

Of harmless serpents this country has the usual varieties, as the green, garter, chicken, and coach-whip snakes. The glass-snake is often seen with a body of the most lustrous brilliance. A stroke across the back separates the body into a number of pieces; each of these pieces preserves for some time the power of locomotion, and continues to exercise it; and the inhabitants believe that these pieces soon meet, and unite, and become as before the separation. The bull, or prairie snakes, are of great size, and horrid

appearance: they are common on the prairies, live in holes in the ground, and run at the passing traveller with a loud hiss; but if he stands, they instantly retreat to their holes. They are believed to be perfectly harmless; though such is their size, boldness, and formidable appearance, that it is long before the resident in these regions gets over his horror of them.

Ugly animals of the lizard kind are seen, in greater or less numbers, in all the climates: they are found under rotten logs, and are dug from the rich and muddy alluvions; these last are lazy and loathsome animals, and are called "ground puppies." It does not appear that they have any disposition to bite. Common small lizards are frequent in the southern districts, running along the logs, and making just such a sound as the rattlesnake, when he gives his warning. There are varieties of small cameleons; they are apparently harmless animals, though, when caught, they show a disposition to bite. They will change in half an hour to all the colours of the prism. Green seems to be their favourite colour, and when on a green tree, that is their general hue; while in this colour, the under part of their neck becomes of a beautiful scarlet; their throat swells, and they emit a sharp note, like that of one of the larger kinds of grasshoppers when singing. "We have placed them on a handkerchief," says Mr. Flint, "and they have gradually assumed all its colours. Placed on a black surface, they become brown; but they evidently suffer while under this colour, as is manifested by uneasy movements, and by strong and quick palpitations, visible to the eye. They are very active and nimble animals, three or four inches in length." Some lizards of a larger class and flatter heads are called scorpions; they are animals of an ugly appearance, and are deemed very poisonous, though we have not found that any person has been known to be bitten by them. When attacked, they show the anger and the habits of serpents, vibrating a fiery and forked tongue, and biting with great fury at the stick which arrests them.

The alligator is the most terrible animal of this class. This large and powerful lizard is first seen in great numbers, in passing to the south, on the Arkansas, that is to say, a little north of 33°; and this is its general northern limit across the continent. Vast numbers are seen in the slow streams and shallow lakes of Florida and Alabama; but they abound most on Red river, the Mississippi lakes, and the bayous west of that river: forty at one time have been numbered on a muddy bar of Red river; and on these sleeping waters, the cry of a sucking pig on the banks

will draw a shoal of them from their muddy retreats at the bottom. The largest alligator that Mr. Flint ever saw killed in these regions measured something more than sixteen feet from its snout to the extremity of its tail. They have at times, especially before stormy weather, a singular roar or bellow, not exactly as Bartram has described it, like distant thunder, but more like the half-suppressed roarings of a bull. When moving about on their customary avocations in the water, they seem like old logs in motion. In fine weather they dose in listlessness on the sand-bars; and such is their recklessness, that they allow the people on the passing steam-boats to come within a few paces of them. The ascent of a steamboat on an alligator stream, at the proper season for them, is a continual discharge of rifles at them; a rifle ball, however, will glance from their bodies, unless they are hit in a particular direction. They are not, like tortoises and other amphibious animals, tenacious of life, but bleed profusely, and immediately expire when mortally wounded. They strike with their tails coiled into the section of a circle; this blow has great power, and the animal stricken is, by the same blow, propelled towards their mouth, to be devoured. Their strength of jaw is prodigious, and they are exceedingly voracious. They have large ivory teeth, which contain cavities sufficiently large to hold a musket-charge of powder, for which purpose they are commonly used by sportsmen. The animal, when slain, emits an intolerable smell of musk; and it is asserted that its head contains a quantity of that drug. They will sometimes chase children, and would overtake them, were it not for their inability to make lateral movements. Having few joints in their body, and very short legs, they cannot readily turn from a straight-forward direction; consequently, those who understand their movements avoid them without difficulty, by turning off at right angles, and leaving the animal to move forward, under its impulse in that direction: indeed, they are by no means so dangerous as they are commonly reputed to be. It is said they will attack a negro in the water in preference to a white; but they are chiefly formidable to pigs, calves, and domestic animals of moderate size. They are rather objects of terror from their dimensions, strength, and ugly appearance, and from their large teeth and strong jaws, than from the actual injuries which they have been known to inflict. The skin of the alligator is valuable for the tanner.

The tortoise is found in considerable variety and number. The soft-shelled mud-tortoise of the lakes about New Orleans, and west of the Mississippi, is said to be not much inferior to the West India sea-

turtle for the table; and epicures who are dainty in their food consider their flesh a great delicacy.—In the pine barrens of Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, is found an animal, apparently of the tortoise class, commonly called the gouffre. It has a large and thick shell, and burrows to a great depth in the ground; it is of prodigious power and strength, and resembles in many respects the loggerhead-turtle.—The siren (*murena siren*) is a very singular animal; it somewhat resembles the lamprey, and is nearly two feet in length. It seems intermediate between the fish and the lizard class; it has two short legs, placed near the head, is amphibious, and penetrates the mud with the facility of a crawfish.—The whole of the republic is prolific in frogs, toads, and animals of that class, but more especially so the more southerly parts of it, the land of lakes, marshes, and swamps, combined with high temperature. The deep notes of the bull-frog are heard in perfection in the swamps at the back of New Orleans.

It is reasonable to suppose that so vast an extent of maritime and inland waters should afford a great quantity and variety of the finny tribes; it is to be regretted, however, that very small progress has yet been made in the scientific observation of this interesting class of animals. American ichthyology is yet in its infancy.

Nevertheless, several American writers have contributed advantageously towards the elucidation of this subject. The most conspicuous of these is the late Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, whose elaborate memoir of the fishes of New York has commanded the approbation even of Cuvier. In the paper of Dr. Mitchill now referred to, and printed in the first volume of the Transactions of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, there are enumerated no less than one hundred and forty-seven species of fish, inhabitants, or visitors, of the waters of New York, besides varieties, nineteen, making a total of one hundred and sixty-six.* I can not entertain a doubt, says Dr. Mitchill, that there are various kinds which I have neither seen nor heard of. I have reason to believe, that the caprinus or carp family, the esox or pike, and the salmo or trout, will be found to comprehend a considerable number of new sorts. In the Transactions of the same society, may be found a paper on the fishes of the western waters of the state of New York, by Governor De Witt Clinton. The ichthyology of the United States is still further illustrated by other eminent writers, (Le Sueur, &c.) in the recent volumes of the Transactions of the American

* See Transactions of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, vol. i.

Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, in the Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, and in the Annals of the Lyceum of Natural History of New York.

The fishes which fill the coasts and bays of the United States are generally of the same species as on the opposite coasts of Europe. They are abundant, especially along the shore of the New England states, which, however, have no bank of the same extreme richness as that of Newfoundland. The shad and the salmon are fine fish, abounding in the Atlantic rivers; and beautiful trout are taken in the mountain streams of the northern states. Among the fish of the western waters, probably in a great measure common to them and other rivers, are noticed several varieties of perch, one of which, the buffalo-perch, derives its name from the singular grunting noise which it makes, a noise which is familiar to every one who has been much on the Ohio. It is a fine fish for the table, weighing from ten to thirty pounds. There are also varieties of the sun-fish, the bass, and the hog-fish. Besides the shad, false herring, and trout, we find in these waters sixteen species of minny, the largest of which are called shiners; but the brown buffalo-fish is one of the best fishes in the western rivers, and is found in all of them, in length from two to three feet, weighing from ten to thirty pounds. The black buffalo-fish, found in the lower waters of the Ohio and in the Mississippi, sometimes weighs fifty pounds. The buffalo of the Mississippi is larger; it is taken in immense quantities in the meadows and lakes of the Mississippi, and greatly resembles the Atlantic shad. The trout of Louisiana and Florida is not the same with the fine fish of that name that is taken in the cold mountain streams of the northern country of the Atlantic; it is a fish of the perch class, beautifully marked with golden stripes, and taking the bait with a spring, like the trout. It weighs from one to four pounds, and is a fine-flavoured and solid fish for the table. "We have never witnessed angling," says Mr. Flint, "that could compare with that of this fish in the clear pine-wood streams of the southern divisions of this country. With fresh bait, a barrel may be taken in a few hours."

The *Salmo Otsego*, or the Otsego bass, is a superior fish, caught in the Otsego lake, New York, and may be considered as almost a non-descript. Some account of it was published several years ago by Governor Clinton. A specimen of one in the governor's possession, was seventeen inches in length, five in depth, and in one thickness, and it weighed two pounds six ounces. "The pupil of the eye is black," says he; "the iris silvery; the opercula spot-

ted with yellow on a silver ground; the mouth small, and exactly like that of a shad, except a little protuberance of the upper lip, which is also bifid. No teeth in the jaws, palate, roof of the mouth, tongue, or throat. The lateral line straight, and hardly discernible; appearance of lateral stripes, like the *Perca Mitchilli*, or Roch fish—colour silvery white below the *linea lateralis*—somewhat darkish above it; scales small; back highly curved. The first dorsal fin has nine softish rays, three of which are imperfect: it is about midway in the back, and over the ventral fin. The second dorsal fin is small and filamentous, and directly over the anal fin. The caudal fin is forked—the belly not serrated.

"This fish is of the abdominal order, and cannot be satisfactorily arranged under any genus of the Linnæan system. As it is, however, included in Bloch's description of the salmon, which he represents as an abdominal fish, with an adipose fin on the back, and a body covered with scales, I shall, in order to avoid the multiplication of genera, consider it as a *Salmo*; and, as it is probably a non-descript, and peculiar to the Otsego lake, its specific name may, with propriety, be derived from the water which it inhabits: I shall, therefore, call it *Salmo Otsego*.

"This fish is nearly equal to any fish that swims for exquisite and delicious food. It is among fishes, what the grouse, or canvass-back duck, is among birds. The flesh is fine, white, and delicate.

"It sometimes weighs six pounds; it is never found in the neighbouring lakes or streams, or in the Susquehannah river. It is not anadromus, and appears to be always stationary in the lake. It appears in shoals every spring and fall, and at other times retires to the deeps of the lake, like the black bass and perch of lake George, which are only seen periodically. The latter lake has no outlet which can be ascended by fish: This proves, conclusively, that their retreat is only into its deep waters: and as these lakes are very deep, they afford ample space for seclusion. Perhaps the notion of Pennant, that the herring proceed from the Polar seas, is incorrect. I cannot believe that they extend their migrations beyond the seas in which they periodically appear.

"The Otsego bass is very rarely taken by the hook. It was formerly caught in great numbers by the seine—sometimes five thousand at a draught. There is now a comparative scarcity. The diminution of fish, greatly in demand, may be attributed, generally, to the havoc created by the increasing population of the country, and to the destruction of

the food of fishes produced by cultivation ; but in this case it is ascribed to peculiar causes.”

The cat-fish is the most common fish in all the western waters. Twelve species have already been noted in the Ohio, and the varieties are very numerous in the waters west of that river. They are without scales, and of all colours and sizes ; their mouths, when open, are circular ; and they are easily taken with a hook. They receive their English name from the noise which they make when at rest ; a noise very similar to the purring of a cat, and one of the most familiar to those who are used to the western states. The cat-fish of the Mississippi often weighs more than a hundred pounds.—The Ohio toter is a fish of the length of from two to three inches ; it makes itself a cell by surrounding its place with pebbles ; and hence, from the Virginia word “tote,” to carry, is called a toter.—There are a great many species of pike in the Ohio and the Mississippi, and their waters ; they are called pike, pickerel, and jack-fish, and perfectly resemble the fish of the same names in the Atlantic waters. They vary from half a pound to twenty pounds.—Of the gar-fish there are a great many varieties in the western country. The alligator-gar is sometimes eight feet in length, and is strong, fierce, voracious, and formidable, not only to the fish, which he devours by tribes, but even to men, who go into the water near him. Its dart equals the flight of birds in rapidity. It has a long, round, and pointed mouth, thick set with sharp teeth ; its body is covered with scales of such a texture, as to be impenetrable by a rifle bullet, and, when dry, to make fire with steel. It is a fish of most outlandish appearance, weighing from fifty to two hundred pounds. It is considered as a far more formidable animal than the alligator : it is, in fact, the shark of rivers.—The devil-jack-diamond-fish is another monster of the rivers. It is rarely seen as high as the falls of Ohio, and probably lives in the Mississippi : its length is from four to ten feet, and one was caught which weighed four hundred pounds. It is extremely voracious ; and, like the preceding, its scales will give fire with the steel.

Eels are in length from two to four feet. The yellow eel is the best species for the table. Six species of sturgeon occur in these rivers, some of them four feet in length, and some of them eatable. There is also a Mississippi saw-fish, in length from three to six feet ; it has twenty-six long sharp teeth on either side, in the form of a saw, and is commonly shown in museums. Likewise a spotted horn-fish, in length

from two to three feet ; the horn being one fourth the length of the body. The bar-fish are taken with a hook ; they go in shoals in the southern running waters, weighing from one to three pounds, and are beautifully striped with brown and silver. The spade, or shovel-fish, a mud fish of the middle regions of the valley, is found in muddy lakes ; they weigh from ten to fifty pounds, are without scales, and have, in advance of their mouths, a smooth bony substance, much resembling an apothecary's spatula, from six inches to a foot in length, and two or three inches in width ; its use, apparently, is to turn up the mud in order to find subsistence. They are extremely fat, and are taken for their oil. “We have never remarked this fish in any museum,” says Mr. Flint, “although to us the most strange and whimsical-looking fish we have seen. We have seen,” he adds, “one instance of a horribly deformed animal, apparently intermediate between the class *testudo* and fishes. We saw it in a water of the Washita, and had not a fair opportunity to examine it. It is called toad-fish ; has a shell like a tortoise ; but has the other aspects of a fish. It is said to be sufficiently strong to bear a man on its back ; and, from the account of those who have examined it, this animal must be a singular *lusus nature*.”—The drum, rock-fish, sheep's-head, &c. are large and fine fish, taken in the lakes on the gulf of Mexico that are partially mixed with salt water, and so saline as not to be potable. They correspond in size to the cod and haddock of the Atlantic country, and are among the most common fish in the market at New Orleans. The fish of the gulf shore are of a very peculiar character, being taken in shallow lakes, principally composed of fresh water, but having outlets into the gulf, through which, when the wind blows strongly from the south, the sea-water is forced to such a degree that they become salt : the fish, accordingly, possess an intermediate character, between those of fresh and salt water. There are vast numbers of crawfish everywhere in the shallow waters and low grounds. By penetrating the bank of the Mississippi, they have more than once made perforations which have imperceptibly enlarged to crevices, by which the inundation of the river has been let in upon the country.

The fish of the western rivers are generally less esteemed than those of the Atlantic waters, and, as it would appear, with some justice ; although, in making the comparison, it should in fairness be remembered that fresh-water fish in general will not vie with those of the sea. The fishes of the Mississippi and its tributaries, generally, are tough, coarse, large

• New York Medical and Physical Journal, vol. i. p. 188, 189.

and unsavoury. The trout, so called, and the bar-fish, are fine. The pike, perch, and other fish of the Illinois, are represented as excellent; and in that river they are taken in great abundance. A line, here called a "trot line," drawn across the mouth of the Illinois where it enters the Mississippi, with hooks appended at regular distances, took five hundred pounds in a night. "Except the trout, the small yellow cat-fish, the pike, the bar-fish, and the perch," says Mr. Flint, "we do not much admire the fish of the western waters."

Dr. Mitchill gives the following account* of a gigantic fish of the ray kind, which he calls the oceanic vampire. It had been taken in the Atlantic Ocean, near the entrance of Delaware Bay, by the crew of a smack. They had heard that creatures of extraordinary form and size were frequent in the tract situated off Capes May and Henlopen, during the warm season; and accordingly equipped themselves for the purpose of catching one or more of them. After an absence of about three weeks, the adventurers returned with an animal of singular figure and large magnitude, which they had killed after a long and hazardous encounter. The weight was so considerable after it had been towed to the shore, that three pair of oxen, aided by a horse and twenty-two men, could not drag it, by their united strength, to the dry land. By estimation it was supposed to be between four and five tons.

	Feet.	Inches.
The length from the fore margin of the head to the root of the tail	10	9
Length of the tail	4	0
Length of the fins projecting forward from the corners of the mouth	2	6
	17	3

Making the whole length, from the tip of the head fins to the tip of the tail, seventeen feet and three inches. The breadth from the extremity of one pectoral fin or wing to the other, measuring along the line of the belly, was sixteen feet; when measured over the convexity of the back, eighteen feet. On each side of the mouth there was a vertical fin two feet and six inches long, twelve inches deep, and two inches and a half thick in the middle, whence it tapered toward the edges, which were fringed before with a radiated margin. The fin or organ so constituted could, from its flexibility, bend in all directions, and be made in many respects to perform the function of a hand, so as by twisting round, to seize an object and hold it fast. The wings, flaps, or pec-

toral fins, were of very curious organization. There was a scapula, humerus, ulna, carpus, and an uncommon number of phalanges, of a cartilaginous structure; all these joints were articulated with each other, but the articulations, like those of the human sternum, had very little motion. It had more analogy to the wing of a bird than to any thing else; and yet was so different from it, as to manifest a remarkable variety of mechanism, in organs intended substantially for the same use. Fish of the kind now under consideration may be aptly denominated submarine birds, for they really fly through the water as birds fly through the air. Fishes of this organization perform their flights by flapping their wings after the manner of crows, hawks, and eagles, in their progress.

The insects of the United States are of course numerous, and many of them of great beauty. Many of the species are entirely new, and science is particularly indebted to Mr. Say for the addition of no inconsiderable number to American entomology.† The moths and butterflies are extremely splendid, and one of them, the atlas moth, the largest hitherto known. Among the spiders is a huge species, called the tarantula, supposed to inflict a dangerous bite. The annoyance inflicted by the mosquito flies, a species of gnat, in hot weather is well known; by these, and other insects armed with stings, damp and low situations are rendered during the summer almost untenable. The fire flies, which glitter especially in the forests of the south, are merely entertaining. The copper-coloured centipede, a creature of a cylindrical form, and as long as a man's finger, is dreaded as noxious; a family is said to have been poisoned by taking tea in which one of them had been inadvertently boiled.

One insect, the *ageria exitiosa*, has long been the cause of solicitude and regret to all lovers of fine fruit in the republic, as the insidious destroyer of the peach tree. The larva commences its destructive career about the beginning of October, by entering the tree, probably through the tender bark under the surface of the soil; after having passed through the bark, it proceeds downwards, within the tree, into the root, and then turns its course upwards towards the surface, where it arrives about the commencement of the succeeding July. They voraciously devour both the alburnum and the liber, the new wood and the inner bark, leaving the cortex and epidermis as a covering and defence. The insects deposit their eggs within the bark of the tree, which they perforate

* Annals of the Lyceum of Natural History, New York, vol. i.

† See Say on American Entomology, 8vo.; also the same au-

thor, in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, &c.

by a blunt-pointed instrument, and leave from one to three hundred eggs, according to the capacity of the tree to support their progeny,

The United States are not free from the scourge of the locust. The males have under each wing a ribbed membrane as thin as a gossamer's web, which, when inflated, constitutes their musical organ. The female has a tuberosus sting or drill the size of a pin, and near half an inch in length, of a hard and brittle substance, which lies on the under surface of the body; with this the insect drills a hole into the small limbs

of trees quite to the pith: there it deposits through this hollow sting or drill some dozen or two of small white eggs. The time required to drill the hole and deposit the eggs is from two to five minutes. When undisturbed they make some half dozen or more insertions of their drill in the same limb, perhaps an inch apart, and these punctures usually produce speedy death to the end of the limb. They sometimes swarm about the forests in countless multitudes, making "melancholy music," and not less melancholy desolation.

BOOK III.

STATISTICS.

CHAPTER I.

AGRICULTURE.*

It would manifestly be foreign to the nature of the present undertaking, even did we deem ourselves competent to the task, to enter into the general theory or science of agriculture. It will, however, be our endeavour to give a brief yet faithful sketch of the agriculture, in the most comprehensive sense of the term, of the United States, enlarging only either on those points which are peculiar to that country, or upon productions which differ materially from those of Great Britain. The vast extent of latitude, and the consequent variety of climate which the republic comprises, will give to the subject a variety, interesting even to those who are not engaged in that most primitive of all occupations—the cultivation of the soil.—The agriculture of the United States naturally divides itself into northern and southern: the middle states, indeed, partake of some of the characteristics of both extremes, but do not, in a brief summary like the present, require to be ranked as a separate class; while the culture of the soil in the southern states is so entirely different in its processes and its products, that it is impossible to mingle its history with that of the northern portion of the Union.

It appears to be admitted by our transatlantic

* It would have been, perhaps, more accordant with strict propriety, to have commenced this section of the work with the chapter on population; but as the publication of the census of 1831 may be shortly expected, it has been deemed advisable to defer the account of the population to a subsequent portion of the work.

† "It is indeed a lamentable truth," says Mr. Watson, "that, for the most part, our knowledge and practice of agriculture, at the close of the revolutionary war, was in a state of demi-barbarism, with some solitary exceptions. The labours, I may say, of only three agricultural societies in America at that epoch, conducted by ardent patriots, by philosophers, and gentlemen in this state, Philadelphia, and Boston, kept alive a spirit of inquiry, often resulting in useful and practical operations; and yet, these measures did not reach the doors of practical farmers to any visible extent. Nor was their plan of organization calculated to infuse a spirit of emulation, which farmer, which county, or state, should excel in the honourable strife of competition in discoveries and improvements, in drawing from the soil the greatest quantum of net profits within

neighbours themselves, that while most abundant supply of all the bounties of nature has ever been their peculiar privilege, agriculture as a science has, till recently at least, been at a very low ebb.† The neglected state of this important branch of political economy may be traced to the condition of the first settlers and their descendants, rather than to any defect in soil or climate. Their first settlements were made along the shores of the sea, or on the banks of navigable waters. The ocean and its tributary streams offered fields for cultivation easier and more lucrative, in the scattered state of their population, than any which the land could afford. The fisheries, and navigation, thus naturally arrested the attention and chiefly occupied the thoughts of early settlers; and whatever there was of agriculture was limited to the supply of the essential necessities of the people, and to the yielding of a scanty surplus for the humble demands of colonial commerce. The circumstances of the country during the first century and a half after its settlement,—down to the time, indeed, of the revolutionary struggle,—were such as tended unavoidably to reduce agriculture below its just consequence in the scale of useful employments; and to elevate all the arts connected with navigation in a proportionate degree above their proper estimation. Not only was a large proportion of the little capital

a given space; at the same time keeping the land in an improving condition, in reference to its native vigour. These results, and the renovation of lands exhausted by means of a barbarous course of husbandry for nearly two centuries, are the cardinal points now in progression in our old settled countries, stimulated by the influence of agricultural societies. Nor did their measures produce any essential or extensive effects in the improvement of the breeds of domestic animals; much less in exciting to rival efforts the female portion of the community, in calling forth the active energies of our native resources in relation to household manufactures. The scene is now happily reversed in all directions. Perhaps there is no instance in any age or country, where a whole nation has emerged, in so short a period, from such general depression, into such a rapid change in the several branches to which I have already alluded; in some instances it has been like the work of magic."—*Memoirs of the Board of Agriculture of the state of New York*, vol. iii. p. 524.

then in the country attracted to the pursuits of commerce, and drawn away from those of agriculture, but the temptations to trade and to a seafaring life were so strong, as often to deprive the farmer of the most active and intelligent of his sons. When to this is added the unceasing drain upon the agricultural population, by the prospects which the extent of the interior and the cheapness of lands opened to their enterprise, and the consequent effect upon the demand for labour, there is more cause of surprise that the actual state of cultivation is so good, than of reproach that it did not receive higher improvement. Besides, in England itself the state of agriculture did not begin to attract any general and systematic attention until a little after the middle of the last century. The American farmer and capitalist would probably have joined earlier in the eager activity which this new state of things excited, had not the evolutionary contest, and the subsequent political embarrassments, at one period, both deprived them of the means of doing so, and forced their attention upon other objects; and had not, subsequently, the advantages resulting from neutrality during the wars of the French revolution, required at another the employment of all, and more than all, the pecuniary resources of the country.

A very different arrangement in the relations of the useful arts to each other seems to have commenced in America, upon the new state of things which peace among the powers of Europe, and the increase of population and capital, (the effect of time and of successful commercial industry,) have induced. The natural result of peace, and of the comparatively unrestricted competition of the commercial nations of the earth, must necessarily be to limit the sphere of commercial speculation, and to diminish its profits; and capital will therefore be thrown back from the water, to seek employment upon the land. Of the excess, beyond the wants of the merchant, one part will be applied directly to agriculture, and the other indirectly, by its being vested in manufactures; for whatever tends to create and fix a great population in a country, must manifestly tend to increase in that country the production of food necessary for its support: it may therefore be safely asserted, that whatever capital commerce cannot employ, becomes eventually a bounty on agriculture, until at least the resources of a country for vegetable production are fully developed. The republic already begins to perceive the effects of the great increase of capital and population, in the attention paid to the cultivation of the soil, in the agricultural associations, and the legislative patronage, which are active in the

principal states of the Union. A new era in the state of agriculture has unquestionably commenced; the effect of which is to attract general consideration and concern for the art, to stimulate the ambition of the farmer, and to multiply and concentrate the means of information in relation to all the subjects connected with its prosperity.

Feelings of deep disappointment appear to have been excited in the minds of most English agriculturists, who either engaged in the labours of the field themselves, or visited the farms of the republic, arising, as it appears to us, from the want of a due consideration of the different—the opposite—circumstances, in which the two countries are placed. In perusing the volumes of Messrs. Parkinson, Faux, Fearon, and others, some hundred pages of invective occur, because the Americans will persist in taking up fresh land, instead of the more costly process of manuring a worn-out soil; will raise extensive crops, instead of highly cultivating and beautifying a small space; in fact, will employ their time in a manner calculated, in their estimation at least, to produce the greatest profit with the least exertion.

In noticing the process of taking possession of and clearing for cultivation the virgin soil, some account of the simple agricultural erections which the settler requires will be both necessary and interesting. The building first erected on a new lot, or on a tract of land not yet cleared from its native growth of timber, is what is called a log-house. This is a hut or cabin made of round, straight logs, about a foot in diameter, lying on each other, and notched in at the corners. The intervals between the logs are filled with slips of wood, and the crevices generally stopped with mortar made of clay. The fire-place commonly consists of rough stones, so placed as to form a hearth, on which wood may be burned. Sometimes these stones are made to assume the form of a chimney, and are carried up through the roof; and sometimes a hole in the roof is the only substitute for a chimney. The roof is made of rafters, forming an acute angle at the summit of the erection, and is covered with shingles, commonly split from pine-trees, or with bark peeled from the hemlock (*pinus canadensis*.) When the occupant or first settler of this new land finds himself in comfortable circumstances, he builds what is styled a frame-house, composed of timber, held together by tenons, mortises and pins, and boarded, shingled, and clap-boarded on the outside, and often painted white, sometimes red. Houses of this kind generally contain a dining-room and kitchen, and three or four bed-rooms on the same floor. They are rarely destitute of good cellars, which the nature of the climate

renders almost indispensable. The farm-buildings consist of a barn, proportioned to the size of the farm, with stalls for horses and cows on each side, and a threshing-floor in the middle; and the more wealthy farmers add a cellar under the barn, a part of which receives the manure from the stalls, and another part serves as a store-room for roots, &c., for feeding stock. What is called a corn-barn is likewise very common, which is built exclusively for storing the ears of Indian corn. The sleepers of this building are generally set up four or five feet from the ground, on smooth stone posts or pillars, which rats, mice, or other vermin, cannot ascend.

In those parts of the country where wood is of but little value, the trees are felled in one of the summer months, the earlier in the season the better, as the stumps will be less apt to sprout, and the trees will have a longer time to dry. The trees lie till the following spring, when such limbs as are not very near the ground should be cut off, that they may burn the better. Fire must be put to them in the driest part of the month of May, or, if the whole of that month prove wet, it may be applied in the beginning of June. Only the bodies of the trees will remain after burning, and some of them will be burned also: those which require to be made shorter having been cut in pieces nearly of a length, they are drawn together by oxen, piled in close heaps, and burned; such trees and logs only being reserved as may be needed for fencing the lot. The heating of the soil so destroys the green roots, and the ashes made by the burning are so beneficial as manure to the land, that it will produce a good crop of wheat or Indian corn without ploughing, hoeing, or manuring. If new land lie in such a situation that its natural growth may turn to better account, whether for timber or fire-wood, it will be unpardonable waste to burn the wood on the ground; but if the trees be taken off, the land must be ploughed after clearing, or it will not produce a crop of any kind. The following remarks on this subject are extracted from some observations by Samuel Preston, of Stockport, Pennsylvania, a very observing cultivator, and may prove serviceable to settlers on uncleared lands. Previous to undertaking to clear land, Mr. Preston advises—"1st. Take a view of all large trees, and see which way they may be felled for the greatest number of small trees to be felled along-side or on them. After felling the large trees, only lop down their limbs: but all such as are felled near them should be cut in suitable lengths for two men to roll and pile about the large trees, by which means they may be nearly all burned up without cutting into lengths, or the expense of a strong team, to draw them

together. 2d. Fell all the other trees parallel, and cut them into suitable lengths, that they may be readily rolled together without a team, always cutting the largest trees first, that the smallest may be loose on the top, to feed the fires. 3d. On hill-sides fell the timber in a level direction, then the logs will roll together; but if the trees be felled down hill, all the logs must be turned round before they can be rolled, and there will be stumps in the way. 4th. By following these directions, two men may readily heap and burn most of the timber, without requiring any team; and perhaps the brands and the remains of the log-heaps may all be wanted to burn up the old fallen trees. After proceeding as directed, the ground will be clear for a team and sled to draw the remains of the heaps where they may be wanted round the old logs. Never attempt either to chop or draw a large log, until the size and weight are reduced by fire. The more fire-heaps there are made on the clearing, the better, particularly about the old logs, where there is rotten wood. The best time of the year to fell the timber in a great measure depends on the season's being wet or dry. Most people prefer having it felled in the month of June, when the leaves are of full size. Then, by spreading the leaves and brush over the ground, (for they should not be heaped,) if there should be a very dry time the next May, fire may be turned through it, and will burn the leaves, limbs, and top of the ground, so that a very good crop of Indian corn and pumpkins may be raised among the logs by hoeing. After these crops come off, the land may be cleared and sowed late with rye and timothy grass, or with oats and timothy in the spring. If what is called a good burn cannot be had in May, keep the fire out until some very dry time in July or August, then clear off the land, and sow wheat or rye and timothy, harrowing several times, both before and after sowing; for, after the fire has been over the ground, the sod of timothy should be introduced as soon as the other crops will admit, to prevent briers, alders, fire-cherries, &c. from springing up from such seeds as were not consumed by the fire. The timothy should stand four or five years, either for mowing or pasture, until the small roots of the forest-trees are rotten; then it may be ploughed; and the best mode which I have observed is, to plough it very shallow in the autumn; in the spring, cross-plough it deeper, harrow it well, and it will produce a first-rate crop of Indian corn and potatoes, and, the next season, the largest and best crop of flax that I have ever seen, and be in order to cultivate with any kinds of grain or to lay down again with grass. These directions are to be understood as applying to

what are generally called beech lands, and the chopping may be done at any time in the winter, when the snow is not too deep to cut low stumps, as the leaves are then on the ground. By leaving the brush spread abroad, I have known such winter choppings to burn as well in a dry time in August as that which had been cut the summer before.”*

The subject of improving the character of various inferior soils, or of restoring exhausted soils, by manure, is becoming of increasing importance to the American farmer, and has consequently attracted increasing attention. It is true that in situations in which large sections of fertile soil still remain unoccupied, the subject is at present of little or no importance; but to localities in the vicinity of cities or populous towns, where the land has risen to a great value, it is a question of deep interest. Drought is one of the greatest evils to which the soil of America is exposed, and gypsum is very extensively used, from the quality it possesses of attracting moisture. It does not answer near the sea or salt water, nor on wet stiff lands; it answers best on hot, loose, or sandy soils, and if strewed over the land, five or six bushels are found sufficient for an acre. Bone-dust would probably answer where gypsum will not succeed. The method of using all manures of animal or vegetable origin while fresh, before the sun, air, or rain, or other moisture, has robbed them of their most valuable properties, now generally prevails; but it was formerly the practice to place barn-yard manure in layers or masses for the purpose of rotting, and turn it over frequently with the plough or spade, till the whole had become a mere *caput mortuum*, destitute of almost all its original fertilizing substances, and deteriorated in quality almost as much as it was reduced in quantity. It would be foreign to our purpose to enter more particularly into the system of manuring practised in the United States; the results of the experiments of many respectable agriculturists will be found in the publications of the New York, Pennsylvania, and other agricultural societies.

The price of labour being very high, especially when compared with the value of produce, draining is but little attended to.—The fences are almost exclusively wooden rails, thorn hedges being very rare. In the eastern states it is probable that the thorn would not succeed, owing to the severe frosts in winter; but in the middle and western states there is no doubt that it would flourish; and certainly it would afford a shelter for the cattle during the oppressive heat of summer. If the thorn would not

answer as a fence, the prickly locust, and several other small trees, indigenous to the country, would make an impenetrable barrier.

Among the objects of culture, maize, or Indian corn, must take precedence, even of wheat: it is prolific beyond comparison, yielding from thirty to one hundred bushels per acre; and is cultivated in the eastern, middle, and western states, though much more successfully in the latter. Maize constitutes the principal food of man in some districts; while it supersedes the growth of the horse-bean, and other plants, which in Europe are essential to the support of animals used in husbandry, or raised for the market. It is, in fact, one great cause of the cheapness of cattle, hogs, and poultry. Wheat, however, the grain so decidedly esteemed above all others, is considered a more valuable crop in the soils adapted to it, and where culture has made the requisite progress; it is the grain generally used for bread, and the best fitted for exportation. In the New England states, the soil and climate do not appear to reward the cultivation of wheat by an abundant produce; and the southern states of the Carolinas and Mississippi have too much moisture, and a climate too tropical. The middle states, Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, and in the west, Ohio and Kentucky, are the tracts in which this important grain is produced with that excellence which enables it to become a leading article of American export. Rye, for mixing with maize in the common bread, oats for horses, and barley for distillation, are also raised; though the two last not on so great a scale as in the northern countries of Europe.

The cultivation of plants, for their roots, has recently attracted much more of the attention of American agriculturists than formerly. The winters in the northern section of the union, however, are so severe, that turnips can rarely be fed on the ground, and all sorts of roots are with more difficulty preserved and dealt out to stock, in this country, than in those which possess a milder climate. Happily, hay is more easily made from grass in the United States than in Great Britain, owing to the season for hay-making being generally more dry, and the sun more powerful, which renders root husbandry less essential to the prosperity of the American farmer. The different sorts of grasses which are cultivated for hay, grazing, &c. are lucern, sainfoin, burnet, timothy; red, white, and yellow clover; green-sward, blue-grass, crib-grass, &c., according to the section of the union in which they are found respectively to be most advantageous.

Hemp is produced in some parts of the United

* Encyclopædia Americana, vol. i. p. 109.

States. Considerable portions of the lands in the states of Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, are well adapted to its profitable culture. It may also be grown to advantage in several of the counties of the state of New York, and on the borders of the Connecticut river; or indeed in any of the middle and eastern states, where the soil is composed of a rich loam, or on alluvial bottoms. Kentucky is the only state where it is at present raised in any considerable quantity, and the crop in that state alone has been from five hundred to a thousand tons, which is manufactured chiefly into cotton-bagging, and the coarser kind of ropes, such as bale-rope, &c. Indeed, it is supposed that Kentucky could furnish a sufficient supply for the consumption of the United States. Hemp being an exhausting crop, it has been stated that the best land will not bear a succession of more than three crops; but in Kentucky it has been ascertained by experience, that the land, by being afterwards put into grass, especially clover, will, in three years, be restored to its ability to produce a further succession of three crops of hemp. The quantity obtained from an acre, by the ordinary process of rotting and preparing the hemp, is from 500 to 800 pounds; but when cleared in an unrotted state, it is supposed that the yield will be from one half to two thirds more. The perfection to which machinery for cleaning hemp, both in a rotted and unrotted state, is now brought, warrants the conclusion, that in a short time it will be in general use. The ordinary mode of sowing the seed is considered defective, from the small quantity put into the ground. At present a bushel and a quarter is the usual quantity; but it is said by judicious farmers, that upon rich soil two bushels of seed at least ought to be used to an acre. The hemp of the United States, before rotting, is fully equal to any hemp of foreign growth, the texture of the fibre generally resembling that of St. Petersburg and Archangel; and the finest fibres being fully equal to the best Riga. The average price for Russian hemp is from 230 to 250 dollars per ton, while American (solely from the imperfect manner of rotting it) sells for about 175 dollars per ton. The hemp of the United States is almost invariably what is termed *dew-rotted*, and experience has shown, that cordage made of hemp of this description is by no means so durable as that made of *water-rotted* hemp, and the foreign hemp above mentioned is all of this kind.

Dew-rotted hemp does not contain the tar necessary for the protection of the cordage from the effects of the wet, and without tar it is injuriously affected by the water, in a much greater degree than water-rotted hemp. "In order to make our hemp equal to any of foreign growth," say the manufacturers of New York,* "and to supply its place altogether as far as quality is concerned, nothing further is necessary than that it be water-rotted, or prepared without rotting, if, upon proper investigation, it be found that the machines constructed for that purpose will make the hemp suitable for all kinds of cordage. We have long and anxiously looked forward to an improvement in the culture and preparation of the hemp of our own country, and inquiries, which we have diligently made, have resulted in the conviction, that the expense and difficulties of water-rotting hemp have been much over-rated with us. It was tried upon a small scale in Orange county, in this state, and the experiment resulted very satisfactorily."

Flax is grown extensively; and the seed being highly esteemed for some of the European soils, it forms an export of considerable amount. It is stated that in some instances an acre of land has produced a profit of twenty, and in others of thirty dollars. The manufacture of it, however, seems in a great measure to have been superseded by the use of cotton. Indeed, the same inferiority is found in the quality of this article as in that of hemp, and from a similar cause. "In 1822," states Mr. Travers, the manager of a large factory at Paterson, New Jersey, in his examination before the committee of manufactures,† "I made duck of American flax, but I ascertained from actual experiment, that it would not answer, and that my credit as a manufacturer was likely to suffer, and I abandoned it. I am satisfied that the superior quality of the foreign over the American flax, is to be attributed, almost exclusively, to their preparing it by water-rotting, while in America it is prepared by dew-rotting. In this country too, it is suffered to grow too long, with a view of saving the seed, whilst the foreign is pulled when the bloom falls, and before the bole is formed. I conceive the difference between American flax, pulled when the blossom falls and water-rotted, and that which is pulled after it has seeded and dew-rotted, would be fifty per cent. better to the farmer and to the manufacturer, estimated upon the present prices. The

* Report of the Committee of Agriculture, in relation to American canvass, cables, and cordage, presented to the house of representatives, on the fifth of January, 1825.—As an instance, among a multitude of similar facts, of the interest congress takes in promoting the agricultural, as well as commercial interests of the union, it may be observed, that of this report, (No. 381,) which

contains a mass of information on this subject, important both to the grower and the manufacturer, six thousand copies were printed by order of the house, for distribution.

† Report (No. 115) presented to the house of representatives, January 31, 1828, p. 136.

one gains that much by the quantity and quality of the article, and the latter can afford to give that much more for it that it is now worth to him. Flax pulled at this time will weigh thirty-three and a half per cent. more than when suffered to go to seed."

The animals, either employed in agriculture, or reared for food, are very similar to those of Great Britain. In the southern, middle, and western states, much attention is paid to the breeding of horses. British race, and also Arabian horses, have been imported, to improve the breed of this animal. Neither the intense cold of winter in some of the states, nor the excessive heat of summer in all the states, appear much to distress the horse in America. Some of the American horses are likewise very fleet; the races in New York, Virginia, and South Carolina, prove that the swiftness of the American horse equals that of the British. There are none of those very heavy cart-horses which we have in the British sea-ports. The cow in general use is about the size of the Devonshire one, giving five or six quarts of milk at each milking. The Holderness cow, and other large breeds, would certainly not suit the United States; they are more adapted to a humid climate. It has been said that all animals dwindle in size in this country, a statement certainly very incorrect. If the same care be taken there in the breeding and feeding of horses and other animals as in England, there is not a doubt that the animal would attain an equal size or weight. Bullocks have been fed in America, weighing 2000 to 2500lbs.; hogs, 800 to 1400lbs. Sheep do not appear to succeed so well as oxen and swine. The mutton is not so good or fine-flavoured as the English, and it is frequently sold at half the price of beef. It is probable that proper attention is not paid to this animal; for it is healthy, not subject to the rot, or to many diseases which are prevalent in England. Mutton is not esteemed by the inhabitants for the table, and the sheep is principally reared for the wool, for which the demand has recently much increased. Poultry of all kinds is abundant and good, but the climate does not seem to suit the rabbit.

The implements used in agriculture in most points resemble those of Great Britain. Circumstances however require variations, which the sagacity of the American cultivator will lead him to adopt, often in contradiction to the opinions of those who understand the science better than the practice of husbandry. In Europe, land is dear and labour cheap; but in the United States the reverse is the case. The European cultivator is led, by a regard to his own interest, to endeavour to make the most of his land;

the American cultivator has the same inducement to make the most of his labour.

The principal products of the southern states are tobacco, cotton, rice, and sugar. The first of these indeed is grown largely in Virginia and other of the middle states, and, together with the cultivation of wheat, has enabled many of the proprietors to amass considerable wealth; though, from the low price of tobacco, it is said now to be a speculation often attended with loss. In common with the other plants which thrive in the warm climates of the southern states, tobacco is cultivated almost exclusively by slave-labour: it is raised in the same manner as cabbages are in England, only planted at a greater distance. A bed is made as early in the spring as possible, generally in a wood, as no kind of animal will touch or eat the plant; they seem even to avoid treading upon it. The preparation is by felling the timber, and burning the tops on the place intended to be sown with seed; to raise the plants, the seed being small, the ground is hoed up, and the ashes and earth mingled together as fine as possible. New land is preferred, and treated in the same manner as that for the seed-bed: if old land, it is very highly dunged, or cow-penned, which is by folding the cattle at night on a small piece or patch of ground, as sheep are folded in England; and the latter mode is preferred to the former. The ground is then ploughed, and made fine by the harrows, in the same manner as for turnips in England. That being done, the plants are set; after which it is very common, if the man has sheep, to keep them in the fields to eat the weeds; even cattle are kept in the field for that purpose. Before the plant is set, the earth is generally drawn up into hills with the hoe, at the distance of three feet asunder, and dung put into them. It is said by the planters, that an industrious black man or woman will manage three acres. There is a caterpillar, or beautiful worm, more than an inch and a half long, of such a devouring nature, that if it be not observed every day, it soon spoils a great number of plants; therefore the plants are searched over every day, which is one cause of the three acres being set off to every planter. The culture of tobacco exhausts the land to such a degree, that it will only sustain two, or, at most, three crops. The entire process employs the negroes during the whole year: preparing the land in March and April, planting in May, hoeing and overlooking in June, July, August, and September, cutting and housing in October; the other months, in moist weather, to be pulling the leaves off the tobacco-stalks, and preparing them for market; in frosty weather in clearing the

wood off, to plant new land the next year, and cutting the wood for rails, fire, &c. The following description of the mode of preparing tobacco for exportation is given by a recent traveller in the United States. "A party of a dozen negroes, on the floor of a tobacco-house, were placed, men, women, and children, in a circle, drawing the leaves from the stalk. In the centre stood two men, who, on receiving the leaves from the pickers, distributed them in heaps according to their quality. There seem to be three qualities of tobacco. The lower leaves, or those which touch the ground, are liable to get dirty and torn; but on the higher parts of the same stalk two different sorts of leaves are found, one yellow and one brown. These being carefully separated, and made up into little bunches, somewhat thicker than a man's thumb, are tied round with a thong formed out of the leaf itself. The bunches are then slung in pairs, across bars of wood, stretching from side to side of the roof, not unlike herrings in a drying-house. In the course of time, the house becomes so completely filled with these bars carrying bunches of tobacco, that there is barely left space enough for a man to creep under them to trim the fires, kept constantly burning on the mud floor to dry the leaves. The next process is to pack it into the large hogsheads which every one has seen before the door of a tobacco-shop. This operation is performed by means of long levers worked by hand, which force it into a compact mass."

The cultivation of cotton is conducted in a manner very similar to that of tobacco. It is an annual plant, growing to a considerable height, and has leaves of a bright green colour, marked with brownish veins, and each divided into five lobes. The flowers have only one petal in five segments, with a short tube, and are of a pale yellow colour, with five red spots at the bottom. The cotton-pods are of somewhat triangular shape, and have each three cells. These, when ripe, burst open, and disclose their snow-white or yellowish contents, in the midst of which are contained the seeds, in shape somewhat resembling those of grapes. The fibres of cotton are extremely fine, delicate, and flexible. When examined by the microscope, they are found to be somewhat flat, and two-edged, or triangular. Their direction is not straight, but contorted, so that the locks can be extended or drawn out without doing violence to the fibres. These threads are finely toothed, which explains the cause of their adhering together with greater facility than those of bombax and several *apocrynea*, which are destitute of teeth, and which cannot be spun into thread without an admixture of

cotton. In the southern states of the Union, the cotton cultivated is distinguished into three kinds—the nankeen cotton, so called from its colour; the green-seed cotton, producing white cotton with green seeds; and the black-seed cotton. The first two kinds grow in the middle and upper country, and are called short-staple cotton; the last is cultivated in the lower country, near the sea, and on the isles near the shore, and produces cotton of a fine, white, silky appearance, very strong, and of a long staple. Cotton appears to have been found indigenous in America; but for a long period after it had been grown in some of the southern states, it seems to have been consumed in domestic use, and none exported; indeed, the factories at this time were supplied with a foreign article. When, in 1784, a small quantity of cotton was imported into Liverpool, in a vessel from the United States, it was, at first, considered as an illegal transaction, as it was not supposed possible for it to have been the growth of any of the states of the Union; and when, about the same period, a duty was proposed in the United States Congress on the import of foreign cotton, it was declared by one of the representatives from South Carolina, that the cultivation of cotton was in *contemplation* by the planters of South Carolina and Georgia, "and that if good seed could be procured it might succeed." How rapidly this produce must have risen in amount, and what wealth must have been accumulated by its cultivators, may be supposed, when it is stated that the crop in 1824-5 was 369,259 bales; that of 1825-6, was 720,027 bales; of 1826-7, 957,281; of 1827-8, 720,593; of 1828-9, 870,415. This rapid increase of production has been attended by proportionate diminution of price, which averages only about one third what it did formerly: "Low as the price has sunk, however," says Mr. Everett, "there is good reason to think it still, with thrift and economy, a profitable branch of industry. I have been lately favoured with a minute statement of the average product of five or six cotton plantations in two of the south-western states, ascertained by putting together the income of a good and a bad year. The result of this statement is, that the capital invested in these plantations yields from fifteen to twenty per cent. clear; and that the net profit accruing to the proprietor, for the labour of each efficient hand, is 237 dollars 50 cents per annum; being a clear gain of 4 dollars 50 cents per week. It further appears, that on one of these plantations, (and the same, though not stated, is believed to hold of the others, in due

* Address delivered before the American Institute of the city of New York, at their fourth annual fair, October 14, 1831, p. 40.

proportion) worth altogether, for land, labour, and stock, 92,000 dollars, the entire amount of articles paying duty annually consumed is 2,300 dollars. The average crop of this plantation, taking a good and bad year, is 14,500 dollars.—Suppose the duties to be thirty-three and a half per cent., and the whole amount of the duty to be actually assessed, in the shape of an enhanced price of the article, (the contrary of which is known to be true, for in several articles the entire price is little more than the duty,) it would amount to less than 730 dollars per annum, or a clear profit of 14,000 dollars. The great wealth of the south is, of course, the product of the labour there performed. The productiveness of this labour must greatly depend on the cost at which it is sustained. This cost must consist chiefly of that of food and clothing. Food is subject to no duty, nor is there any duty, which, except in the most remote and indirect manner, can enhance its price. The annual cost of clothing in the south-western states,—probably in all the states south of 35°,—is said to be eight dollars per head. Suppose this supply to come enhanced one third, it is a very small sum when assessed upon the annual product of the industry of the labourer. These statements are furnished to me on the very highest authority. There is no reason why the plantations, to which they refer, should be more productive than others in their neighbourhood, except as they may be conducted with greater skill and prudence. But there never existed, and never will exist, any branch of industry, which, in the long run, will be profitable in any but skilful and prudent hands.” There are two machines for cleansing cotton from the seeds; these are the roller-gin and the saw-gin. The essential parts of the first are two small cylinders, revolving in contact, or nearly so. The cotton is drawn between the rollers, while the size of the seeds prevents them from passing. The saw-gin, invented by Mr. Whitney, is used for the black-seed cotton, the seeds of which adhere too strongly to be separated by the other method. It is a receiver, having one side covered with strong parallel wires, about an eighth of an inch apart. Between these wires pass a number of circular saws, revolving on a common axis. The cotton is entangled in the teeth of the saws, and drawn out through the grating, while the seeds are prevented, by their size, from passing. The cotton thus extracted is swept from the saws by a revolving cylindrical brush, and the seeds fall out of the bottom of the receiver. Rice is cultivated extensively in the southern states, by a method somewhat similar to that of garden peas in this country. The grains of this plant

grow on separate pedicles, or little fruit-stalks, springing from the main stalk. The whole head forms what a botanist would call a spiked panicle; that is, something between a spike like wheat, and a panicle like oats. The grain is sown in rows, in the bottom of trenches, made by slave-labour entirely. These ridges lie about seventeen inches apart, from centre to centre. The rice is put in by the hand, generally by women, and is never scattered, but cast so as to fall in a line. This is done about the 17th of March. By means of floodgates, the water is then permitted to flow over the fields, and to remain on the ground five days, at the depth of several inches. The object of this drenching is to sprout the seeds, as it is technically called. The water is next drawn off, and the ground allowed to dry, until the rice is risen to what is termed four leaves high, or between three and four inches. This requires about a month. The fields are then again overflowed, and they remain submerged for upwards of a fortnight, to destroy the grass and weeds. These processes occupy till about the 17th of May, after which the ground is allowed to remain dry till the 15th of July, during which interval it is repeatedly hoed, to remove such weeds as have not been effectually drowned, and also to loosen the soil. The water is then, for the last time, introduced, in order that the rice may be brought to maturity; and it actually ripens while standing in the water. The harvest commences about the end of August, and extends into October. It is all cut by the male slaves, who use a sickle, while the women make it up into bundles. As it seems that no ingenuity has yet been able to overcome the difficulty of threshing the grains out by machinery, without breaking them, the whole of this part of the process is done with hand-flails in a court-yard. The next process is to detach the outer husk, which clings to the grain with great pertinacity. This is done by passing the rice between a pair of mill-stones, removed to a considerable distance from each other. The inner pellicle, or film, which envelopes the grain, is removed by trituration in mortars under pestles weighing from 250 to 300 pounds. These pestles consist of upright bars, shod with iron, which being raised up by the machinery to the height of several feet, are allowed to fall plump down upon the rice, the particles of which are thus rubbed against one another till the film is removed. It is now thoroughly winnowed, and, being packed in casks holding about 600 pounds each, is ready for distribution over all parts of the world.

The extraction of sugar from the maple has already been described, but that from the cane far sur-

passes it in amount, and will probably soon supersede it altogether as an article of sale. The sugar-cane is extensively cultivated in Louisiana, Georgia, and West Florida. Five kinds of sugar-cane are cultivated in Louisiana. 1st. The cane called Creole cane. It is supposed to have come originally from Africa; its stalk rises vertically, the joints are closer than in the other kinds, and it is not so long and thick; its leaves also are vertical, and remarkably lanceolated; it requires as much labour as the cane of Otaheite: it is, of all the five kinds, the one that is most exhausting to the earth, so that, after a few years, the land on which it has been cultivated is so impoverished, that it becomes necessary to substitute cane of another kind. The sugar it produces has more strength or body than that from the others; it is, consequently, preferable for exportation, and suffers less waste by dripping, in crossing the sea. 2d. The cane from Otaheite, called Bourbon cane. The stalk is thicker than that of the other kinds, and longer than that of the Creole cane; the joints are further apart, the leaves broader, of a lighter colour, turning over, and hanging towards the ground. The roots branch out less than those of the Creole cane, and it is more liable to be thrown down by the wind. The eye or bud of this cane is very small, and so flat as to be difficult to judge of its quality. It is the most watery of all, and consequently not suitable for new land; it succeeds better in an old soil, provided that it be well ploughed. Cultivated in this way, the Otaheite cane is the one that produces the most sugar. It suffers less from the cold than the Creole, but it is more tardy in coming up; yet, when it has started, its vegetation is more rapid than that of the others. The plants are not so easily preserved, and it must be replanted every year. It is admitted that the sugar it produces has less body than that from the others. 3d. The riband cane, green and red. 4th. The riband cane, green and yellow. These two species of cane grow rapidly; their stalks are as high as those of the Otaheite cane, and a little less thick; the joints very far apart, as in that cane; the eyes more prominent and larger; the leaves are more bushy on the top of the cane, which exposes it to be prostrated by the wind; but this accident is little to be dreaded in these canes, because it does not germinate so easily; whilst, in the other species, the buds, in being brought in contact with the earth, vegetate speedily, which changes the sap, and injures the production of the sugar. The green and red riband cane comes up earlier than any other; it is peculiarly adapted to newly-cleared land and low grounds; it is the most vigorous, the easiest to pre-

serve as a plant, the one that bears the most cold and the culture of which requires the least labour; but, by reason of the thickness of its bark, it requires a stronger pressure than any other to extract the juice; and steam power alone can produce the degree of pressure necessary to avoid a considerable loss of the saccharine matter. The sugar that this cane produces possesses body, is easily made, and gives less molasses than that from any other. The green and yellow cane bears a considerable resemblance to the Otaheite; it is almost as watery, and is not hard; but it seems to be the general opinion, that the plants are more easily preserved; its stalk is larger than that of the green and red riband; it is late in coming up, like the Otaheite cane, withstands the cold at least as well, and appears equally suited to lands somewhat exhausted by cultivation. 5th. The violet cane of Brazil. This plant was introduced in Louisiana in or about 1806, but it was soon abandoned, the planters having found that in the climate of the United States it is much less productive than any of the others. The Creole, the Otaheite, and the riband canes, are at present the only ones cultivated in Louisiana, and are the best suited to the nature of the soil. They are all more or less affected by the variations of the atmosphere, are very sensible to cold, and are killed in part by the frost every year. They are also exposed to other injuries, which renders the culture very expensive.

Experience has shown that the cane may be cultivated in a latitude much colder than was generally supposed; for fine crops are now made in Louisiana, in places where, a few years ago, the cane froze before it was ripe enough to make sugar. In the process of cultivation, the ground is ploughed as deep as possible, and harrowed: after it has been thus broken up, parallel drills or furrows are ploughed at the distance of two feet and a half to four feet from one another; in these the cane is laid lengthwise, and covered about an inch with a hoe. Small canals to drain off the water are commonly dug, more or less distant from each other, and these are crossed by smaller drains, so as to form squares like a chess-board. These ditches are necessary to drain off the water from rains, as well as that which filters from the rivers, which would otherwise remain upon the plantations. The average quantity of sugar that may be produced upon an acre of land of proper quality, well cultivated, is from 800 to 1,000 pounds, provided that the cane has not been damaged, either by storms of wind, inundations, or frost. The strong soil is easiest of cultivation, and most productive in rainy seasons. The light soils require less

about, and yield more revenue in dry seasons. To these variations others are to be added, resulting from the different exposure of the lands, the greater or less facility of draining, and also from the greater or less quantity of a weed, known by the name of coco or grass nut. Sixty working hands are necessary to cultivate 240 acres of cane, planted in well-prepared land, and to do all the work necessary until the sugar is made and delivered. The sugar, up to the moment it is delivered to the merchant, costs the sugar-planter about three and a half cents per pound for expenses incurred, without reckoning the interest on his capital.*

It will give our readers great satisfaction, however, to find that this article can be raised without the absolute necessity of employing slaves, which has been by some so strongly contended for. Mr. Coxe, in his "Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States," undertaken by the direction of congress, observes, "This new mode of managing sugar lands appears to be worthy of particular attention and statement. Instead of the employment of slaves requiring a very burdensome advance of capital, and an expensive subsistence, the occasional labour of neighbouring, transient, hired white persons, is often used to prepare the grounds with the plough and harrow, to plant the new canes, to dress the old ones, and to clear the growing plants from weeds. The same or other white labourers are afterwards employed by the planters to cut, and stack under cover, the ripened canes, so as to prepare them for the grinding-mill and boiler. The operation of planting occurs after the sickly autumnal season, and before the vernal; and the operation of cutting also occurs in the healthy season, at the end of the following autumn. The service is therefore not unhealthy. It is considered to be expedient that the planters who own, and they who cultivate the soil, should not expend great sums in the establishment of mills and sets of works, on all the sugar estates, after the manner of the West Indian colonies of the European states. But it is found much more convenient and profitable, to leave the business of grinding and boiling to one manufacturer of muscovado sugar, for a number of planters. These persons, like the owners of grain-mills and saw-gin mills, can be employed for a toll in kind, or part of the produce, or for a compensation in money. By this method, a tract of three miles square, or three hundred and twenty perches square, which would contain twenty-five plantations of above one hundred and two acres each, may be accommodated by one cen-

tral manufactory of muscovado sugar from the cane stalks; for none of these plantations will be more distant from the boiler than a single mile; a mere city portage or cartage. Refineries for making white sugar, and distilleries, may be added, and the economy and accommodation to the planters will be more complete. The effect of this division of labour and ownership will be, rapidly to bring into the most complete and productive cultivation, all the canelands in the United States, and to advance the various manufactures of this valuable and wholesome agricultural production. The easy and cheap maintenance of cattle, the abundant supplies of provisions and building materials for man and beast, and the redundancy of fuel and cask lumber, with the benefits to our planters from being more frequently and comfortably their own stewards and overseers, will greatly redound to their convenience and profit."

Indigo was formerly an object of very extensive cultivation, but the growth of it was generally abandoned when cotton became the great staple of the south. It is still produced, however, in some of the southern states, but not to any very great extent, the exportation amounting only to a few thousand or sometimes only a few hundred dollars annually, while it is imported to a large amount.

The cultivation of the mulberry tree, and the raising of silk-worms, have occupied a considerable and increasing portion of attention in the United States, and may be considered as a branch of agriculture the least pre-occupied, and the most open to energetic pursuit, that the country affords. Before the revolution, attempts to produce silk were made in Georgia with some success; but circumstances were unfavourable, and ultimately they were abandoned. Sewing-silk, indeed, has been made for upwards of seventy years, and still continues to be made, in the state of Connecticut, and in some other parts of the Union; but this silk is of so inferior a quality that it not only can not be exported abroad, but can not even find a cash-price in the domestic markets. It is disposed of in barter among the farmers, and is acknowledged not to be fit to compete with the same article imported from Europe, which still continues to be imported. The reason of this is not the want of ingenuity in the females, who, it is understood, exclusively attend to this manufacture, but to their ignorance of the art of preparing this precious material, an art which can only be acquired by experience and practice, and which must be taught by a person fully skilled in it. Such persons are not to be ob-

* Answer of the Central "Committee of the Sugar Planters of the State of Louisiana," contained in a "Letter from the Secreta-

ry of the Treasury," presented to the house of representatives, January 21, 1831.

tained from foreign countries without the greatest difficulty. In several parts of the country, however, this important branch of agriculture is now more or less attended to. Societies of various kinds have been established for its promotion. With the same views, acts of incorporation have been granted by the state legislatures, and the national government themselves have not thought this object unworthy of their special patronage. The works of foreign authors on these interesting subjects issue in translations and abridgments from the press; manuals, and even periodicals, are published by American authors, all tending to produce the same result—the introduction of silk as a profitable object of culture into that country. During the year 1829, a series of essays were written by M. D'Homergue, the son of an eminent silk-manufacturer, at Nismes, who had arrived in Philadelphia at the instance of an association for the promotion of the culture of silk; they have since been published in a separate form, and will well repay the perusal of those who may feel peculiarly interested in the subject.* The report of the "Committee of Agriculture," who were instructed "to inquire into the expediency of adopting measures to extend the cultivation of the mulberry-tree, and to promote the cultivation of silk by introducing the necessary machinery," &c. made to the house of representatives, March 12, 1830, states these essays, and the facts contained, to be entitled to high confidence. "It appears from them," states the report, "that American silk is superior in quality to that produced in any other country:—in France and Italy, twelve pounds of cocoons are required to produce one pound of raw silk, whilst eight pounds of American cocoons will produce one pound of raw silk:—that cocoons cannot be exported to a foreign market from several causes,—their bulk, their liability to spoil by moulding on ship-board, and because they cannot be compressed without rendering them incapable of being afterwards reeled. It is further demonstrated in these essays, and in a memorial lately presented by the manufacturers of silk stuffs of Lyons, in France, to the minister of commerce and manufactures, that the art of filature can only be acquired by practical instruction, by some one intimately acquainted with, and accustomed to, that process; that no human skill or ingenuity, unaided by practical instruction, is capable of acquiring that art, to any profitable extent. It is made manifest, that, although the culture of silk has been carried on for many years in some parts of the United States, and more particu-

larly in Connecticut, it has been conducted very unprofitably, compared with what the results might have been, if the art of filature had been understood. The sewing-silk made in Connecticut is from the best of the silk, and is, after all, quite inferior to that of France and Italy; in these latter countries, sewing-silk is manufactured from imperfect cocoons, or from refuse silk. It appears also that, unless the silk is properly reeled from the cocoons, it is never afterwards susceptible of use in the finer fabrics. It is a gratifying consideration that the benefits from the culture of silk, and the acquisition of the art of reeling the same, will be common to every part of the United States. The climate of every state in the union is adapted to the culture of silk; hatching the eggs of the silk-worms may be accelerated or retarded, to suit the putting forth the leaves of the mulberry. That tree is easily propagated from the seeds of the fruit, and is adapted to almost any soil. The committee regard the general culture of silk as of vast national advantage in many points of view: If zealously undertaken and prosecuted, it will, in a few years, furnish an article of export of great value; and thus the millions, paid by the people of the United States for silk stuffs, will be compensated for by the sale of our raw silk. The importation of silk, during the year which ended on the 30th of September, 1828, amounted to 8,463,563 dollars, of which, 1,274,461 were exported; but, in the same year, the exportation of broad stuffs from this country amounted only to 5,414,665 dollars, leaving a balance against us of nearly two millions. The committee anticipate that, at a period not remote, when we shall be in possession of the finest material produced in any country, the manufacture of silk stuffs will necessarily be introduced into the United States. The culture of silk promises highly moral benefits, in the employment of poor women and children in a profitable business, while it will detract nothing from agricultural or manufacturing labour. The culture of silk will greatly benefit those states which have abundant slave-labour, the value of whose principal productions, particularly in the article of cotton, has been depressed by over production."

The first object to be obtained is undoubtedly the preparation of an abundant supply of food for the worms, which may be effected at a very small expense. There are two different species of mulberry,—the black, which is cultivated for its excellent fruit, of a dark purple colour, almost black; and is a tree of slower growth than the white; the leaves are larger, of a darker green, thicker and stronger. The silk-worms will eat them for the want of better, but they

* Essays on American Silk, &c. by John D'Homergue and P. S. Duponceau. Philadelphia: 1830.

do not thrive upon them, and the silk is coarse and inferior. The white mulberry-tree bears a white or light pink fruit, and its leaves are the most congenial food for these precious insects; is of a quicker growth, and does not come to so large a size as the black. The white mulberry is a very hardy tree, and bears the severest winters without any apparent injury; will last a great many years, and if cut down close to the ground, will send up many suckers all around, and resist destruction for several years. There are many kinds of white mulberry, the leaves of which differ in point of merit as a food for the silk-worm. Some are of a small size, earlier, and more tender; and, on that account, are cultivated as the most proper for the worms when first hatched; others are large, and of a peculiar quality, which suit the taste of the worms, upon which they thrive best, and make the handsomest silk. The best plants for earliness and superiority of leaves should be set out and noted, as they may hereafter furnish scions for grafting. Upon a dry soil the mulberry-trees do not grow much taller than the largest peach-trees; but they are stouter and thicker set. Their roots, which are of a remarkably bright gold colour, (that of silk,) extend to a considerable distance; and they ought not to be planted on that account nearer than thirty feet from tree to tree. As the gathering of leaves too soon would injure the growth and constitution of the trees, we would recommend that no leaves should be gathered from them until after the fifth year. In the mean time, plantations may be made for immediate use, by sowing the seed in drills, at a convenient distance, planting beans or potatoes between, to keep the ground clear of weeds. The second year after sowing, these seedlings might be cut down with a sharp instrument, three or four inches from the ground, and would give a second crop the same season. In the silk countries, they raise seedlings in rows for the first feeding of the worms: these young plants putting out their leaves earlier than the old trees, and being more tender, are better adapted for the worms in the first stage of their existence. They also plant the mulberry-trees, and suffer them to grow according to unrestrained nature, branching out from the ground, for the convenience of gathering the leaves more easily, and making a food stronger than the seedlings. They consider the leaves from trees, regularly trained, with a single butt, and of several years growth, to give the most substantial food. The white mulberry thrives in all soils and situations, and will grow very rank and full of leaves upon low, moist ground; but the food it affords in such situations is very inferior, and apt to disorder the worms. A warm loam,

even if gravelly, will give leaves of the best quality, and a sheltered warm situation will produce leaves many days sooner than one which is exposed to cold; and is desirable on that account. The mulberry-tree may be raised from suckers: sometimes slips, planted in a moist soil, will take root; and if the low branches of a tree can be bent so as to be fastened and covered in the ground, they will take root. The trees may be planted near buildings for shade, or in a yard; the fowls are very fond of the fruit when it falls. A variety of situations will increase the means of early and late feeding, which is very desirable. The most esteemed seed of that tree in Europe is that raised in Piedmont. The seed from Spain is also excellent. The seed of the best quality is large, bright, and heavy; when bruised it will appear oily, and when thrown on ignited coals, it will crackle.

It would be superfluous here to give detailed instructions respecting the best methods of raising the silk-worm and winding the silk. Volumes have been written by Dandolo and others on this important subject; but every needful information may be obtained from the article on this subject in the *New American Gardener*, by T. G. Fessenden; from the *Essays* already referred to; and from the *Philadelphia Silk Society*. Persuaded that we are concurring in promoting both national and individual benefit, by extending in any degree the circulation of appeals on the importance of this subject, we shall conclude with an extract from the first of the above publications: "Fully aware of the importance of the object we have presented to the attention of the community, we cannot leave it without making a concluding appeal to the intelligence and energy of our countrymen, not to suffer any delay to take place in setting their hands to a work so promising of results the most favourable to our comforts, and for our welfare: the first step is within the farmers immediate department, to sow the mulberry-seed, and rear the young trees; and after two years of attendance, the silk raising may commence in good earnest, and will become a healthy and pleasant business for children and young women. This rich crop will require but two months care to secure it; and when the business shall flourish on a large scale, which we may anticipate as probable within a short period, the raising of the cocoons will become a distinct occupation for farmers' families; the winding and reeling of them, most probably, will be carried on as a distinct and separate branch of industry; this is actually the case in all the silk-growing countries, where the cocoons are carried to the public markets, and sold for ready cash to those who keep filatures, where they wind and reel them. Great

advantages will accrue to the younger members of farmers' families in cultivating so pleasant and profitable an employment at home: it will offer to many young women a choice between home and the factories, and a resource in case the liberal encouragement given to manufactures should eventually prove the cause of business being overdone; it will also offer valuable resources for the pauper establishments, where the old and infirm, under a discreet and judicious government, may be made to provide themselves a comfortable support. If we take a retrospective view of the affairs of mankind, since the times of early record, we find that the riches and the prosperity resulting from commerce and navigation, or from a system of extensive manufactures, however brilliant, are comparatively of short and uncertain duration; the changes of views and systems of a government at home, the changes of policy among foreign nations, render the whole fabric subject to many sudden and unforeseen vicissitudes, and dependent upon the results of relations abroad, and of the compromise of jarring interests at home, setting at defiance, in the course of time, the subtle calculations of the most accomplished statesman; but the prosperity which is founded upon a perfected agriculture, that combines with intelligence the abilities of the soil and climate, so as to naturalize, by industry, rich crops of products, unknown to its original situation, is a prosperity not liable to changes; it becomes inherent and lasting."

By the latest intelligence that has been received on this interesting subject, there appears every reason to believe that the difficulty in winding the silk will speedily be overcome. The indefatigable and patriotic advocate of this branch of national wealth, M. Du Ponceau, with the assistance of M. D'Homergue, has already made considerable progress in instructing young females in the art of winding, and they have, in the midst of the obstacles by which they were surrounded, succeeded in producing about fifty pounds of raw silk in marketable condition; part of which has been manufactured into a national flag, and presented to the house of representatives.*

The vine grows in most parts of the United States, and yields a plentiful return for the labour of cultivation. A few years since a number of Swiss settlers at Vevay, in Indiana, commenced the cultivation of the grape on a large scale, an example which has been followed in many parts of the west. The vicinity of Vevay still boasts the largest vineyards in the United States. "We have witnessed nothing in

our country," says Mr. Flint,† "in the department of gardening and cultivation, which can compare with the richness of this vineyard in the autumn, when the clusters are in maturity. Words feebly paint such a spectacle. The horn of plenty seems to have been emptied in the production of this rich fruit. We principally remarked the blue or Cape grape, and the Madeira grape. The wine of the former has been preferred to the claret of Bordeaux. The fruit seems to have a tendency to become too succulent and abundant. It is now supposed that some of our native grapes will more easily acclimate to the country and soil, and make a better wine.—These amiable, industrious, and intelligent people, are constantly profiting by the benefit of experience, and this species of agriculture already yields them a better profit than any other practised in our country, while they are every year improving on the vintage of the past." A large grant of land, in the territory of Alabama, was made by the general government to a French association under M. Villar, for the purpose of encouraging the cultivation of the vine and the olive. About 270 acres had been occupied with vines in 1827, and nearly 400 olive trees had been planted. The latter, however, do not thrive, and it is apprehended will not attain an available degree of perfection in that climate, as the tree is perished to the roots by every winter's frost, although fresh shoots appear every spring.‡

Horticulture has not been overlooked in the United States; although, amidst the bustling pursuits and profitable occupations of the agriculturist, the manufacturer, and the merchant, it has not received that general attention which is evinced in our own country: those, however, who, either from views of pleasure or of gain, have devoted their time to the culture of the garden, have not had to complain of an unsuccessful or unprofitable pursuit. Some idea of the variety of fruits and of flowers which the climate will admit of, may be formed from the following statement of the contents of a garden in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, which may be relied on as authentic, being extracted from the report of the committee appointed by the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society for visiting the Nurseries and Gardens in the vicinity of that city:‡ "Here are to be found," say the committee, "one hundred and thirteen varieties of apples, seventy-two of pears, twenty-two of cherries, seventeen of apricots, forty-five of plums, thirty-nine of peaches, five of nectarines, three of almonds, six of quinces, five of mulberries, six of rasp

* Twenty-first congress, second session, report No. 7.

† Geography and History of the Western States, vol. ii. p. 149.

‡ Report made to the secretary of the treasury, Dec. 24, 1827.

§ Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, vol. vii. p. 106.

berries, six of currants, five of filberts, eight of walnuts, six of strawberries, and two of medlars. The stock, considered according to its growth, has in the first class of ornamental trees, esteemed for their foliage, flowers, or fruit, seventy-six sorts; of the second class, fifty-six sorts; of the third class, one hundred and twenty sorts; of ornamental evergreens, fifty-two sorts; of vines and creepers, for covering walls and arbours, thirty-five sorts; of honeysuckle, thirty sorts, and of roses, eighty varieties."

There are, however, considerable difficulties to be overcome in this pursuit, arising from the sudden transitions of temperature, long periods of drought, and the tremendously heavy rains which wash away the soil. To avoid, as much as possible, the first of these evils, a situation sheltered from the north and northwest winds should be selected; to meet the second, the vicinity of a perennial stream will of course, if possible, be sought; and to prevent the third, a level plat, free from any considerable undulations, should be preferred.—Our limits do not admit of our entering into a detail of the various species of trees and plants suitable for cultivation. The quotation we have made will prove that most of the fruits and flowers of Europe may be raised in the transatlantic republic. Peaches flourish in such abundance, that in many cases they furnish food for swine; and apples are no less plentiful, the finer sorts being considered superior to those produced in Europe. Large quantities of cider are manufactured, and this is an article that, in a great measure, supersedes the use of malt liquor. On the other hand, some of the vegetables most esteemed in the old world are difficult to raise, and inferior, in the new; as is the case with the potato, which, in quantity and in flavour, is far inferior to the Irish. Notwithstanding the difficulties we have mentioned, and the inferiority of some productions, we are compelled to admit, that the balance is in favour of the American horticulturist, and we believe that there are few branches of business in which an industrious English emigrant, well acquainted with the principles of gardening, would find more profitable employment.

The English editor of this work, probably, had not the means of getting correct information on the subject of the horticulture of the United States. It has been more attended to than he imagines. It would be difficult for any one, at present, to go into the minutiae of this culture, as much more has been done than has been recorded, ample and satisfactory as are the volumes of the Berkshire Horticultural Society, as also those of the Society of Pennsylvania, the Transactions of the Society of Arts of New York,

and of the Agricultural Board of that State, &c. &c. Professor John W. Francis, a distinguished physician of the city of New York, and an able contributor to works in almost every branch of science, has touched upon this subject, in an address delivered in September, 1829, before the "New York Horticultural Society," with his usual felicity. After having dwelt upon the importance of horticultural studies, and the attention which the science has received in Europe, by the most eminent men who have adorned the annals of philosophy, he notices the condition of this branch of human pursuit, in this country, as follows:—

"Turn we," says Professor Francis, "from ancient and venerable Europe, to the fresh and verdant fields and ever-during forests of America. What accession has been made to the treasures of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, what resources of the forests by the discovery of the new world, we can only in part conjecture. The extensive and well directed labours of Humboldt and Bonpland, give us some idea of the latent stores of nature; and an inference may be made, when we are told that the number of vegetable species collected in Brazil, and now in the hands of European botanists, is estimated at 14,000, of which number, not more than 500 were known at the commencement of the present century. We have good reason to conclude that the north has not withheld her proportion.

"Our demonstrative proofs may be found by an examination of the Floras of Pursh, of Bigelow, of Torrey, of Muhlenburgh, of Barton, of Elliot, and of Nuttall, with the species Plantarum of Linnæus.

"The colonial condition of this country prior to the revolution, was little favourable to the promotion of agriculture, or the cultivation of the arts. Accustomed to look up to the mother country as the seat of science, and the arbiter of her destiny, as well as for protection, the provident arts were neglected; and indeed, England could scarcely be supposed desirous of encouraging pursuits which would render her colonies less dependent. Nevertheless, we find that at even an early day; France, Spain, Holland, and England, sent out to this country men of science, to explore the vegetable and mineral riches of the Americans. The names of La Hontan, Herrera, Hennipen, Clavigero, Clayton, Catesby, the elder Michaux, Vanderdonk, Kalm, Wangenheim, Pownall, Schoepf, Coxe, Bannister, will at once occur.

"The testimony of these able and enlightened writers, is most respectful to the variety and value of the productions of America, and amply vindicates the equality of the western to the eastern hemisphere.

It was the good fortune of many of these eminent travellers, to find in their journeyings, kindred spirits, with souls like their own, alive to the wild and novel scenes of nature; who looked upon the objects which surrounded them, not merely as matters of curiosity, but of taste, of benefit to the arts culinary and remedial, of service in rural affairs and domestic economy. Hence to investigation of properties, the practicability of foreign naturalization became a subject of great consideration. To facilitate researches and inquiries of this kind, who could more advantageously be consulted than Mitchell, Clayton, Jefferson, and Walter, of Virginia; Garden, of South Carolina; Boardsley, of Maryland; Logan, Marshall, Bartram, Heckewelder, and Rush, of Pennsylvania; Colden and Livingston, of New York; Humphreys, of Connecticut; Holyoke and Cutler, of Massachusetts; and Belknap, of New Hampshire.

"In this reciprocity of intellectual pursuits, we find much to illustrate the history of the tobacco, the cotton plant, the sugar cane, the indigo, and many of our most efficient medicinal remedies derived from the vegetable kingdom. See further, the catalogue of plants which may be useful in America, drawn up by Ellis, the agent for West Florida, but whose services are, perhaps, better known to us, by his discovery of the art of preserving seeds during long voyages. These practical philosophers seem, without the lights of modern political economy, to have well understood, that the strength of a people mainly depended upon their agriculture, and that the introduction of but a single grain or plant, as the rice of Carolina, or the turnip of Norfolk, will sometimes totally change the face and condition of a country. There is a large amount of information on these matters to be derived from the Linnean correspondence lately published by Sir James Edward Smith. The zeal of the colonies to improve their natural advantages, was equally rare and effective.

"Dr. Garden, of South Carolina, tells Ellis in his letter, dated May, 1757: 'at this time we certainly send £150,000 sterling value of indigo to Britain, and we take the manufactures of Britain for every farthing of it.'

"An arithmetical and geographical distribution has been made of vegetables: the total number of species of plants known, or believed to exist, amounts to about 44,000; 38,000 of which have been described according to Humboldt and Brown; 7,000 of these belong to Europe. In temperate America, in both hemispheres, 4,000; in equinoctial America, 13,000; of these 17,000, there are probably described about 3,500. What a field of inquiry does this present to

our ingenious countrymen, and to the lover of philosophy every where? We need not marvel that Linnæus was desirous of visiting America.

"Catesby, in 1767, observed that a small spot of land in America, within less than half a century, furnished England with a greater variety of trees, than had been procured from all other parts of the world, for more than a thousand years past. How far there is reason for America to boast of her forests, we may learn from Michaux. 'It should be remarked,' says the younger Michaux, 'that the species of large trees are much more numerous in North America, than in Europe. In the United States there are more than one hundred and forty species that exceed thirty feet in height, all of which I have examined and described: in France, there are but thirty that attain to this size, of which eighteen enter into the composition of the forest, and seven only are employed in building.'

"A late English traveller, in his journey through the western states, remarks on Kentucky; 'the scenery is peculiarly fine, with attendant cultivation. Here the trees attain an altitude and a size unknown in Europe.' In short, every additional information we derive from the researches and enterprise of enlightened adventurers, gives us additional proofs of the extraordinary natural riches of our vegetable world. Mr. David Douglas, a practical botanist, who but very recently returned from an exploratory tour to the west coast of North America, has communicated to the Horticultural Society of London, riches hitherto unknown in the products of the vegetable kingdom. Among them we find two new species of pine, of more gigantic dimensions than any hitherto described in Europe or America. One species (*Pinus Douglasii*) grows to the height of two hundred and thirty feet, and is upwards of fifty feet in circumference at its base. It is stated to have a rough corky bark, from one inch to twelve inches thick. The leaves resemble those of the spruce, and the cones are small. The timber is heavy and of good quality. It was found growing on the banks of the Columbia, where it forms extensive forests, extending from the shores of the Pacific to the Stony Mountains. The other species (*Pinus Lambertiana*) was discovered in Northern California, where it is dispersed over large tracts of country. It is a most majestic tree. One specimen, which in consequence of its having blown down, Mr. Douglas was enabled to measure, was two hundred and fifteen feet in length, fifty-seven feet nine inches in circumference at three feet from the root, and seventeen feet five inches at one hundred and thirty-four feet. It is thought to be the largest mass of timber ever measured by man;

and yet some of the growing specimens of the same pine were evidently of greater elevation. A singular property of this tree is, that when the timber is partly burned, the turpentine loses its peculiar flavour, and assumes a sweetish taste. It is used by the natives as a substitute for sugar.

"A people so enlightened, scattered over a territory so widely extended, diversified by such great variety both in soil and climate, would naturally turn their attention to the augmentation of the native resources of the country, to the products of the soil, and their own better accommodation. To these circumstances we may attribute the origin of our numerous agricultural societies. The earliest association devoted to this express object, was the Agricultural Society of Pennsylvania, founded in 1785. This has proved the most successful institution of the kind in the United States, and has had great influence in ameliorating the condition of husbandry in our sister commonwealth.

"The introduction of plaster of Paris, which has had a most important and decided effect on the agriculture of America, under the direction of Judge Peters, is owing to this society. Let those who would distinctly learn the extent of obligation by this innovation, read the essay of this learned judge and practical farmer. While I bear my feeble testimony to the value of the services of the Pennsylvania Society, and look into their printed records for the materials of sound georgical science from the experienced Cooper, Mease, Holcombe, Haines, Pickering, and others; of Judge Peters, I may be permitted to take a passing notice. Arriving at adolescence during the troublesome period of the revolution, he embarked in it with characteristic zeal and intrepidity. On the termination of that momentous struggle, he commenced the study of the science of the law, and soon became so distinguished a member of the bar, that he was elevated at an early age to a seat on the bench of the supreme court. The intervals of a laborious profession, he devoted to the cultivation of that science, in honour of which we this day convene. To no individual is agriculture more indebted than to this distinguished man, and the volumes of the *Agricultural Transactions of Pennsylvania*, contain the evidences of his devotion and care. Long may his memory continue to be honoured among us, and may his example stimulate others to similar efforts in the cultivation of this noble science.

"The Agricultural Society of Berkshire is conspicuous among these establishments. Instituted by the public spirit and foresight of the venerable Elkanah Watson, it has become noted throughout our

states, for the wisdom and success of its operations. In the ancient and patriotic state of Virginia, the Albemarle Agricultural Society boasts as its active president and most efficient member, the former chief magistrate of our nation, the illustrious Madison.

"Of the vital importance of agriculture and horticulture, the legislature of the state of New York has always been duly sensible. At an early period, the members of that honourable body formed themselves into a society for the promotion of those branches of physical knowledge; and at least, this good has flowed from their zeal, that our state has been gradually stimulated to a degree of exertion and patronage in favour of these pursuits, greater than that of any other member of the confederacy.

"All our governors since the revolution, from the patriotic George Clinton to his enlightened relative, have, in their communications to our state councils, recommended this great interest to their protection. 'As agriculture is the source of our subsistence, (says the late De Witt Clinton, in his inaugural speech as governor of New York,) the basis of our strength, and the foundation of our prosperity, it is pleasing to observe the public attention awakened to its importance, and associations springing up in several counties, to cherish its interests.' Again he observes, 'this important pursuit is the foundation of wealth, power, and prosperity: it requires the energies of the mind, as well as the powers of the body: it demands the light of science to guide its progress, and the munificence of government to accelerate its movements, to extend its usefulness, and to diffuse its blessings.'

"Alive to these views, a society for the promotion of agriculture and the useful arts, was organized by our state authorities in 1791, and no one can read the memorials of their acts and proceedings, without feeling the obligation this state owes to the good sense and practical sagacity of the members of this early association, Rutherford, L'Hommedieu, Jones, De Witt, Kent, and the late Chancellor Livingston.

"At the earnest suggestion of the late Governor Clinton, an act was passed by the legislature of New York, in 1819, for the institution of a board of agriculture, and the sum of \$10,000 appropriated annually for six years, to further its various objects in the different counties of the state.

"Of the peculiar merits of the transactions of the agricultural board, let the learned and skilful in georgical science speak: But wherever agriculture is appreciated as an art, or understood as a science, the labours of Armstrong, Buel, De Witt, Bradley, Brown, Van Rensselaer, and Featherstonhaugh, will be recognised, and add to that spirit of emulation which

is indispensable to the cultivation of rural affairs. 'If the county of Schoharie alone,' says E. Watson, 'had received all this bounty, it would have fully justified the wisdom of our councils.'

"To render this hasty sketch of the progress of rural affairs less imperfect, it would become necessary to take some notice of the establishment of botanical and other horticultural institutions in this country; of the gardens of Parmentier, Prince, and others; but opportunity does not allow us at this time.

"In common with all lovers of nature, we must regret the destruction of the garden at Charleston, the earliest in these states, and formed by the elder Michaux: The Botanical Garden at Kingsess was long the theme of praise, and is still the resort of philosophy. This establishment was first carried into effect by the self-taught naturalist, John Bartram. Here, in a delightful situation, he brought together a large collection of American plants and exotics, and by extensive travelling through the country, from Canada to Florida, added to their number. So successful a botanist did he become, that Linnæus, in one of his letters, speaks of him as the greatest natural botanist in the world.

"He maintained an extensive correspondence with eminent men, both in his native country and abroad, and Gronovius and Kalm, Hans Sloane and Linnæus, were instructed by his discoveries. Subsequently the garden came under the superintendence of his son William, extensively known by his travels, who seems to have inherited the unwearied zeal and vigorous capacity of his father, for the sublime studies of nature. In 1801, the former distinguished president (Dr. David Hosack) of this society, instituted by individual effort, an extensive botanic garden in the vicinity of this city, which was purchased by the state in 1810. Flourishing under its founder, it perished under the neglect of the public. It is not for me to speak of the disgrace which the state sustains by its failure in this enterprise.

The New York Horticultural Society, though recently instituted, has not been without its profitable results. The products of our gardens, and the richness of our markets, indicate its salutary effects; which, I trust, are the harbingers of still more valuable and important advantages. It must be gratifying to those who have so assiduously laboured in the cause, that the services of this society have been placed in so favourable a light, by the president (Myron Holley, Esq.) of a kindred institution in the western part of this state. Indeed, this day's exhibition has regaled our senses with richer gifts than have been presented to us on any former occasion.

"This city is most happily situated for the purposes to which this society is devoted. Open in its intercourse to every part of the globe, it receives in its capacious bosom, the tribute of every climate and soil; and, under proper regulations, this institution may be the means of rendering the most ample returns. Moreover, by a proper understanding with our sister states, a profitable interchange may be established with every part of our country, and above all, the different counties of our state may be made to partake in all the rich variety of our natural and artificial culture. Already has one of our western counties imitated our example, and borne testimony to our success. May the example spread.—This society will not withhold its countenance, and whatever aid may lie within its power.

"It will not, perhaps, be deemed foreign to the objects of this discourse, to suggest to the proper authorities, the propriety of establishing in the vicinity of this city, or in whatever place may be deemed most appropriate, an institution for the promotion of Agriculture, in a mode somewhat analogous to that of the military academy at West Point. An experimental farm, with a school for instruction in the various branches of preliminary education and agriculture, the teachers paid by the state, the student at liberty either to make compensation by labour on the farm, or by pecuniary remuneration, for the expenses of his living; to each county the privilege afforded of sending a pupil for a certain number of years, and in proportion to its representation in the house of assembly, would probably be the best means of furnishing to each portion and section of the state, every improvement which either philosophy or experience might contribute to this science. How far the interference of this society in favour of such a project, might aid in its accomplishment, or whether indeed the suggestion is worthy of their consideration, I leave to the determination of those who possess a more intimate and practical acquaintance with these affairs. 'The art of agriculture, (says Sir John Sinclair,) can never be brought to its highest degree of perfection, or established on rational and unerring principles, unless by means of experiments accurately tried, and properly persevered in. The ardent inquirer has too long been obliged to rely on vague opinions and assertions, which have not been warranted by sufficient authority. It is full time, therefore, by the establishment of experimental farms, under the sanction, and at the expense of government, or by enabling the board of Agriculture to grant adequate premiums to deserving persons for new discoveries, to bring the art to as great perfection as possible, by ascertain-

ing the principles on which it ought to be conducted.'

"Whether the New York Horticultural Society will be content in the present sphere of its usefulness, a usefulness admitted by the unanimous approbation of our citizens, and lauded by the soundest farmers of our country, depends, as all future operations must do, upon the available means it may command, and the energy and cordial co-operation of its members. In wider sphere, objects of no less consideration, and, perhaps, of greater value, might justly demand a portion of its care, and the employment of its resources.

"Of the many subjects deserving particular inquiry, conspicuous among all others, would be a greater attention to trees, the ornament and defence of our nation ;

Decus et tutamen.

'With the tree,' says Pliny, 'we plough the ocean and the land, and construct our dwellings.'

"Neither the federal government, nor the several states, have reserved forests. The effect is already very sensibly felt in the large cities, where the complaint is every year becoming more serious, not only on account of the excessive dearness of fuel, but for the scarcity of timber. Even now inferior wood is frequently substituted for the white oak ; and the live oak, so highly esteemed in ship-building, will soon become extinct upon the lands of Georgia.

"Several admirable papers have been published on the best means of cultivating and preserving our fruit trees, by those of our countrymen who were most competent, from practical knowledge on the subject. The venerable Thacher has enriched this department of horticultural science with a sound volume, entitled the *Orchardist*. Among American physicians, Dr. Thacher ranks high, not only by his labours in his profession, but by various efforts in the departments of natural science. In his *Military Journal of American Independence*, his patriotism and his fidelity to truth are equally evident. But it is more pertinent to our present purpose to observe, that his *Orchardist* may be consulted by American farmers with advantage, and that by his recent work on *Bees*, he has evinced a degree of observation, which adds to his reputation as an admirer of nature. May I be permitted to add, that my own personal acquaintance with this exemplary individual, corresponds with the opinion I had formed of his character, and that he unites to the utmost urbanity of demeanour, the most valuable qualifications in his profession. Mr. Coxe, of New Jersey, in his *Treatise on Fruit Trees*, has displayed a research which

gives his labours a value not possessed by those of Forsyth ; and several reprints in this country of the *Agricultural Chemistry* of Sir Humphrey Davy, demonstrate that the philosophy of agriculture has become a study of deep interest to our American farmers.

"On the cultivation of the silk, a distinguished member of this society, Dr. Pascalis, has lately favoured us with the first portion of a treatise of great excellence, on the cultivation of the mulberry tree. Of the redeeming powers which this nation possesses in the consequences which must ensue from this culture, let the statesman and the political economist speak. Our foreign trade in silk costs this nation annually fourteen millions of dollars. In the opinion of some of our most capable judges, the culture of silk might become a subject of great importance among us, and thus the fair daughters of our land be decorated only in native charms ; for American beauty needs not the aid of foreign ornament. Within the past week we have been informed, that at a late meeting of the Agricultural Society of Ohio, beautiful specimens of silk, the growth and manufacture of that state, were exhibited.

"The cultivation of the vine is also here noticed, because the feasibility of the measure is most readily admitted, by those who know most on the subject. More than fifty years ago, a judicious practical observer urged its practicability upon the attention of this state, as one of peculiar importance, and entirely within their power. But without a longer enumeration, I will briefly add, that a philosophical inquiry might well be instituted into the expediency of reviving the cultivation of indigo, and the greater security to life and health, in deriving this article from the dry rather than from the wet leaf.

"In the culture of cotton and the sugar cane, long time as both these staples have occupied our attention, each challenges greater care and more correct principles. The invention of the cotton gin, for separating the seed from the cotton, and the application of improved machinery to the manufacture of the raw material, have given to this article its present value and importance : they are the great agents by which all the wonders of the cotton cultivation in the United States have been effected. In 1789, a member of the house of representatives of the United States, from South Carolina, stated, that the people of the southern states *intended* to cultivate cotton ; and added, if good seed could be procured, he hoped they might succeed. In 1817, the cotton exported amounted to 86,649,328 pounds. If Professor Olmsted's late experiments on cotton seed shall be proved

to be correct, we have still further inducements held out to us. We have good reason to believe that South Carolina alone may furnish three millions of bushels of cotton seed, which will command nearly a million of dollars for the manufacture of oil, when the principle of its manipulation shall be fully established. The nature, composition, and analysis of our soils, offers much for the talents of the most skillful. Dr. Macneven has already in part performed this service: it would be well for agriculture, that others would imitate his example, and rival his efforts.

"In an augmented sphere of action, this society would be obligated to throw light on those intricate subjects, the diseases of vegetable life and of domestic animals. Here is a vast and comparatively unexplored field, which, if properly investigated, would give to the husbandman a triumph for his toils, which he despairs of ever possessing in the present condition of our knowledge. The agriculturist who stocks his farm with foreign breeds, or cultivates our domestic animals with proper solicitude, would derive results from studies connected with the economy of animals and their disorders, and the comparative illustrations adduced from vegetable life, that could not fail to secure the most desirable results. We have reason to suppose that these pursuits were cherished with special regard in the early state of husbandry and rural economy.

"The contested points concerning seedlings and ingraftings, demand our severest scrutiny. Mr. Knight's inferences, that those fruit trees which have for more than a century been propagated by ingrafting, and not from seeds, are liable to canker, and are not worth cultivation, have recently been ascertained to be too well founded. The golden pipin is fast wearing out, and the winter pears of England have nearly disappeared. But fortunately, they (the English) have lately procured from our country, by means of our late president, (Dr. David Hosack,) the seckle pear, already of extensive growth among them, a fruit which they pronounce of excellent flavour. I saw that the plane trees (*American platanus occidentalis*) in the gardens of Chelsea, Oxford, and Cambridge, were all of them simultaneously in a state of decay, though they had flourished in these respective places for a long series of years. The conservators of those gardens, with all their philosophy, were unable to explain the cause. Do the products of grafting die with the parent stock? Miller long ago observed, that herbaceous plants propagated by cuttings, became sterile in a few years. Are there disorders of an epidemical and hereditary nature among trees and vegetables? What is the cause of the calamity which

has lately befallen the venerable elm, both in this country and in Europe? Flax, so much neglected at present, might, with proper attention, become one of the most productive and profitable occupations of husbandry. It is one of the labyrinths of our policy, to account for the present neglect on this subject.

"That our agriculturists have the means, under improved and more extensive regulations, to secure to themselves and to their descendants, the blessings now in anticipation by such investigations, is seen in the discoveries and suggestions they have already made. We need most the precepts of those who practice on our own soil; and after having perused the works of Dickson, and Marshall, and Hunter, and Abercrombie, we turn with a more solid, because a more practical satisfaction, to the pages of our own writers; the New England Farmer of Deane, the American Gardener of Fessenden, the Kitchen Garden of Wilson, and the Essays of Arator, by Taylor, of Virginia. In addition, the New England Farmer, by Fessenden; the New York Farmer, under the patronage of this society; the American Farmer of Skinner, and other periodical journals, by their mutual co-operation and rivalry, contribute to illustrate and extend the principles and improvements of American horticulture.

"I am proud that my native state has not been behind hand in furnishing her quota of distinguished writers and patrons of agriculture.

"The late Chancellor Livingston will ever be cherished by New York, as one of her most gifted sons and accomplished agriculturists. After devoting his youth and manhood to the defence of his country in the hour of peril, and his maturer years to rear her civil institutions, asking permission to retire from political tumult and contention, he taught our hardy farmers how to till the soil with most profit, and what herds might most advantageously graze upon her lawns. Of Dr. Mitchill, of this city, it would be unjust to omit his name in the list of those who, by their talents and knowledge, have contributed to encourage a taste among us for the beauties of nature. His versatile talents, his various knowledge, his urbanity and courtesy, are known to all of you; but I can not omit the opportunity to say, that amidst the bustle and business of a commercial metropolis, surrounded by the zealous and exclusive devotees of wealth, he has nobly pursued the path of science, generously pointed out the way to our youth, and cheered them in their course. If there be among us any taste for Natural History, to him are we in a great degree indebted for it; and that excellent institution, the Lyceum of Natural History

of New York, attests his activity and zeal, and contains the recorded evidences of his science.

"There still resides among us another distinguished citizen, (Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer,) whose name reminds us of all that is magnificent in patronage, and generous in hospitality; and whose exertions in the interests of agriculture, have far exceeded all that has been allotted to any other individual of our state. Omitting as irrelevant to our purpose, his labours in the councils of the nation, I shall only at present point out to you, countries explored, and institutions for agriculture founded, by his wealth, and reared by his care. Long may this illustrious citizen live to exhibit to our people, a benignant example of the civic virtues of opulence devoted to the benefit of the indigent, and of patronage bestowed on the arts of agriculture.

"In the absence of all aid from the state, no means can be devised more appropriate to those great undertakings, than the union of those devoted to their accomplishment. Most happy have been the results of the labours of those who have united in efforts requiring co-operation; stimulated by mutual zeal, and rewarded by mutual success.

"Is it an unwarrantable extravagance; to anticipate that America will become the chosen residence of agriculture, and the rites of Flora. Although in the infancy of our condition, commerce, and more recently, manufactures, have gained a supremacy; and the former, as contributory most to its support, may also expect to attain most of its protection; the claims of agriculture will ultimately prevail in a country of such boundless extent, and which no less boasts independence on the rest of the world by the multiplicity of its resources, than it sets defiance to their power, by the vigour and valour of its population. We trust it never can be said, that a people who derived their origin from the most enlightened of modern nations, in an age fertile beyond all former example in genius and improvement, who were impelled by elevated and generous incentives in their adventure, and when checked in their enterprise, turned their arms with dauntless boldness, and final success, upon their unnatural parents; who inhabit a country which contains within itself, the productions of every soil and climate, become recreant to its own honour and greatness, and false to its own high destiny. The omens are auspicious; and when in the course of time, and the progress of society, her population shall have become augmented, and her resources developed; when the grandeur and sublimity of her native scenery, and the magnificence of her rivers shall have been appropriated and cultivated, and the fairy

hand of civilization have enchanted and enlivened her woods and forests, admiring nations will yield that tribute to her moral greatness, which they had before rendered to the arm of her physical power.

"The present age can alone be supposed to have been fully aware of the advantages of science, or to have improved it with the proper aids of experiment and art. In Great Britain have those facilities combined, which were necessary to the development of its principles. In having recourse to her science, we do but acknowledge her greater maturity in those arts, in which it will be our pride to join hereafter in mutual emulation. The obligation will be reciprocal, and she is already indebted to us for a gift more precious than the mines of Potosi.

"Of the moral purity and dignity inherent in the cultivation of the earth, I need not here insist at length. It is too obvious to be misunderstood, and is illustrated in the life and writings of many of the most distinguished names in our own, as well as in foreign nations. I will merely allude to the fact, that a garden was the seat of man in his state of innocence, and that it was in a garden that Plato and Aristotle instructed their disciples in sublime lessons of wisdom, inferior only to the truths which revelation has brought to light. And when majestic Rome subjugated and civilized the barbarous nations around her, by the vigour of her arms and the triumphs of her policy, the commanders of her victorious legions were chosen from the cultivators of her fields.

"In our own nation," concludes Dr. Francis, "the father of his country left reluctantly the farm for the field of battle, and having overcome the enemies of freedom, returned to the labours of agriculture. And when a second time his services were demanded, having filled the measure of his own and his country's glory, he again resumed those peaceful pursuits which it was his delight to cherish, and which nothing but his country's call could have induced him to forego. Thence he was summoned by his Maker to a higher scene; and although death on the field of battle is more consonant to human pride, to surrender our life at his bidding, is more agreeable to the wish of our Maker. Thus it was ordered by his Creator, that man in a state of innocence, should exercise the arts of agriculture for his enjoyment, and in a state of trial, its labour for his security. The foundations of our republic were cemented in blood; but let us trust that its supremacy will be reared by the innocent arts of peace."

* See Address delivered before the New York Horticultural Society, at their anniversary, 1829. By John W. Francis, M. D., &c. New York, Conrad, 8vo. 1830.

CHAPTER II.

MANUFACTURES.

THE subject on which we now enter is one, the importance of which is too deeply felt by the mass of the community, both in America and Great Britain, especially at the present period, to require any prefatory observations to attract attention to it. The manufactures of the United States, if not altogether of recent origin, are of surprising recent growth. During their colonial state, the British government discouraged to the utmost every tendency to manufacture even comparatively trifling articles: with other articles, the manufacture of hats was entirely prohibited.* The cessation of intercourse between the two countries during the revolutionary period, gave the first great impulse to the manufacturing principle, and left the states no longer dependent on Britain for several of the minor articles of manufacture. "On the return of peace, in 1783," says Mr. Everett, in his admirable address before the American Institute, October 14, 1831,† "the influx of foreign goods, in many respects prejudicial to the country, proved in the highest degree disastrous to its mechanical and manufacturing industry. The want of one national government, and the division of the powers of government among thirteen sovereignties, made it impossible, by a uniform revenue system, to remedy the evil. The states generally attempted, by their separate navigation laws, to secure their trade to their own vessels; but the rivalry and selfish policy of some states counteracted the efforts of others, and eventually threw almost the whole navigation of the country into foreign hands. So low had it sunk in Boston, that in 1788 it was thought

expedient, on grounds of patriotism, to get up a subscription to build three ships; and this incident, proving nothing but the poverty and depression of the town, was hailed as one which would give renewed activity to the industry of the tradespeople and mechanics of Boston! The same class of citizens, and the manufacturers in general, in the state of Massachusetts, petitioned the government of that state, by bounties, imposts, and prohibitions, to protect their industry. This prayer was granted, and a tariff of duties laid, which, in some points,—that of coarse cottons for instance,—was higher than any duty laid by congress before the war of 1812. But the state of the country rendered these laws of little avail. Binding in Boston, they were of no validity in Rhode Island; and what was subject to duty in New York, might be imported free in Connecticut and New Jersey. The state of the industry of the country was depressed to a point of distress unknown in the midnight of the revolution. The shipping had dwindled to nothing. The manufacturing establishments were kept up by bounties, and by patriotic associations and subscriptions, and even the common trades were threatened with ruin. It was plain, for instance, that, in the comparative condition of the United States and Great Britain, not a hatter, a boot or shoe maker, a saddler, or a brassfounder, could carry on his business, except in the coarsest and most ordinary productions of their various trades, under the pressure of foreign competition. Thus was presented the extraordinary and calamitous spectacle of a successful revolution wholly failing of its ultimate object. The people of America had gone to war, not for names, but for things: it was not merely to change a government, administered by kings, princes, and ministers, for a govern-

* "While the colonies were increasing in population, and endeavouring to secure to themselves, in some degree, the benefits of their own industry and economy, complaints were constantly made to parliament, by interested individuals, that the colonists were not only carrying on trade, but were setting up manufactures detrimental to Great Britain. These complaints produced an order of the house of commons, in 1731, directing the Board of Trade to inquire and report, 'with respect to laws made, manufactures set up, or trade carried on, detrimental to the trade, navigation, or manufactures of Great Britain.' In a report made, in pursuance of this order, the commissioners found that certain trades carried on, and manufactures set up in the colonies, were injurious to the trade, navigation, and manufactures of the parent country. Among the manufactures, were enumerated those of wool and flax, iron, paper, hats, and leather. The Company of Hatters in London complained that great quantities of hats were made in New England, and exported to Spain, Portugal, and the British West India islands; and through their influence, an act of parliament was procured, not only to prevent the exportation of hats from the colonies to foreign countries, and from being carried from one plantation to another, but to restrain, to a certain extent, the manufacture of them in the colonies. In 1732, hats were prohibited from being shipped, or even laden upon a horse, cart, or other carriage, with an intent to be exported to any other plantation, or to any place whatever. At the same

time, no hatter in the colonies was allowed to employ more than two apprentices at once, or to make hats, unless he had served an apprenticeship to the trade seven years, and no black or negro was permitted to work at the business of making hats.

"The manufacturers of iron next claimed their share in the benefits to be derived from the colonies. They were willing the poor colonists should reduce the iron ore, with which their land abounded, into pigs, and even bar iron, and that the same be brought to their doors, duty free, provided they could monopolize the manufacture of it beyond this incipient stage. In the year 1750, parliament permitted pig and bar iron to be imported from the colonies into London duty free, but prohibited the erection or continuance of any mill or other engine for *slitting* or *rolling* iron, or any *plating* forge, to work with a tilt hammer, or any furnace for making steel in the colonies, under the penalty of two hundred pounds. More effectually to carry this act into execution, every such mill, engine, plating forge, and furnace, was declared a common nuisance, and the governors of the colonies, on the information of two witnesses on oath, were directed to cause the same to be abated within thirty days, or to forfeit the sum of 500*l*."—*Pittkin's Civil and Political History*, vol. i. p. 101, 103.

† We should recommend all our readers who feel interested in the question of "free trade," to procure this judicious and lucid discourse.

ment administered by presidents, and secretaries, and members of congress; it was to redress their own grievances, to improve their own condition, to throw off the burden which the colonial system laid on their industry. To attain these objects, they endured incredible hardships, and bore and suffered almost beyond the measure of humanity. And when their independence was attained, they found it was a piece of parchment. The arm which had struck for it in the field, was palsied in the workshop; the industry which had been burdened in the colonies, was crushed in the free states; and, at the close of the revolution, the mechanics and manufacturers of the country found themselves, in the bitterness of their hearts, independent—and ruined. They looked round them in despair. They cast about for means of relief, and found none, but in a plan of a voluntary association throughout the continent, and an appeal to the patriotism of their fellow-citizens. Such an association was formed in Boston in 1787 or 1788, and a circular letter was addressed by them to their brethren throughout the union. The proposal was favourably received, and in some of the cities zealously acted upon; but, unsupported by a general legislation, its effects must at best have been partial and inadequate. But before our meritorious citizens had discovered this, by sad experience, a new and un hoped-for remedy for their sufferings had been devised. The day-star of the constitution arose; and of all the classes of the people of America, to whose hearts it came as the harbinger of blessings long hoped for and long despaired of, most unquestionably the tradesmen, mechanics, and manufacturers, hailed it with the warmest welcome. It had in fact grown out of the all-pervading inefficiency and wretchedness of the revenue system, which had been felt in ruin by them more than by any other class."

Under the new constitution, a system of revenue laws, which afforded considerable protection to the manufacturers, was adopted; and to these, combined with the effect of the embargo of 1807, and the subsequent war, the present manufacturing system of the United States may be said to owe its rise; for the progressive enactments of protecting duties since the close of the war may be truly said to have been originated by the amount of capital involved and labour employed previously. Before we notice the particular species of manufactures now carried on, a general sketch of their progress, and the legislative measures by which they have been fostered, will not only afford matter of interest to the political economist, but will enable those engaged in mercantile pursuits to form a tolerably correct idea of the course

which will probably be pursued in future by the United States.

The first attempt to obtain a general account of the state of manufactures throughout the United States, was made by the government in 1810. The marshals of the several states, and the secretaries of the territories, and their assistants, were directed, pursuant to instructions from the secretary of the treasury, to make returns of the manufacturing establishments, and of the manufactures within their respective districts, territories, and divisions, and these were transmitted to the secretary of the treasury, for the purpose of being laid before congress. Some elaborate and valuable returns were made and transmitted, though the greater number of them were irregular, and evidently very deficient; those which came from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, were the most complete. Notwithstanding, however, the imperfection of the returns, the agents reported 1,776 carding machines, by which 7,417,216 pounds of materials had been carded; 1,682 fulling mills, and 5,452,960 yards, which had been fullled; 122,647 spindles; 325,392 looms; 153 iron furnaces, and 53,908 tons of iron manufactured; 330 forges, which made 24,541 tons of bar iron; 316 trip hammers; 34 rolling and slitting mills, which required 6,500 tons of iron; 410 naileries, in which 15,727,914 pounds of nails had been made; 4,316 tanneries, producing 2,608,240 pounds of leather; 383 flaxseed oil mills, making 770,583 gallons of oil; 141,191 distilleries, producing 22,977,167 gallons of spirits from grain, and 2,827,625 gallons from molasses; 132 breweries, in which 182,690 barrels of beer had been made; 89 carriage makers, who made 2,413 carriages; 33 sugar refineries, in which 7,867,211 pounds of refined sugar had been manufactured; 179 paper mills, furnishing 425,521 reams of paper; 4 stainers, who stained and stamped 148,000 pieces of paper; 22 glass works, which furnished 4,967,000 square feet of window glass; 194 potteries; 82 snuff mills; 208 gunpowder mills, in which 1,397,111 pounds of powder had been made.

The following summary of the value of the manufactures of the United States is founded on the above returns:—

	Value in Dollars.
1 Goods manufactured by the loom, from cotton, wool, flax, hemp, and silk, including stockings	39,497,057
2 Other goods spun from the five materials above enumerated	2,052,120
3 Instruments and machinery manufactured, estimated at 186,650 dollars; carding, fulling, and floorcloth stamping by machinery, estimated at 5,957,816 dollars	6,144,466

	Value in Dollars.
4 Hats of wool, fur, &c., and from mixtures thereof	4,323,744
5 Manufactures of iron	14,364,526
6 Ditto of gold, silver, set work, mixed metals, &c.	2,483,912
7 Ditto of lead	325,560
8 Soap, tallow candles, and wax, spermaceti, and whale oil	1,766,292
9 Manufactures of hides and skins	17,935,477
10 Ditto from seeds	858,509
11 Ditto from grain, fruit, and case liquors, distilled and fermented.	16,528,207
12 Dry manufactures from grain, exclusively of flour, meal, &c.	75,766
13 Manufactures of wood	5,554,708
14 Ditto of essences and oils, and from wood	179,150
15 Refined sugars	1,415,724
16 Manufactures of paper, pasteboard, cards, &c.	1,939,285
17 Ditto of marble, stone, and slate	462,115
18 Ditto of glass	1,047,004
19 Earthen manufactures	259,720
20 Tobacco ditto	1,260,378
21 Drugs, dye stuffs, paints, and dyeing	500,382
22 Cables and cordage	4,243,168
23 Manufactures of hair	129,731
24 Miscellaneous manufactures	4,347,611
	<hr/>
	Dollars 127,694,602

Mr. Tench Coxe, of Philadelphia, to whom the secretary of the treasury, in 1810, confided the arrangement of the returns of the marshals, &c., concerning the manufactures of the United States, in addition to the above estimates, observes, "From a consideration of all the reported details, and by a valuation of the manufactures which are entirely omitted, or imperfectly returned, for 1810, the foregoing amount of 127,694,602 dollars, is extended to 172,762,676 dollars; the sum last mentioned does not embrace the doubtful articles. The doubtful branches include such manufactures as have a very near relation in their character to, and connexion with, agricultural pursuits, among which are the following; viz. cotton pressing, flour and meal, the mills for grinding grain, the barrels for containing the articles manufactured, malt, saw mills, horse mills, pot and pearl ashes, maple sugar, sugar from the cane, molasses, rosin, pitch, slate, bricks, tiles, saltpetre, indigo, red ochre, yellow ochre, hemp and hemp mills, fisheries, lime, grinding of plaster of Paris, &c. &c.; all of which are estimated at 25,850,795 dollars, making the aggregate value of the manufactures, of every description, within the United States, for 1810, 198,613,471 dollars."

The preceding was the state of American manufactures previously to the war, which lasted from 1812 to 1815. During this period, the country was in the same state with regard to manufactures, as though they had been protected by duties absolutely prohibitory, and, consequently, a most amazing increase of the capital and labour engaged in manu-

factures accrued, especially in the staple articles of cottons, woollens, and iron. The capital employed in various manufactures at this period has been estimated at 1000 millions of dollars; but on the return of peace, the influx of European goods reduced the prices nearly 50 per cent., and closed, probably, one half the manufacturing establishments of the Union. This circumstance alone could not fail to raise the question of the propriety of some additional protecting enactments being passed; but the effect of the British corn laws on both the agriculture and commerce of America, tended yet more than the distressed state of her manufactures to render popular the imposition of protecting duties; and in 1816 a considerable increase of duties on many articles of foreign commerce was enacted by congress. A few years' experience, however, under the uninterrupted operation of the commercial regulations of the two countries, demonstrated that inequalities still existed, and produced the conviction, that a further modification of the revenue laws was necessary. The people themselves took the lead, and gave the impulse to congress. An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1822. In 1824, the attempt succeeded, and various augmentations in the imposts were made, with the view of protecting American manufactures, and to secure to them the domestic market. On some articles of foreign manufacture, and more especially on the great British staple of cotton cloths, duties were imposed almost prohibitory, except on those of the finer kind; and the experience of a few years established the ability of the Americans to supply themselves with manufactured cottons, upon better terms than they could be procured from England. On woollen manufactures, the duty imposed in 1824 proved inadequate for protection; and the languishing state of that manufacture indicated the ruin of those engaged in it, without further legislative encouragement. Application was accordingly made to the nineteenth congress, for an increase of duties on imported woollens. After a long and animated discussion, the bill received the sanction of the house, 106 to 95; but was laid on the table (which was equivalent to rejection) in the senate, by the casting vote of the vice-president. Steps were immediately taken to bring the subject again before congress; and a general convention of delegates from the states was held at Harrisburgh, with the view of concentrating public opinion, and of obtaining an harmonious co-operation in the measures to be taken for the encouragement of domestic manufactures. Contrary to general expectation, no notice was taken of the subject in the opening message to the following congress; but in the annual report from the secretary of the

treasury, on the 10th of December, 1827, an elaborate view was taken of the manufactures of the country, and their encouragement and protection warmly recommended. "The time that has passed since the tariff of 1824," says the secretary, Mr. Rush, "has been sufficient to show, that the duties fixed by it upon these articles* are not adequate to the measure of success in producing them at home, which their cardinal importance merits. A change, since 1824, in the laws of Great Britain, in regard to those first named, has also rendered almost abortive the provisions of the tariff in their favour. It belongs to the purpose of this report, which looks to the encouragement of the national industry in preference to any that is foreign, here to state, that, for a period of six successive years, ending with 1826, the value of woollen goods and cotton goods imported into the United States from the country just named, exceeds one hundred millions of dollars; and the value of iron, and of articles manufactured from iron, seventeen millions. During one of these years, the woollens exported from that country to this exceeded the amount of those exported to the whole of Europe put together. For the means of exchange against an amount of foreign manufactures so great, the United States have had three principal staples of their soil, viz. wheat-flour, tobacco, and cotton. The first of these the same country has, by her laws, positively or virtually excluded, during the same period of years, from consumption within her dominions. The second she has admitted, under a duty of more than 600 per cent. The third she has received with little scruple. She has known how to convert it into a means of wealth to her own industrious people, greater than had ever before, in her whole annals, been derived from any single commodity. This she has done, first by working it up for her home use upon the largest scale, and, next, by making it subserve the interests of her foreign trade. The complete establishment of American manufactures in wool, cotton, iron, and hemp, is believed to be of very high moment to the nation. All the principal raw materials for carrying them on are at hand, or could be commanded. The skill for imparting excellence to them would come at the proper time. There would be no want of labour, to which an abundant water-power, as well as artificial machinery, would every where be lending its assistance. Capital would be found for investment in them. If their establishment, by the immediate protection of the laws, should, at first, raise the cost of the articles, and, for a succession of years, keep it up,

a true forecast, looking to the future, rather than adapting all its calculations to the existing hour, would not hesitate to embrace the protecting policy. If it were a question of fostering manufactures for which the circumstances of the country yielded not abundant facilities, then indeed could success be accomplished only by indefinite forcing, to be followed by indefinite monopoly in price. Such is manifestly not the case. Manufactures of fine cotton, of woollens of almost all descriptions, of iron articles, and of those from hemp, have already arrived at a point, in the United States, justifying the conclusion that some additional encouragement from congress is alone wanting to fix them upon lasting and profitable foundations. This additional encouragement is invoked as a proper offset to the high degree of success which foreign industry has attained in these branches by the effect of capital and skill, long pre-existing in older nations, and long aided by their laws. These are advantages not intrinsic, but accidental. Yet they cannot be countervailed but by efficient legislative aid to our own establishments in the beginning."

Early in the session, the committee on manufactures entered on the investigation of the subject; and to them the petitions which flowed in from all portions of the country, both for and against an increase of duties, were referred. The resolutions also which were transmitted to congress from the legislatures of Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, in favour of an augmentation of duties, and those from Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, in opposition to that measure, were referred to the same committee. On the 31st of December, the chairman of the committee, Mr. Mallary, by direction, submitted a resolution, that the committee be vested with power to send for persons and papers; which was, after a long debate, agreed to. The committee, thus authorized, issued subpoenas for twelve witnesses, who were examined, together with nine who voluntarily attended, and seven members of the house. The examination was principally directed to ascertaining the cost of manufacturing iron, steel, wool, hemp, flax, sail duck, spirits from grain and molasses, glass, cotton, and paper; the capabilities of the country to manufacture them, at that time; and whether any alteration of the duties was required to protect the manufacturer against foreign competition. After four weeks spent in examining the various witnesses, the committee, on the 31st of January, made a report, accompanied by the testimony taken, and a bill, in which an increase of various duties was recommended, and which, after long discussion in both houses,

* Manufactures from woollens, cotton, and iron.

and receiving several amendments, was passed into a law.* This measure was not only violently opposed in both houses, by the representatives of the southern states, but after it had become a law, the vehemence of opposition was still more manifest among the inhabitants, and even in the state legislatures of that section of the union. The question still continues to occupy the first place in the discussion of the periodical press, the language of which is still occasionally so violent as almost to indicate the probability of separation between the southern and northern states, if the tariff is persisted in.

It would be incompatible with the limits, if not irrelevant to the purpose of this work, to enter into any lengthened discussion of the now virulently-contested question of free trade, as applicable to the United States. With all the light which political economists have thrown on the subject, (and for some modifications of non-intercourse laws the nations are certainly indebted to their labours,) the scheme of establishing a general system of free trade, in the present condition of the world, seems to be utterly hopeless; and this being the case, it appears to us, and we apprehend it will to every one who follows candidly

* The bill, as originally proposed, was as follows:—(The final result will be apparent in the table of duties.) On iron in bars, not manufactured by rolling, 1 cent per lb.—On iron in bars, manufactured by rolling, 37 dollars per ton.—On pig iron, 62 1-2 cents per cwt.—On iron and steel wire, not exceeding No. 14, 6 cents per lb.; exceeding No. 14, 10 cents per lb.—On round iron, of three sixteenths to eight sixteenths of an inch in diameter; on nail rods, slit or rolled; on sheet and hoop iron; on iron slit or rolled for bands, scroll, or casement rods, 3 1-2 cents per lb.—On adzes, axes, drawing and cutting knives, sickles, sithes, spades, shovels, squares, (of iron or steel,) bridle-bits, steelyards and scale-beams, socket chisels, vices, and screws for wood, 10 per cent. ad valorem beyond the present duty.—On steel, 1 dollar 50 cents per cwt.—On raw wool, 7 cents per lb.; and, in addition thereto, 40 per cent. ad valorem, until June 30th, 1829; from which time an additional duty of 5 per cent. ad valorem shall be imposed annually, until it shall amount to 50 per cent. All wool imported in the skin to be estimated as to weight and value, and to pay the same rate of duty as other wool.—On woollen manufactures, of which the actual value shall not exceed 50 cents the square yard, 16 cents duty the square yard.—On all of which the value is between 50 and 100 cents the square yard, 40 cents duty the square yard.—On all between 1 dollar and 2 dollars 50 cents, a duty of 1 dollar the square yard.—On all between 2 dollars 50 cents and 4 dollars, a duty of 40 per cent. ad valorem to be levied, and the goods to be valued at 4 dollars the square yard.—On all exceeding 4 dollars, a duty of 45 per cent. ad valorem.—On woollen blankets, hosiery, mits, gloves, and bindings, 35 per cent. ad valorem.—On raw hemp and raw flax, 45 dollars the ton, until June 30th, 1829, and then an additional duty of 5 dollars annually, until the whole shall amount to 60 dollars per ton.—On sail duck, 9 cents the square yard.—On molasses, 10 cents per gallon.—On all imported spirits, 10 cents per gallon, in addition to the present duty.—On window glass, above ten inches by fifteen, 5 dollars for every 100 square feet, and charging all window glass imported in sheets, uncut, with the same rate of duty.—On phials and bottles, not exceeding the capacity of six ounces each, 1 dollar 75 cents per gross.—All cotton cloths (except nankeens from China) of which the cost, together with the custom-house additions, shall be less than 35 cents

the path of investigation through which the claims of this work have necessarily led us, that there is no nation to which laws restricting the admission of foreign manufactures, if judiciously arranged, can be more beneficial than the United States. In considering this subject, those who, on either side of the Atlantic, have charged the American legislature with folly, overlook a very important circumstance, arising from the extent of space, and the variety of climate embraced by the limits of the republic, namely, that, to a vast extent, trade, which to other nations is a foreign trade, is to the United States domestic; for instance, as far as commerce is affected, Louisiana and Georgia are at least as foreign in relation to New York or Massachusetts, as Spain or Turkey are to Great Britain:† consequently, the relative importance of foreign commerce, the interests of which are mainly impeded by restrictive laws, must ever be less than in the case of other nations; while, on the other hand, the existence of a manufacturing population must tend to promote domestic cultivation, trade, and commerce, to an extent proportionably greater than would be effected in other kingdoms.‡ With respect to the numerous other circumstances which must be

the square yard, shall be deemed to cost 35 cents, and duty charged accordingly.

† It is true that, including her colonial possessions, the same remark applies to Great Britain; and, on this very ground mainly rests that "British system" of protective duties.

‡ This point is well stated by Mr. Rush, secretary of the treasury, in his report to congress, in 1817. "The United States," says Mr. R. "are distinguished in this respect, by a lot as peculiar as it is favourable. Nothing can exceed the inducements to various and subdivided traffic, that abound within their own limits. It is here that the economist may hope to see exemplified every essential advantage of the foreign and home trade, blended in the same system, moulded by the same policy, and freed from the jealousies that have frustrated and must ever continue to frustrate, the benevolent, but impracticable theories of commercial intercourse as between distinct nations. It is not merely that the extent of climate and soil in the union are adapted to all pursuits that can give activity and fruitfulness to industry under every form. These are but natural advantages. It is the exchange of the products of industry upon terms the most desirable, and the most gainful, throughout so ample an extent of home dominion, that will exalt such natural advantages to the utmost. It is here that commerce may be carried on freed from every restriction, and probably for the first time, upon a political and geographical theatre so expanded. The appropriate industry of each portion may go into unfettered action; of Louisiana and of Massachusetts, of Georgia and Rhode Island. A vast home trade, resembling foreign trade, as well by intervening distances as the nature of its exchanges, will be prosecuted, whether along the ocean, or the water highways of the interior, untrammelled by tolls or imposts of any kind, and without even the necessity of custom-houses; or giving to such establishments uses only formal. Such a trade can only, however, have its proper value by the extensive success of manufactures. There is nothing else that can impart to labour, in the United States, the necessary variety in its objects, and the necessary regularity and fulness in the demand. There is nothing else can adequately augment and diversify the list of commodities for which the necessities and enjoyments of improved life are ever making calls. There is nothing else will raise up towns on the surface of our territory, at

taken into account before it can be affirmed that any nation can conduct some of the principal branches of manufacture at all, and still more to advantage, it so happens that the United States possess, in a pre-eminent degree, the great requisites of manufactures—water, coal, iron, cheap provisions, and an intelligent and active population: and that in such circumstances they should feel a desire to manufacture their own raw produce, and to be enabled to do so by protection from foreign competition, to say the least, does not appear either unnatural or unreasonable. The general principle of protecting duties being admitted, however, its application to any particular branch of manufacture must depend on its own separate merits, and upon the commercial arrangements existing with other countries. As an example of the latter case, we may cite the duty levied on American flour in British ports, a reduction of which might justify the Americans in diminishing the rate of duty on British cottons or woollens, as a benefit would accrue equal to, or perhaps greater than, the loss incurred. We apprehend the history of American manufactures and commerce will fully sustain the preceding observations.

Having thus briefly noticed the circumstances which have conduced to the establishment of manufactures in the United States, we shall lay before our readers such information respecting the present state of the principal branches of manufacture as we have been able to collect from public documents and other sources. As, however, there are no annual returns made to the government of the gross quantity manufactured of every article, but only of the exports, which comprise a very small portion of the whole, the information we can present, while important, will be inevitably but partial and incomplete.

In the United States, as in Great Britain, the manufacture of cotton has outstripped all its competitors, and claims the first notice: on this subject we shall avail ourselves of information contained in a very able work now publishing at Philadelphia.* The progress of this manufacture, as might be supposed, has partaken of the characteristic energy and vigour of the country. It is only, however, since the introduction of the power-loom, that it can be considered as having been established on a permanent and useful basis; the scarcity of skilful weavers, and the high prices of weaving, had been found serious obstacles to its success, which has been, therefore, se-

cured only by this invention. The first successful experiment with this instrument was made at Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1815, on the coarser fabrics; but so rapid has been the extension of the manufacture, that, besides furnishing the United States with its full supply of the more staple productions, and a considerable export of coarse goods, the beautiful prints of Manchester and Glasgow are imitated in great perfection; and more than half the consumption of the country, in this important branch, is supposed to be now furnished from native industry. The actual extent of this manufacture in the United States, at the present time, (1830,) is matter of estimate only; a very moderate one is believed to be the consumption of 35,000,000 pounds of cotton per annum, manufactured into 140,000,000 of yards of cloth, of which about 10,000,000 are exported, and upwards of 20,000,000 printed; the value, twelve to fourteen millions of dollars, and employing a capital of twenty-five to thirty millions. Several improvements, originating in the country, have been introduced into the manufacture, and the whole process is believed to be performed to as great advantage as in any part of the world. The cottons exported are mostly of a coarse fabric, which are taking the place of the cottons of India, and are known abroad by the name of *American domestics*. They have been extensively imitated by the English, and a competition is going on, between the manufacturers of the two countries, for the possession of the foreign markets. It is thought that the possession of the raw material on the spot, and the use of the comparatively cheap moving power of water instead of steam, with the proximity of the great markets of South America, are advantages in favour of the United States, more than sufficient to counterbalance some disadvantage in the higher cost of machinery, and, as is commonly supposed, in the higher wages of labour. But the labour in the cotton mills producing these goods being wholly performed by females, it has been ascertained not to be materially dearer than the same description of work in England; and as the same labour is not easily applicable to any other branch of industry, it would seem not improbable that the United States will ultimately supply the foreign market with the coarser cottons. The great profits attending this manufacture, in the first instance, attracted to it, in a very short period, a large amount of capital, and produced a violent competition: the consequence has

every commanding point, without which land can never be made to yield the full amount of which it is susceptible, or the farmer be sure of prices steady and remunerating. It hardly need be added, how a course of policy that would infuse augmented vigour

and briskness into a coasting trade, embracing in its range nearly one half of a continent, would tend to enlarge, in all ways, the essential foundation of naval strength."

* *Encyclopædia Americana*, vol. iii. p. 573.

been, a sudden reaction, and great depression of prices, producing considerable embarrassment in those establishments operating with inadequate capital, and unable to meet the shock of impaired credit. But, although individuals may meet with heavy losses by imprudent speculations, there is no reason to distrust the eventual success of the manufacture, which must soon find relief under the increasing consumption of the country. The largest establishments for the manufacture of cotton in the United States, at present, (1830,) are at Dover, New Hampshire; Lowell, Massachusetts; Pawtucket, Rhode Island; Paterson, New Jersey; and in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia and Baltimore. The reduction of price in the raw material, which is now of only one third the value of 1815, has still more extended the manufacture, which, in many instances, supersedes coarse linens, and even hempen sail cloth.*

Woollen factories are numerous in the eastern states; and the manufacture of this article excites a deep and general interest in the republic, as the production of the raw material is not confined to one portion of the country, but may be profitably pursued in some parts of nearly all the states. The protection of this manufacture was one principal object of the tariff of 1828. That without further protection both the manufacture and the growth of wool would have been abandoned, was made very apparent in the evidence tendered to the committee of manufactures appointed by congress early in that year. It appeared that several of the joint-stock manufacturing

companies† had never paid any dividends on the capital subscribed, and that not from losses by bad debts or mismanagement, but from the reduction of the price of woollen cloths through importation from Europe. The increase of duty (for the details of which we refer to Table, No. I. at the close of this chapter,) on foreign cloths, has led to great activity in the woollen manufacture, and at the present time it is in a very prosperous state. The demand for wool is so great, that large quantities are imported from Europe, and the price of native wool has risen from 50 to 100 per cent., an advance, however, which cannot long be sustained; but unless great caution is used, it will lead to a most injurious reaction and depression. To enter into details respecting particular factories would be unnecessary in this part of the work, as they will be noticed, in a subsequent department, in the respective localities in which they occur. This observation will apply to the other articles of manufacture which remain to be noticed. Before leaving the subject of woollens, however, we regret to be compelled to add an observation not all to the credit of the commercial world:—there appears to be too much reason to apprehend that the duties to which the several descriptions of woollens are subject according to their quality,‡ are extensively evaded by means of false invoices and *false oaths*. One great evil of high protecting duties is undoubtedly the strong temptation it affords to men, whose only deity is gold, to enter on a system of fraud, and consequently to ruin those in the same line of business

* The following details respecting the operations of a cotton factory, near Springfield, Massachusetts, in the summer of this year, are not without interest. "There are about 15,000 spindles in operation, and from 10,000 to 13,500 yards of cloth manufactured daily—20,000 spindles are soon to be at work. About 800 hands are employed—700 of these are females, who earn from 12 to 21 dollars a month: they pay 8 dollars for board, washing, &c.; but they all work by the piece, and some clear 18 dollars monthly. The village contains 1,400 souls: it is inhabited only by persons employed in the factories, or their families. The agent receives 3,000 dollars a year, the superintendent 2,000, and the concern is said to yield 10 per cent. on the capital invested."

† The statement of the superintendent of the Oriskany Woollen Manufacturing Company, before the committee of manufactures, affords some interesting information respecting the management and operations of similar institutions; although, of course, they vary from each other, both in extent and in some points of management. "The officers of the company," says Mr. Dexter, "are five directors, who receive, each, 2 dollars for every attendance at the meetings of the board. The number of these meetings averages about four annually. The board appoints, from its own body, a president, secretary, and treasurer. The president and secretary receive nothing as compensation. The treasurer receives 50 dollars per annum, over and above his pay as a director. A superintending agent, who is paid 800 dollars per annum, and is furnished with a house and garden, rent free; and a clerk of the store, who receives about 10 dollars per month, and is boarded. The company employs in its service one head carder, at a salary of 400 dollars per annum, who boards himself, as do all the hands employed in the factory, except three apprentices, who receive

board and clothing; one machinist, at 1 dollar 50 cents per working day; one superintending weaver, at 1 dollar 37 1-2 cents per working day; one principal fuller; one presser, &c.; two hands in the finishing room, and one dyer, each at 1 dollar 25 cents per working day; ten hands in the spinning and carding rooms; two assistant carders, and one assistant in and about the dying house, each at 1 dollar per working day; and one watchman, also at 1 dollar per day, for every day; one fireman, at about 80 cents per day, and two or three other labourers, getting wood, &c. at about 75 cents per day, each. These include all the labouring men I can now recollect. One girl to letter the cloth, at 4 dollars per week; twenty-four women and girls, at 3 dollars each per week; and eighteen or twenty women and girls, at 2 dollars 50 cents each per week. The residue of the hands are young boys and girls, whose wages will vary from 1 dollar 25 cents to 2 dollars per week, each. The whole number employed will range from 80 to 100. Also, an assorter of wool, at about 30 dollars per month, and an assistant assorter, at about 20 dollars per month. The working hours, summer and winter, are, I think, eleven in number. They commence work at five o'clock in the morning, in winter, and, I think, in summer also. The leisure for breakfast and dinner is thirty minutes each; but at what hour they break off for breakfast I can not say; for dinner, it is at 12 o'clock at noon. Each person employed is held to work eleven hours for a day's work; if any works less time, it is deducted; if more time, he is paid extra in proportion to the time. When there is a hurry, the hands are induced to work one and two hours over the regular time, each day, for which they are compensated."

‡ See Table, No. II. at the close of this chapter.

who are too honourable to descend to such practices. We hope, however, there may be some other method of accounting for facts which appear at first sight to admit only of such an unpleasant and disgraceful solution.*

Household manufactures of woollen, linen, and cotton, are carried on to a great extent. Many thousands of families spin and make up their own clothing, sheets, table-linen, &c. They purchase cotton yarn, and have it frequently mixed with their linen and woollen; blankets, quilts, or coverlets, in short, nearly all articles of domestic use, are chiefly made in the family. It is supposed that nearly two thirds of all the clothing, linen, blankets, &c., of those inhabitants who reside in the interior of the country, are of household manufacture. It is the same in the interior with both soap and candles, the inhabitants happily having no exciseman to prevent their making those articles at any time or to any extent in the family.

Next in importance and amount to the manufacture of wool is that of iron. The abundance in which the ore is found, and in the immediate vicinity of coal, has naturally promoted the erection of forges in various parts of the union, but particularly in the state of Pennsylvania. As in other cases during the war, many extensive establishments were erected, and were very successful; but the return of

peace, and the consequent influx of pig and bar iron from Europe, annihilated a very large proportion of them, the price of iron being reduced to fifty-five or sixty dollars per ton, which was less than the cost of manufacture in America, except under very favourable circumstances. The following statement of facts and estimates, showing the nature, extent, and results of the iron-making business, as conducted in the state of New Jersey, deposed by Mr. Jackson before the committee on manufactures in 1828, affords a very clear and interesting development of the state of the trade at the time, and, with the information subsequently given, will enable any individuals, who might be inclined to embark capital in this branch of American manufactures, to form a tolerably correct idea as to the probabilities of success:—

I. *The Nature of the Business.*

The iron-making business in this section of country is principally conducted by persons who have severally commenced their operations by the purchase of a tract of land embracing the necessary water-power for propelling the works, and affording a sufficient quantity of timber to supply them with fuel for a number of years. In the improvement of such tracts, the first step is the erection of a dam; a forge, or iron mill, which usually contains two fires; two pair of bellows; one hammer, anvil, and the harness connected therewith; two water-wheels to move the bellows and ore stampers, and one for the hammer; a coal house; a smith's shop; and dwellings for the owner and workmen. The business then proceeds in the employment of the necessary workmen, such as wood choppers, colliers, teamsters, and foremen;

If they cost but 3*d.* sterling more than 6*s.* 9*d.* they, of course, come under the 2 dollar 50 cents minimum, and are subject to a duty of 1 dollar per yard more. Thus, if a cloth cost but 7*s.* sterling per running yard of 6-4 wide, pays the lawful duty, and sells for but

3 dollars, it produces a loss to the owner of 55 per cent.	
If at 3 dollars 25 cents the loss is	38 do.
If at 3 dollars 50 cents the loss is	23 do.

"To an intelligent public I appeal, whether either of these two cases is probable. That the market has been well stocked with cloths selling at 3 1-4, 3 1-2, to 4 dollars, is notorious; to believe that either can be true, we must consent to the absurdity, that the owners have either realized the enormous profits of from 30 to 75 per cent., or lost from 23 to 55 per cent. There is no mistake in these figures!

"When, therefore, to these calculations, which can not be controverted, the fact is added, that no honest man can import from England (purchased for cash) at a cost of 6*s.* 9*d.* a cloth that will sell, taking the average of all colours, for more than 3 dollars per yard, can a doubt remain? The writer has in vain tried to have cloths bought in England at 6*s.* 9*d.* that would sell for more than 3 dollars; and he asserts fearlessly, (and challenges proof that he is in error,) that the whole average of cloths, of all colours, that have been honestly imported at 6*s.* 9*d.* for the past nine months, have not sold in this market above the average of 3 dollars per yard,—many cloths would not bring that price; and that nearly every yard of cloth that has been sold in this market at 3 1-2 dollars to 4 dollars, has either been smuggled or fraudulently entered, or it produced a considerable loss to the owner; and from what has been previously stated, no doubt can exist, that by fraud only is this market so fully supplied with cloths of this description, thousands of pieces of which have been sold this season, both at public and private sale, and the owner no doubt laughing at our folly and credulity."

* That our mercantile readers, who may feel peculiarly interested in this subject, may clearly apprehend the charge, as stated by the American manufacturer, we insert an extract from a letter, inserted in Niles' Register, of July 2, 1831:—"A cloth of 6-4 wide (which is the ordinary width) costing 6*s.* 9*d.* sterling, or 1 dollar 50 cents per running yard, being the highest cost which can lawfully come in under the 1 dollar minimum, can be imported at 2 dollars 53 cents, which includes cost, duties, and expenses of importing; add to this, 25 cents per yard for credits on sales, commission, guarantee, &c., making up the whole cost, and expenses of sale, to 2 dollars 78 cents per yard for dollar minimum cloths; if they will sell at 3 dollars per yard it is a clear profit on the investment of 15 per cent. If the cloth cost but 8*s.* sterling, and pays the lawful duty, which is 1 dollar per yard more than on the cloth costing 6*s.* 9*d.*, it must sell for 4 dollars per yard to pay the cost and charges, and remit to the owner his net cost of 8*s.* per yard, without any profit. If a cloth cost 9*s.* sterling, it must at least bring 4 dollars 30 cents to pay cost. If it cost 10*s.* it must bring 4 dollars 60 cents. If it cost 11*s.*, 5 dollars to pay the cost.

"Merchants will not long carry on business that yields no profit, either on one or the other side of the Atlantic. On the contrary, it appears that some classes of importers appear to have made profits beyond all belief, or have suffered heavy losses. Thousands of pieces of cloths have been sold in this market by private and public sale, at the prices of between 3 1-4 and 4 1-4 dollars per yard, mostly at 3 1-4 and 3 3-4 dollars, and the sellers were well satisfied, as I am informed, with the prices they obtained.

"All cloths that cost but 6*s.* 9*d.* sterling per running yard of 6-4 wide, paying the dollar minimum duty, and which sell

At 3 dollars per yard, yield a clear profit of 15 per cent.	
At 3 dollars 25 cents do. do. do.	31 do.
At 3 dollars 50 cents do. do. do.	53 do.
At 3 dollars 75 cents do. do. do.	75 do.

and the preparation of teams for carting the coal, ore, and iron. It is the practice of the owners, in the prosecution of their business, to furnish to the workmen, at the works, such supplies of provisions and other necessities as they may require.

II. The Extent of the Business, and Facilities for enlarging it.

1st. The amount of iron actually made per annum, so far as the same can be ascertained by the returns from the different forge owners, is 2,750 tons.

2. The amount of capital invested embraces the following items, viz. :—

	Dollars.
Cost of erecting 110 forge fires, now in operation, at an average expense, including machinery, dams, and coal-houses, of 1,500 dollars each	165,000
Amount invested in woodland, allowing each fire to require 750 acres for its support in producing its proportion of the 2,750 tons, made in all, equal to 82,500 acres, at an average price (the water privileges included) of ten dollars per acre	825,000
The expense of teams, tools, &c., for each fire, is 500 dollars	55,000
Cost of houses for the accommodation of workmen, allowing to each fire five houses, at 200 dollars each, 1,000 dollars	110,000
Amount of floating capital necessary to conduct the business, 500 dollars for each fire	55,000
	Dollars 1,210,000

3d. The number of workmen employed in the business, allowing each fire to require two foremen, two colliers, two cartmen, one coal stocker, five wood choppers, and a carpenter and blacksmith, equal to one hand, are thirteen to each fire, numbering, in all, 1,430 workmen, who, with their families of four persons each, make the number of souls dependant upon the business, 5,720.

4th. The facilities for extending the business are ample. There are now in operation, as appears by this statement, 110 forge fires, producing, on an average, about twenty-five tons each per annum. Were sufficient encouragement afforded, it is presumed that these fires may be made to produce thirty-five tons each per annum, instead of the present quantity, and that a number more of equal ability would soon be put in operation, all of which could be fully supported with charcoal and ore, the materials now used in the manufacture.

III. The Results of the Business, and Details of the Manufacture.

	Dolls. cts.
To make one ton of bar iron, it requires	
Three tons of ore, at an average cost of five dollars per ton	15 00
Ten loads of coal, at four dollars per load	40 00
The additional expenses are,	
Stocking ten loads of coal, at 1s. per load	1 25
Small repairs of forge, per ton	1 50
Wages of workmen for making, per ton	16 50
Average expense of cartage and freight to New York, per ton	5 00
	Dollars 79 25

The average price of American bar iron in New York, for most of the time during the last eleven years, has not been greater than it now is, viz. seventy to eighty dollars per ton.

In the above estimate of cost in making the one ton of iron, it is assumed that the coal and ore are purchased by the manufacturer at the current prices. If, however, the coal is made upon his own premises, and the ore raised from his own mine, the following estimate will show the result :—

	Dolls. cts.
Cost of cutting twenty cords of wood, for one ton of iron, at 3s. per cord	7 50
Cooling ten loads of coal, at 12s. per load	15 00

	Dolls. cts.
Carting ten loads of coal, at 8s. per load,	10 00
Stocking ditto, at 1s. per load	1 25
Raising three tons of ore, at 12s. per ton	4 50
Carting ditto, at 8s. per ton	3 00
Wages for making one ton of iron	16 50
Small repairs of forge, per ton	1 50
Cartage and freight to New York, per ton	5 00

Dollars 64 25

Should any allowance be made in the last estimate, for the value of the standing wood used in making the coal, and of the ore in the bed, the following sum should be added to the amount of this estimate, viz.

	Dolls. cts.
Twenty cords of standing wood, at 4s. per cord	10 00
Three tons of ore in the bed, at 12s. per ton	4 50
	14 50

Amount of the last estimate added 64 25

Dollars 78 75

It is perceived that the foregoing estimates include no account of interest of capital invested, decay of works, expense of management, taxes, &c.; nor is any provision made for risks or losses, although the business is greatly exposed to the hazards of both. Were these items estimated, there should be an addition of ten to fifteen dollars per ton, to each of the foregoing estimates. It will also be perceived, that in this statement no estimate has been submitted of the amount of capital invested in mines, or the cost of opening them, from the impossibility of arriving at any thing satisfactory respecting them. It can only be stated, that there are fifty mines in this district already opened, fifteen of which are at present worked, and that the quantity of good ore is presumed to be inexhaustible.

This statement is, moreover, strictly confined to facts and estimates in relation to manufacturing of bar iron, without any allusion to furnaces, of which there are several, or to rolling mills, of which there are four in the district, three situated at Dover, and owned by Messrs. Blackwell and M'Farlan, of the city of New York, which annually convert into rolled iron 1,000 tons of the manufactures of the district; and the other at Rockaway, owned by Colonel Joseph Jackson, capable of rolling about 400 tons more.

On a cursory view of this subject, it would be matter of surprise that the manufacture of iron from native ore should have continued to exist in the United States; but another statement of the same witness throws a light not only on this particular subject, but indicates one of the peculiar advantages which tend to counterbalance some of the unfavourable circumstances with which manufactures in America have to contend. The committee very reasonably inquire, "If the business of manufacturing bar iron is as bad as you represent it, and if others in your neighbourhood have failed in it, how have you been able to sustain yourself; and why have you continued the business?" To which Mr. Jackson makes the following reply: "I have been able to sustain myself because I carry on a farm, and the manufacturing establishments furnish a good market for my farming produce. I also keep a store, and pay for a share of the labour of my workmen out of the store, and get a profit on my goods. I have,

also, a grist mill and a saw mill, which have aided me in my buildings, &c.; but establishments unconnected with these, or like advantages, have failed. My rolling mill, also, enables me to do more business, and upon which I get a little profit: and I have continued to hope for better times. I have, also, some government contracts, which have assisted me, not so much by an advance of price, as by a sure market for a large quantity; which enabled me to proceed with certainty, and without being subjected to the fluctuations of the market for the manufacture."

In consequence of this state of things, an advance of duty, averaging from five to twenty-five per cent. on that already imposed on foreign iron, was enacted.* The method in which this duty was arranged appears, however, to have been much more in favour of the proprietors of the iron mines and smelters than of the manufacturers of hardware, the advance of duty being on iron rolled; also, on slabs, blooms, and loop, or other wire, from thirty to thirty-seven dollars per ton, or nearly twenty-five per cent.; while, on manufactured articles, as axes, knives, &c., the advance was only ten per cent., the alteration being, manifestly, nearly fifteen per cent. in favour of the British manufacturer. The "Petition of the Iron Manufacturers of Philadelphia, presented to congress in the session of 1831," states, that under these enactments, even "horseshoes" have become an article of considerable export from Britain. If the statements of the manufacturers of Philadelphia should not prove erroneous, which, from the very extensive orders executed this year at Sheffield and Birmingham, we apprehend will not be the case to any material extent, the history of the past would lead us to expect that congress will speedily remedy what they will deem an anomaly in the "American system."—Among articles of which iron forms the material, steam-engines now undoubtly claim the first rank; and the Americans are remarkable for the number of these admirable machines, both on land and water. Although the demand for them is constantly increasing, such is the skill which competition has brought to bear on this important article, that an engine, which, a few years since, would have cost 2,000 dollars, may now be purchased for 800 dollars.

Glass, both for windows and domestic purposes, is manufactured extensively in the United States, principally at Pittsburgh. The price of this article has much declined, owing chiefly, if not entirely, to internal competition,† a healthy process indeed, when

not carried to excess; but sometimes a direful disease, that may be termed the "madness of the few for the gain of the many," if, indeed, in some cases, it may not be more truly said, "for the gain of none." When it is carried to the extent of destroying, not only the master's profit, but the value of the labour of the mechanic, it is the madness of the few for the destruction of thousands; a result which has accrued to a lamentable extent in Great Britain. Happily, however, the American labourer is as yet, by the quantity of unoccupied land which still remains, protected from this deplorable result of the folly of his master, and, consequently, it is found, that, while the prices of articles of glass have declined in value at least fifty per cent. within a few years, there has been "a great uniformity of wages" during that period. "In 1808," says Mr. Bakewell,‡ "we sold common flint half-pint tumblers at two dollars per dozen; after the currency of the state became settled, we sold them at one dollar per dozen; and now we sell them at about eighty-one cents per dozen. Plain quart decanters, which, in 1808, we sold at six dollars per dozen, we now sell at two dollars and twenty-five cents. Wine glasses, in 1808, were one dollar and fifty cents per dozen, and they are now seventy-five cents per dozen."

Earthenware of the coarser kinds has long been manufactured in various parts of the Union; and recently, the finest qualities of china ware have been attempted, and with considerable success.

The manufactories in the eastern and northern states not only supply those states with hats, but they send large quantities to the middle, southern, and western; and have nearly excluded the British hat-manufacturer from the market. It is only a few years since, that all who had any pretensions to gentility, purchased hats at eight or ten dollars each: these certainly were handsome, well-made beaver hats. Lately, however, other hats have been introduced, which at first look equally well with those expensive ones, and very few now purchase the high-priced hats. The amount of hats manufactured in the United States is stated to be 13,000,000 dollars annually.

Shoes and boots are made in great quantities, and may be purchased at very low prices, particularly in Massachusetts and New Jersey. Boots are sold wholesale at from two to three dollars per pair; shoes from three quarters to one dollar per pair. Many boots and shoes are made with wooden or copper pegs, with which, instead of stitching the soles, they fasten them

* See Table, No. I. at the end of this chapter.

† Some addition to the import duty was, however, made in the tariff of 1828.—See Table, No. I.

‡ Report of the Committee on Manufactures, 1828, p. 149.

together, and the price is rather less. The eastern export many shoes to the middle and southern states; the latter, indeed, are almost entirely supplied from thence, very few shoes being now imported from Great Britain, while the annual value of the boots and shoes manufactured in the United States is said to be 26,000,000 dollars.

All articles in wood, household-furniture, and carriages of all kinds, are executed in great variety. We have been surprised to find, however, that notwithstanding the beautiful descriptions of wood which the American forests yield, chairs, and other articles of domestic furniture, are, for the most part, painted. Articles of furniture are, in most instances, rather cheaper than in England.

Ship-building is carried on to a great extent. In some years, the amount of tonnage has equalled, if not exceeded, that launched in Great Britain; at any rate, the United States are second only to ourselves in this noble art.* In steam-boats, or more properly, steam-ships, they far outstrip us, their mighty internal waters affording such admirable scope for those vessels. It is said that upwards of thirty have been built this year between Pittsburgh and Louisville alone, in addition to 250 already employed in navigating the Mississippi, or its tributary streams. The magnitude of these vessels bears full proportion to their number, some of them consisting of three stories, containing a variety of apartments, and making up

200 beds. In 1830, the amount of tonnage of steam-boats was 54,036 tons.

Locomotive engines are now built in this country. Mr. R. L. Stevens, of New York, who is extensively connected with rail-roads and steamboats, has lately constructed a locomotive of increased powers, and superior to any hitherto in use.

The manufacture of paper, type, and books, is scarcely surpassed by that of any equal number of inhabitants in the world. Of the first of these, there are many very extensive manufactories. The business of type founding is carried on to a great extent in the American states, and stereotyping has become a matter which involves a large capital, and engages many workmen; among the most prominent individuals occupied in these branches of industry are the Messrs. Conner & Cooke, White, Hagar, & Co., Bruce & Co., Pell & Brother, of New York; Lyman, of Albany; Johnson & Smith, of Philadelphia; and the Boston type and stereotype foundry, in Boston. One is found in the west, where, only thirty years ago, a settlement was scarcely made. The vast number of publications which are issued from the American press at the present day, by means of stereotype printing, is scarcely credible to one who has not closely investigated the fact; the consequent cheapness of books is such, that literature, comparatively speaking, is scattered among the people for the smallest consideration.† The daily and weekly periodicals con-

* The Americans may be excused for deeming the British second to themselves.

† Curious as the fact may seem, there are strong grounds to suppose that stereotyping had occupied the attention of a philosopher of New York, long before the practice of the art became popular abroad. We allude to the singular circumstances developed in the correspondence between Lieutenant Governor Colden and Dr. Franklin, which we are induced to insert, from the American Medical and Philosophical Register, edited by Drs. Hosack and Francis, and published in New York, 1810.

"An original paper of the late Lieut. Gov. COLDEN, on a new method of PRINTING discovered by him; together with an original letter from the late Dr. FRANKLIN, on the same subject; and some account of STEREOTYPING, as now practised in Europe, &c., by the Editors of the Register.

"As the art of printing has, without question, been of very great use in advancing learning and knowledge, the abuse of it, as of all other good things, has likewise produced many inconveniences. The number of books printed on the same subject, most of which are nothing but unskilful and erroneous copies of good works, written only for ostentation of learning, or for sordid profit, renders the path to knowledge very intricate and tedious. The reader, who has no guide, and the greatest number have none, is lost in the wilderness of numberless books. He is most commonly led astray by the glaring appearances of title pages, and other artifices of the mystery of bookselling. It is likewise a common complaint, that a poor author makes nothing near the profit that the bookseller does of his labour; and probably, the more pains the author has taken, the more difficult the performance, and the more masterly it is done, the less profit to him; for the good books, like jewels, never lose their intrinsic value; yet, they have fewer purchasers than Bristol stones, and the sale of them is slow.

"As the lessening or removing of some of these inconveniences may be of use to the republic of letters, I hope to be excused in making the following attempt for that purpose, by proposing a new method of printing.

"Let there be made of some hard metal, such as copper or brass, a number of types, or rather matrices, on the face of each of which, one letter of the alphabet is to be imprinted *en creuse*, by a stamp, or such other method by which the matrices for founding of types are commonly made. They must be all of the same dimension, as to breadth and thickness, with that of types, but half their length seems sufficient. Their sides must be so equal and smooth as to leave no vacuity between them when joined. There must likewise be a sufficient number of each letter or character to compose at least one page in octavo, of any book.

"These matrices, I suppose, may be cast in a mould, or a plate of copper may be divided exactly into squares, and the letter or character be stamped into the middle of each square, and the squares afterwards cut asunder by a proper saw. The best method of making these will be easily discovered by those whose business it is to make founts for printing types.

"When a sufficient number of each letter and character is obtained, they are to be placed in the same manner that types are, when composed for printing, only that they must all stand directly as they are read, and as they will appear afterwards on the paper.

"The composure of one page, after it is carefully corrected, is to be placed in a case or mould, fitted to it, of the length and breadth of the page, and of such depth as to cast a plate a quarter of an inch thick, which will perfectly represent a page composed in the common manner for printing.

"As to the art of casting the plate perfect, founders and type makers must be consulted; for the composition of the metal, and for the flux for running it clean and clear, so that no vacuities be left; for which purpose, I am told, that the funnel, by which the

sume a large quantity of paper, being estimated at nearly a thousand. The principal publications will claim our attention as connected with literature; more

melted metal is poured in, being made large, and the filling it with the melted metal after the mould is full, is of use to make the letter every where full and complete. For, by the weight of the metal in the funnel, the liquid metal in the mould is pressed into every crevice. The funnels extending the whole length of one of the sides, gives, likewise, free vent to the air.

"Or, after a page shall be composed, as before mentioned, and the types and matrices well secured in a frame upon a strong plate, they may, by a screw, be pressed upon a sheet of melted lead, and thereby a plate of lead be procured, representing as the former a page composed of types for printing. Which of the methods are most practicable artists can best determine.

"After the page shall be thus formed, the matrices may be loosened and dispersed into their proper boxes, and may serve for as many other pages as types in common printing do.

"When a number of pages, sufficient for a sheet, are thus made, they may be carried to any printing press, and such a number of sheets as shall be thought proper be cast off, and then be laid by till more copies be wanted.

"I choose an octavo page, because, if the page title and page number be left out, as likewise the directions and signatures at the foot of the page, by joining two pages together, it may be made a quarto, or by joining four, a folio. Thus several editions in octavo, quarto, and folio, may at once be made, to suit every buyer's humour.

"The page titles, number, and bottom signatures, may be cast in small moulds apart, and joined, as may be proper.

"The most convenient size of a page is that of small paper, so as to fill it up, and to leave very little margin; then by adding the page titles, or marginal notes, or notes at the bottom, all cast in frames separately, the large paper may be sufficiently filled.

"I believe that this method of printing, every thing considered, will not be more chargeable than the common method. A thousand, or some thousands sometimes, of copies, are cast off at once in the common method, and the paper and pressman's labour of what is not speedily sold may or must lie dead for some years, whereas in this method, no more need be cast off at a time than may well be supposed to sell speedily. If I be not mistaken, the metal necessary for one sheet will not exceed the value of four hundred sheets of paper, and in the common method several hundred sheets lie useless for, sometimes, many years. If the book should not answer, there is a great loss in the paper, whereas the metal used in this method retains its intrinsic value.

"I shall instance some of the advantages in this method which induce me to communicate my thoughts to others.

"1. An author by this means can secure the property of his own labour.

"2. A correct edition is at all times secured, and therefore may be useful in the classics, trigonometrical tables, &c.

"3. A weak and ignorant attempt on the same subject will be discouraged, for as a new edition of a valuable book is continually secured, without any new expense, booksellers will not readily hazard the publishing of books of the same nature.

"4. But what I chiefly value this method of printing for, is, from the advantages it gives an author in making his work perfect, and in freeing it from mistakes; for, by printing off a few copies of any sheet, and sending them among his friends, and by suffering them to fall into the hands of a malevolent critic, he may have an opportunity of correcting his mistakes, before they appear to the world. By the same means he may make his work more complete than otherwise he could, by the assistance which his friends may give him in several parts of it. It is for these reasons, chiefly, that I propose the plates not to exceed an octavo page, and to have no signatures; for in case of a mistake, the loss of one page may correct the error, and where improvements or additions are necessary, as many pages may be intermixed as shall be necessary, without any inconvenience, and small explications may be made by the marginal notes.

"Lastly. The greatest advantage I conceive will be in the learned sciences; for they often require a long time to bring these to

emphatically than with manufactures. A duty equal to the price of the paper is placed on foreign books, an error of policy we hope soon to see erased from

perfection, and require the assistance of others in many particulars. Many a valuable piece has been lost to the world, by the author dying before he could bring his work to the perfection he designed. Now, by the assistance which he may have by this method from others, this time may be much shortened, and the progress he has made may be preserved for others to continue in case of his death. An author may publish his work in parts, and shall continue, in many cases, to complete and make them more perfect, without any loss of what was done before. By this method likewise, a man of learning, when poor, may leave some part of his estate in his own way for a child, as mechanics often do for theirs.

"Whether the method I propose will answer the end designed, or whether it be practicable, I can not with sufficient assurance say; because we have no artists in this country who can make the experiment, neither can they have encouragement sufficient to tempt them to make the trial. However, I hope to be excused, by the use of the design, and as it may chance to give some hint to a skilful person to perform effectually what I only aim at in vain.

"If the charge of lead or metal plates be thought too great, I know not but that the impression may be made on thin planes of some kinds of wood, such as lime tree or poplar, which have a soft smooth grain when green, and are hard and smooth when dry.

"Ever since I had the pleasure of a conversation with you, though very short, by our accidental meeting on the road, I have been very desirous to engage you in a correspondence. You was pleased to take some notice of a method of printing which I mentioned to you at that time, and to think it practicable. I have no further concern for it than as it may be useful to the public; my reasons for thinking so, you will find in the inclosed copy of a paper which I last year sent to Mr. Collinson, in London. Perhaps my fondness for my own conceptions may make me think more of it than it deserves, and may make me jealous that the common printers are willing to discourage, out of private interest, any discovery of this sort. But as you have given me reason to think you zealous in promoting every useful attempt, you will be able absolutely to determine my opinion of it. I long very much to hear what you have done in your scheme of erecting a society at Philadelphia for promoting of useful arts and sciences in America. If you think of any thing in my power whereby I can promote so useful an undertaking, I will with much pleasure receive your instructions for that end. As my son Cadwallader bears this, I thereby think myself secured of the pleasure of a line from you by him."

"PHILADELPHIA, November 4, 1743."

"Sir,—I receive the favour of yours, with the proposal for a new method of printing, which I am much pleased with; and since you express some confidence in my opinion, I shall consider it very attentively and particularly; and in a post or two, send you some observations on every article.

"My long absence from home in the summer, put my business so much behind hand, that I have been in a continual hurry ever since my return, and had no leisure to forward the scheme of the society. But that hurry being now near over, I purpose to proceed in the affair very soon, your approbation being no small encouragement to me.

"I can not but be fond of engaging in a correspondence so advantageous to me as yours must be. I shall always receive your favours as such, and with great pleasure.

"I wish I could by any means have made your son's longer stay here as agreeable to him, as it would have been to those who began to be acquainted with him.

"I am, sir, with much respect,

"Your most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN.

"Dr. COLDEN."

"Remarks.—The mode of printing above described is now known by the term *Stereotype*; and it is a curious fact, that the stereotype

the statutes of the United States. A duty of one-fourth the amount (3d. per pound) would be amply sufficient to secure to American publishers the reprint of all works, the demand for which was sufficient to justify the expense of their being reprinted; so that the present duty has the sole effect of raising the price, and, in many cases, denying possession of a variety of English works to the American public, without any corresponding advantage to their manufactures. There are many works on particular branches of mechanical science, for instance, of which comparatively few copies are printed even in England, and the free circulation of which in the United States cannot be otherwise than an important advantage, but which is prevented by the present state of the revenue laws. Even if the interests of the American printers should for a moment sustain a slight disadvantage, the writer has far too high an opinion of their patriotism to suppose they would suffer that fact, in the slightest degree, to retard the intellectual progress of their country.

process, said to have been invented by M. Herhan, in Paris, and now practised by him in that city, under letters patent of Napoleon, is precisely the same as that spoken of by Dr. Colden, more than sixty years ago.

"It is more than probable that when Dr. Franklin went to France, he communicated Dr. Colden's 'new method of printing' to some artists there, and that it lay dormant until about sixteen years since, when Herhan, a German, who had been an assistant to M. Didot, the printer and type founder of Paris, but then separated from him, took it up in opposition to M. Didot. We have conversed with gentlemen who have seen M. Herhan's method of stereotyping, and they describe it to be exactly what Governor Colden invented. This fact established, there can be no doubt that M. Herhan is indebted to America for the celebrity he has obtained in France.

"Since the above paper fell into our hands, we have endeavoured to obtain information respecting the different methods of stereotyping now in use. The following is the result of our inquiries.

"By a book published in Paris about ten years since, by M. Camus, of the French National Institute, we find that a Bible was printed in Strasburgh, by one Gillet, more than a hundred years ago, with plates similar to those now used by Didot and Herhan, but not by any means so perfect. Gillet's moulds were made of a fine clay, and a particular kind of sand found only in the neighbourhood of Paris. It is also stated that a number of other ingenious men had at various times produced plates tolerably perfect, by different processes, but we may safely infer, from the art having made no great progress until the time of Didot the elder, that their endeavours had not been crowned with much success.

"At the beginning of the French revolution great quantities of paper money becoming necessary to supply the deficiency of specie either concealed or sent out of the kingdom by the rich, Didot was applied to by the national assembly to invent some kind of *assignat* or bank-bill, which should not easily be imitated; and at this period it was that M. Didot first directed his attention to the means of producing, *in relief*, a set of plates, to print on a common printing-press, which were exactly *fac-similes*, and could not without much difficulty be falsified. This process was termed *Polytyping*; as the mould in which the plates were cast was durable, and would produce any number of copies; the usual mode of stereotyping being, as the French term it, a *moule perdu*; it being necessary to make a new mould for every plate.

"But as M. Didot's views were by degrees extended to the cast-

Distillation is extensively, we fear too extensively, carried on in the United States. Some of the distilleries work entirely from molasses, others from grain; the former is distilled into rum, and the latter generally into gin and whisky. These articles,—whisky, gin, and rum, are sold wholesale by the distillers at from thirty-seven and a half to fifty cents per gallon, or about 1s. 9d. to 2s. 3d. per gallon sterling. When cider is made, a considerable quantity is fermented, and distilled into what is called apple-brandy: this is sold at the same price as American gin. Peaches are also fermented, and distilled into what is termed peach-brandy; the wholesale price is from a half to three quarters of a dollar per gallon. More than thirty millions of gallons of ardent spirits are annually distilled and consumed in the United States. A considerable check has been given to this manufacture, and numerous distilleries have been closed, by the exertions of temperance societies, whose operations will require notice in a subsequent section of the work.

ing of pages for book printing, he found it unnecessary to use durable moulds, and therefore, after a year's experiment, invented a composition, which, like the sand used by brass-founders, might be wrought over again for different casts. The elegant editions produced by M. Didot and sons, are the best proofs of his success.

"When the fame of M. Didot's invention reached England, Lord Stanhope, an ingenious and wealthy nobleman, whose time and fortune are principally devoted to the advancement of the arts, made propositions to Mr. Andrew Wilson, of Wild court, Lincoln's Inn Fields, proprietor of the Oriental press, to assist him in such experiments as might bring to perfection a new mode of stereotyping, of which his lordship had obtained some ideas. Mr. Wilson embraced the proposal; and after four or five years of incessant labour, they attained nearly all the advantages they had contemplated. Mr. Wilson, in the year 1802, built his foundry in Duke street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and in the following year disposed of the secret for six thousand pounds sterling, and some future advantages, to Mr. Richard Watts, for the use of the university of Cambridge. In the year following he disposed of it on similar terms to the university of Oxford.

"About two years ago, a brother of Mr. Watts, of Cambridge, began a course of experiments in this city for a more cheap and easy manner of stereotyping, than any hitherto discovered; and, in spite of innumerable disadvantages, has succeeded beyond his utmost expectation. We have seen plates of his casting of the greatest perfection and beauty. The chief difficulty he has experienced arose from the jealousy and illiberality of the common type-founders, who refused to lend the little aid he required of them. It is agreeable to us, however, from our own observation, to be able to state, that, by uncommon perseverance through accumulated obstacles, Mr. Watts has invented a method of casting the common types much more perfect than those made in the usual way; and now will proceed with his plates without the assistance of other artists.

"The principal defects in M. Didot and Lord Stanhope's process, arise from the softness of the moulds they employ, which are composed of plaster of Paris and some other ingredients. In taking them from the page, of which they are intended to cast a perfect copy, some part of the composition will always remain in the type, and leave the mould imperfect. After the plates are cast, there is consequently much work for an engraver, to make them fit for use. Mr. Watts' mould, being of solid materials, no such inconvenience can arise."

The minerals of the United States, the procuring and smelting of which is a species of manufacture, besides iron and coal, are lead and copper.* The first is found in considerable quantities in several parts of the Union. In the Huron country, where the mines have only been worked three years, under every disadvantage, thirty millions of pounds of lead have been produced. Only about a mile square of surface has yet been opened, and from this, thirty

millions of pounds more might be extracted without opening a new mine. The whole of the lead district occupies a surface of one hundred miles square, including, however, a district of copper ore about twenty miles long, and four or five broad. Mines of lead and copper abound also on the Missouri. The quantity of lead produced at the United States lead mines, annually, from 1823, to the 30th of September, 1829 is exhibited in the following table:—

				Fever River.	Missouri.	Total.
				Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.
To 30th of September, 1823	.	.	.	335,130	.....	335,130
To " " 1824	.	.	.	175,220	.....	175,220
To " " 1825	.	.	.	664,530	386,590	1,051,120
To " " 1826	.	.	.	958,842	1,374,962	2,333,804
To " " 1827	.	.	.	5,182,180	910,380	6,092,560
To " " 1828	.	.	.	11,105,810	1,205,920	12,311,730
To " " 1829	.	.	.	13,343,150	1,198,160	14,541,310
Total pounds				31,764,862	5,076,012	36,840,874

The Galenian, a news journal, furnishes a table of the quantity of lead annually made at the lead mines in the United States, from their first opening in 1821 to 1833, inclusive. The statement contains a remark that the lead is less abundant this spring than at any preceding times, and that, comparatively speaking, little will be made this year. The whole quantity made during the twelve years mentioned, is set down at 63,845,740 lbs., of which 7,941,792 lbs. were made during the year 1833. The mining business during that time seems by the table to have fluctuated without any perceptible law of increase. The quantity of lead raised in 1828, was more than twelve millions of pounds, and the next year more than fourteen millions and a half. It fell in 1832 to little more than four millions. This variation arises, we sup-

pose, from the want of a regular plan of operations, a deficiency of capital, and the uncertain tenure by which the lead mine lands are held.

The quantity of the various manufactures exported throws considerable light on their progress and present state; but the statements illustrative of that subject connect themselves more properly, and indeed inseparably, with commerce, and will form the materials of a considerable portion of the following chapter. From them it will be evident that several important articles, which, a few years since, were articles of import only, are already become exports of a very considerable amount.

The first table appended to this chapter exhibits a comparative view of the several tariff laws which have been enacted in the United States; and the second shows more precisely the size and value of which the several articles of manufacture must be, to come within the respective gradations of duty.

* The gold mines of the Carolinas and Georgia have been noticed in Book ii. Chap. ii., where, also, will be found particulars respecting lead, copper, mercury, iron, coal, &c.

TARIFF.—TABLE I.

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE TARIFF LAWS.

PROTECTING TARIFF OF 1828.	PROTECTING TARIFF OF 1824.	OLD TARIFF UP TO 1824.
<p>Iron, in bolts or bars, not rolled, 1 cent per lb.</p> <p>—, rolled also in slabs, blooms, and loop, or otherwise, except pigs and cast iron, \$37 per ton</p> <p>—, in pigs, 62 1-2 cts. per cwt.</p> <p>Wire, of iron or steel, not finer than No. 14, 6 cents, finer than No. 14, 10 cents</p> <p>Round iron, or braziers' rods, 3-16ths to 1-2 inch, nail or spike rods, iron in sheets or hoops, and slit or rolled for bands, casement rods, 3 1-2 cts. per lb.</p> <p>Axes, adzes, drawing knives, cutting knives, sickles or reaping-hooks, sithes, spades, shovels, squares of iron or steel, bridle-bits, steelyards, scalebeams, socket chisels, vices, and wood screws, 10 per cent. additional</p> <p>Steel, \$1 50 cts. per cwt.</p> <p>Lead, in pigs, bars, or sheets, 3 cents per lb.</p> <p>—, shot, 4 cents per lb.</p> <p>—, red or white, dry or ground in oil, 5 cents per lb.</p> <p>—, pipes, 5 cents per lb.</p> <p>Litharge, orange mineral, and sugar of lead, 5 cents per lb.</p> <p>Wool, (the same if on skins,) 4 cents per lb. and 40 per cent. ad valorem until June 30, 1829, then 5 per cent. increase annually to 50 per cent.</p> <p>Woollens, (wholly or in part,) except carpeting, blankets, worsted stuffs, bombazines, hosiery, mits, gloves, caps, and bindings, the value of which, at the place whence exported, (except flannels and baizes,) does not exceed 33 1-3 cents per square yard, to pay 14 cents per square yard; from 33 1-3 to 50 cents, to be estimated at 50 cents; from 50 cents to \$1, at \$1; from \$1 to \$2 1-2, at \$2 1-2; from \$2 1-2 to \$4, at \$4, and to be charged with 45 per cent. duty; and exceeding \$4, to be charged with 50 per cent.; and all unfinished woollens are to be estimated at the same value as if finished</p> <p>Woollen blankets, 35 per cent.</p> <p>Hosiery, mits, gloves, and bindings, 35 per cent.</p> <p>Clothing ready made, 50 per cent.</p> <p>Brussels, Turkey, and Wilton carpets, 70 cents per square yard</p> <p>Venetian and ingrain carpeting, 40 cents per square yard</p> <p>All other carpeting, of wool, hemp, or cotton, or in part of either, 32 cts. per square yard</p> <p>Patent printed or painted floorcloths, 50 cents per square yard; other oilcloths 25 per cent.; furniture oilcloths, and floor matting of flags or other materials, 15 cents per square yard</p> <p>Hemp, \$45 per ton, and \$5 additional annually, from June 30, 1829, until \$60</p> <p>Flax, \$35 per ton, and \$5 in addition annually, from June 30, 1829, until \$60.</p> <p>Cotton bagging, 5 cents per square yard</p> <p>Sail duck, 9 cents per square yard, and 1-2 cent additional yearly, from 1823, until 12 1-2 cents, and no drawback on less than 50 bolts in one shipment</p> <p>Distilled spirits, 15 cents per gallon additional on the duties of 1824.</p> <p>Indigo, 5 cents additional from June 30, 1829, to June 30, 1830, and 10 cents additional per annum, until the whole duty shall be 50 cents</p> <p>Molasses, 10 cents per gallon, and no drawback on the exportation of spirits distilled therefrom</p> <p>Manufactures of silk from beyond the Cape of Good Hope, 20 per cent. after June 30, 1829</p> <p>Window glass, larger than 10 by 15, and in sheets uncut, \$5 per 100 feet</p> <p>Apothecaries' vials, not exceeding 6oz. \$1 per 75 gross</p> <p>Slates for building, not larger than 12 by 6 inches, \$4 per ton; 12 to 14 inches long, \$5; 14 to 16, \$6; 16 to 18, \$7; 18 to 20, \$8; 20 to 24, \$9; larger, \$10</p> <p>Slates for schools, 33 1-3 per cent.</p> <p>Cotton cloths, (except nankeens direct from China,) of whatever cost, shall, with the addition of 20 per cent. if beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and 10 per cent. if from other places, be deemed to have cost 35 cents per square yard, and be charged with 25 per cent.</p>	<p>90 cents per cwt. or 112 lbs.</p> <p>\$1 50 cts. per cwt.</p> <p>50 cents per cwt.</p> <p>Not finer than No. 18, 5 cents; finer, 9 cents</p> <p>3 cents per lb.</p> <p>Wood screws, sickles, sithes, spades, 30 per cent.; all other manufactures of iron, 25 per cent.</p> <p>\$1 per cwt.</p> <p>2 cents per lb.</p> <p>3 1-2 cents per lb.</p> <p>4 cents per lb.</p> <p>25 per cent.</p> <p>15 per cent.</p> <p>Costing not more than 10 cents, 15 per cent.; higher cost, 30 per cent.</p> <p>Costing less than 33 1-3 cents per square yard, 25 per cent.; all others 33 1-3 per cent. ad valorem, on actual value or cost</p> <p>25 per cent.</p> <p>33 1-3 per cent.</p> <p>30 per cent.</p> <p>50 cents per square yard</p> <p>25 cents per square yard</p> <p>20 cents per square yard</p> <p>30 per cent.</p> <p>\$35 per ton</p> <p>15 per cent.</p> <p>3 3-4 cents per square yard</p> <p>15 per cent.</p> <p>From grain,</p> <p>1st proof 42 cents per gallon</p> <p>2d " 45 ditto ditto</p> <p>3d " 48 ditto ditto</p> <p>4th " 52 ditto ditto</p> <p>5th " 60 ditto ditto</p> <p>higher 75 ditto ditto</p> <p>15 cents</p> <p>5 cents per gallon</p> <p>25 per cent.</p> <p>\$4 per 100 feet</p> <p>\$1 a \$1 25 cents</p> <p>25 per cent.</p> <p>15 per cent.</p> <p>Minimum under some conditions, 30 cents, with 25 per cent. duty</p>	<p>75 cents per 112 lbs.</p> <p>\$1 50 cts. per cwt.</p> <p>50 cents per cwt.</p> <p>Not finer than No. 18, 5 cts.; finer, 9 cents.</p> <p>\$2 50 cents per cwt.</p> <p>20 per cent.</p> <p>\$1 per cwt.</p> <p>1 cent per pound.</p> <p>2 cents per pound.</p> <p>3 cents per pound.</p> <p>20 per cent.</p> <p>15 per cent.</p> <p>15 per cent.</p> <p>25 per cent.</p> <p>15 per cent.</p> <p>25 per cent.</p> <p>30 per cent.</p> <p>30 per cent.</p> <p>15 per cent.</p> <p>20 per cent.</p> <p>Russia, \$2 ps.; Ravens, \$2 25 cts. Holland, 50 cents.</p> <p>From other materials,</p> <p>38 cents.</p> <p>38 "</p> <p>42 "</p> <p>48 "</p> <p>57 "</p> <p>70 "</p> <p>15 cents.</p> <p>5 cents per gallon.</p> <p>15 per cent.</p> <p>\$3 25 cents.</p> <p>20 per cent.</p> <p>15 per cent.</p> <p>15 per cent.</p> <p>25 per cent.</p>

TARIFF.—TABLE II.

IMPORTATION OF DRY GOODS UNDER THE NEW TARIFF LAW.

A TABLE SHOWING WHAT DESCRIPTION OF GOODS MAY BE IMPORTED UNDER THE TARIFF PASSED BY THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, MAY, 1828.

WOOLLENS, (except Flannels and Baizes,) 33 1-3 Cents minimum, Duty 14 Cents per Square Yard.

Width.	1s.	0d.	stg.	Net Cost, 1828.	Net Cost, 1827.
24 inches.	1	8 1-2	"	37 1-2 cts. per yd.	36 cts. per yd.
27 "	1	1 1-2	"	42 "	40 "
30 "	1	3	"	46 1-2 "	44 "
33 "	1	4 1-2	"	51 "	49 "
36 "	1	6	"	56 "	53 1-2 "
45 "	1	10 1-2	"	69 1-2 "	67 "
54 "	2	3	"	83 1-2 "	80 1-2 "

Must not exceed these prices per running yard.

BROADCLOTHS, KERSEYMERS, PELISSE CLOTHS, KERSEYS, FOREST CLOTHS, VALENTIA and WOOLLEN VESTINGS and FLANNELS, 50 cents minimum, Duty 45 per Cent. ad valorem.

Width.	1s.	6d.	stg.	Net Cost, 1828.	Net Cost, 1827.
24 inches.	1	8 1-4	"	57 cts. per yd.	53 1-2 cts. per yd.
27 "	1	10 1-2	"	63 1-2 "	60 "
30 "	2	0 3-4	"	70 1-2 "	67 "
33 "	2	3	"	77 "	74 "
36 "	2	3	"	84 1-2 "	80 1-2 "
54 "	3	4 1-2	"	127 "	120 1-2 "

Must not exceed these prices per running yard.

BROADCLOTHS, KERSEYMERS, &c. \$2 50 Cents minimum, Duty 45 per Cent. ad valorem.

Width 27 inches.	£0 8 5	
" 31 1-2 "	0 9 10	
" 36 "	0 11 3	
" 54 "	0 16 10	
" 63 "	0 19 8	

Must not exceed these prices per running yard.

BROADCLOTHS, \$4 minimum; Duty 45 per Cent.

Width 54 inches.	£1 7 0	
" 63 "	1 11 6	
" 72 "	1 16 0	

Must not exceed these prices per running yard.

Woollen Blankets, Woollen and Worsted Hosiery, Gloves, Bindings, and Mitts, to pay a Duty of 35 per Cent. ad valorem.

Brussels, Turkey, and Wilton Carpets and Carpeting, 70 Cents per Square Yard.

Venetian and Ingrain Carpets and Carpeting, 40 Cents per Square Yard.

Cotton Goods, if they do not cost 35 Cents per Square Yard, including the addition of 10 per cent., must pay a Duty of 8 3-4 Cents per Square Yard.

Worsted Stuff Goods, Bombazines, Linens, Lawns, Linen Diapers and Cloths, Cotton Braces, Cotton Hose, Silk and Leather Gloves, Sewing Cottons, Tapes, Small Wares, &c. pay the same Duty as they did previous to 1828.

FLANNELS, Duty 45 per Cent.

Width.	£3	17	6	Net Cost, 1828.	Net Cost, 1827.	Duty, 1828.
27 inches.	4	0	6	\$29 11	\$27 78	\$7 59
28 "	4	0	6	30 23	28 84	7 87
29 "	4	3	0	31 21	29 74	8 15
30 "	4	6	0	32 33	30 82	8 44
31 "	4	9	0	33 44	31 89	8 72
32 "	4	12	0	34 56	32 97	9 00
33 "	4	14	6	35 53	33 86	9 28
34 "	4	17	6	36 65	34 94	9 56
35 "	5	0	6	37 75	35 02	9 84
36 "	5	3	6	38 87	37 09	10 12

Must not exceed these prices per piece of 40 yards.

per piece of 40 yards.

27 inches.	2 5 0	\$20 09	\$16 12
	2 8 0	20 92	17 20
	2 11 0	21 76	18 28
	2 14 0	22 59	19 35
	2 17 0	23 42	20 42
	3 0 0	24 26	21 50
	3 3 0	25 09	22 58

30 inches.	3 6 0	\$26 78	\$23 65
	3 9 0	27 60	24 73
	3 12 0	28 44	25 80
	3 15 0	29 28	26 88
	3 18 0	30 10	27 95
	4 1 0	30 94	29 03
	4 4 0	31 78	30 10
	4 6 0	32 33	30 82

per piece of 40 yards.

BROADCLOTHS, KERSEYMERS, &c. \$1 minimum, Duty 45 per Cent.

Width.	3s.	0d.	Net Cost, 1828.	Net Cost, 1827.
24 inches.	1	13	\$1 13	\$1 07 1-2 per running yd.
27 "	3	4 1-2	1 27	1 20 1-2 "
30 "	3	9	1 41	1 34 "
33 "	4	1 1-2	1 55	1 47 1-2 "
36 "	4	6	1 69	1 61 1-2 "
54 "	6	9	2 53	2 42 "

Must not exceed these prices.

NET COST TO IMPORT THE FOLLOWING GOODS.

Width.	0s.	9d.	stg.	Net Cost, 1828.	Net Cost, 1827.
24 inches.	0 10	"	"	30 1-2 cents.	27 cents.
	0 11	"	"	32 1-2 "	30 "
	1 0	"	"	35 "	33 "
		"	"	37 "	36 "
27 inches.	0 9	"	"	31 1-2 "	27 "
	0 10	"	"	33 1-2 "	30 "
	0 11	"	"	36 "	33 "
	1 0	"	"	38 "	36 "
	1 1 1-2	"	"	42 "	40 "
27 inches.	1 6	"	"	58 1-2 "	53 1-2 "
	1 7	"	"	60 1-2 "	56 1-2 "
	1 8	"	"	63 "	59 1-2 "
	2 6	"	"	1 03 "	89 1-2 "
	2 8	"	"	1 07 "	95 1-2 "
	2 10	"	"	1 12 "	1 01 1-2 "
	3 0	"	"	1 16 1-2 "	1 07 1-2 "
	3 2	"	"	1 21 1-2 "	1 13 1-2 "
	3 4	"	"	1 26 "	1 19 1-2 "

Kerseys and Forest Cloths.

CHAPTER III.

COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE.

COMMERCE has frequently, in the history of nations, evinced the rapidity of its growth, as in the cases of Venice, Holland, and Great Britain; but in no instance has its progress been more remarkable than in that of the United States. It will not be necessary to insert any details respecting the state of commerce while the Americans were under the colonial yoke, since, under the commercial laws then existing, the energies of the colonies were as much as possible repressed, except in subserviency to the interests of the mother-country. During the war of the revolution, the degree of traffic which had previously existed was, of course, suspended; and after the peace of 1785, commerce still laboured under peculiar difficulties. The chief of these resulted from the political constitution which the thirteen "sovereign states" had thought fit to adopt. This subject has already been referred to as affecting the manufacturing interest; but the introduction of some additional particulars, illustrative of its bearing on commerce, will not be deemed unnecessary. The original constitution did not admit of the imposition of any duties by the congress, without the unanimous vote of all the states; while the right which was thus shackled as it respected the general government, was accorded to each of the separate states. It is not, therefore, matter of surprise, that some of the states should have acted in opposition to others, as their interest might dictate. When the state of Pennsylvania laid a duty on foreign merchandise imported, the state of New Jersey, equally washed by the waters of the Delaware river, admitted the same articles free of duty; and they could easily be smuggled into one state from the other. The several states laid different rates of duty on foreign tonnage; in some, one shilling sterling per ton was imposed on vessels, which in other states paid three shillings sterling per ton. Such was the misunderstanding amongst the several states, that there were no general commercial regulations, nor could the congress enforce any, while the opposition of any one of the states could prevent the passage of any act on the subject. The evil of this condition of affairs was flagrantly manifest, when, to provide a fund to discharge the public debt, and to pay the arrears due to the soldiers who fought the battles of the revolution, it was proposed in congress, during the operation of the articles of confederation, to lay a duty of 5 per cent. ad valorem, on foreign merchandise imported into the United States, and the

opposition of the state of Rhode Island was of itself sufficient to defeat this plan.

The nations of Europe were well pleased to avail themselves of the embarrassed condition of the United States; for even those who had assisted them in their struggle for independence, now viewed them with a jealous eye as competitors in the field of commerce; and when, soon after the peace, the republic endeavoured to negotiate treaties of commerce with Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal, the offer was in each case met with a refusal. The conviction that this portion of the federal constitution required amendment, was one of the principal reasons which induced the people of the United States to call a convention for its revision. Happily, the convention, when assembled, concurred in the necessity of an alteration on this point, and the new constitution contained the following clauses:—"Art. I. Sect. VIII. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes.—Sect. IX. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.—Sect. X. No state shall, without the consent of the congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports, or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the congress." Not long after the new constitution had been adopted, the secretary of state proposed a liberal system of policy, in relation to commercial intercourse with other nations. His views were detailed in a report, made in answer to a resolution of the House of Representatives, of the 23d of February, 1791. Strongly advocating a free commerce with every nation, the secretary thus expressed himself:—"Instead of embarrassing commerce under piles of regulating laws, duties, and prohibitions, it should be relieved from all its shackles in all parts of the world. Would even a single nation begin with the United States this system of free commerce, it would be advisable to begin it with that nation."

These domestic arrangements had a very favourable influence on American commerce; but a new and most extensive field for it was now opened by the circumstances which transpired in Europe. "The wars consequent on the French revolution

created a demand for our exports," says Dr. Seybert, "and invited our shipping for the carrying trade of a very considerable portion of Europe; we not only carried the colonial productions to the several parent states, but we also became the purchasers of them in the French, Spanish, and Dutch colonies. A new era was established in our commercial history; the individuals who partook of these advantages were numerous; our catalogue of merchants was swelled much beyond what it was entitled to be from the state of our population. Many persons who had secured moderate capitals from mechanical pursuits, soon became adventurers; and the most adventurous became the most wealthy, and that without the knowledge of any of the principles which govern commerce under ordinary circumstances. No one was limited to any one branch of trade; the same individual was concerned in voyages to Asia, South America, the West Indies, and Europe. Our tonnage increased in a ratio with the extended catalogue of the exports; we seemed to have arrived at the maximum of human prosperity; in proportion to our population, we ranked as the most commercial of nations; in point of value, our trade was only second to that of Great Britain."*

In 1790, the aggregate of exports was estimated at 19,012,041 dollars; in 1791 their value was increased by 1,741,057 dollars, or about one eleventh of their amount in 1790. In 1792, the aggregate of the exports amounted to 26,109,572 dollars; the addition in the course of this year was 5,356,474 dollars, or more than one fifth of their total value in the preceding year. In 1793, the exports were estimated at 33,026,233 dollars, or they were augmented considerably above one fourth of their amount in 1792. The value of the exports increased with the progress of the war in Europe; this effect was common to the domestic surplus products, and to the foreign merchandise re-exported. Prior to 1795, there was no discrimination at the treasury department of the value of the domestic and foreign merchandise exported from the United States. In 1795, the aggregate value of the merchandise exported was estimated at 67,064,097 dollars; of this amount the domestic productions were estimated at 40,764,097 dollars, and the foreign produce re-exported at 26,300,000 dollars. In 1796, the foreign merchandise re-exported was only 2,850,208 dollars less in value than that of the domestic exports; in 1797, the foreign merchandise exceeded the value of the domestic exports by 4,472,903 dollars; during several of the succeeding

years, the value of the foreign merchandise exported greatly surpassed that of the domestic articles, and, in 1806, was estimated at 59,643,558 dollars, or it exceeded the value of the domestic exports by more than one fifth, or 22,47 per cent. In 1805, the foreign merchandise re-exported arrived at the maximum, and amounted to 60,283,236 dollars, and in that year exceeded the value of the domestic productions exported in any one preceding or succeeding year, 1816 and 1817 excepted. The periodical progress of the export trade is exhibited by the following statements, viz. :—

	Dollars.
Total value of the exports from the United States, in 1795	67,064,097
Ditto ditto, 1790	19,012,041
Increase in five years	48,052,056
Total value of the exports from the United States, in 1800	94,115,925
Increase in ten years	75,103,884
Total value of the exports from the United States, in 1805	101,536,963
Increase in fifteen years	82,524,922
Total value of the exports from the United States, in 1806, when they arrived at the maximum	108,343,150
Increase in sixteen years	89,331,109

This astonishing progress could not fail to attract the attention, and to excite the commercial jealousy of the principal nations of Europe; and the war at this time raging between England and France was carried on not only by military and naval armaments, but by commercial codes of restriction and prohibition, by which the Americans, as a neutral power, were more seriously injured than either of the belligerents. Indeed, between the years 1804 and 1807 inclusive, above 1000 American merchant vessels were captured, by nations professedly at peace with the United States, for alleged breaches of blockade, or of commercial decrees. Under these circumstances, the government of the United States, at the close of the year 1807, resorted to an embargo to prevent the destruction of the mercantile navy, which was continued till March, 1809. Thus the export trade of the United States, after having, in the course of sixteen years, from 1790 to 1806, acquired an augmentation of 89,331,109 dollars, was, in 1807, in an instant, reduced to the aggregate of 22,430,960 dollars only 1,677,862 dollars more than the amount in 1791, the second year after the organization of the present government. After the embargo was taken off in

* Seybert's Statistical Annals of the United States, p. 61.

1809, commerce speedily revived, and during that and the following year the amount of exports, so far as related to domestic products, was greater than the average of the ten years from 1802 to 1812. Subsequently to the declaration of war with Great Britain, the export trade of the United States was of course materially and progressively depressed, till, in the year 1814, it did not amount to seven millions of dollars. At the conclusion of the war the exports rose, in 1815, to fifty-two millions; in 1816, to eighty-one; in 1817, to eighty-seven; in 1818, to ninety-three. From 1819 to 1824, the amount ranged between sixty-five and seventy-five millions, the average being above seventy; but, in 1825, the amount of exports again rose to nearly one hundred millions of dollars. From the year 1826 to 1830, the exports have ranged from seventy to eighty millions; the exports of foreign goods have declined materially, the amount for the year 1830 being little more than fourteen millions, a smaller amount than any year since 1803, except that of the embargo, and those of the war, while the domestic exports are nearly sixty millions, an amount exceeding those of any preceding year, since the establishment of the republic, except the years 1816, 17, 18, and 25.

The official returns presented to congress divide the exports into four classes: those of the sea, the forest, agriculture, and manufactures. The following is a summary of the exports of the year 1830; the details will be found in Table, No. I., at the close of this chapter. The products of the sea, consisting of the results of the whale, cod, mackerel, and herring fisheries, exported mostly from the northern states, amount to 1,725,270 dollars, being nearly a thirty-fifth part of the whole domestic export. About one third of this value consists of codfish, and more than half of the products of the whale-fisheries.

The value of skins, furs, ginseng, lumber, staves, bark, tar, pitch, rosin, and turpentine, and pot and pearl ashes, partly from the northern, and partly from the southern states, which were formerly of much greater comparative importance in the trade of the country, now constitutes nearly one fifteenth part of the whole value of the domestic exports, and amounts to 4,192,040 dollars. A large proportion of the trade in these articles, as well as in those of codfish and bread-stuffs, is carried on with the West Indies, Mexico, and South America. The skins and the furs go to Europe and Canton, the ginseng to Canton, but in less quantity than formerly, and the pot and pearl ashes are sent to England and France.

The chief amount, however, of articles of export

consists, as would naturally be supposed, of the products of agriculture. The article of cotton alone furnishes nearly half the amount of the whole exports of the United States, being, for the year 1830, 29,674,883 dollars. The next article in importance of export is wheat, either as grain, flour, or biscuit, the amount being 6,320,617 dollars. The third in amount is tobacco, 5,586,365 dollars; the fourth, rice, 1,986,824 dollars; the fifth, the produce of swine, including pork, bacon, and live hogs, 1,315,245 dollars. Three of the most important of these articles, (cotton, tobacco, and rice,) amounting collectively to 37,248,072 dollars, are the produce of the southern states, including Virginia and Kentucky. The other agricultural exports, namely, beef, tallow, hides and cattle, butter, cheese, horses, mules, sheep, rye-meal, oats, potatoes, and apples, flax-seed, and hops, are mostly furnished by the middle and western states. Cattle, and their products, including butter and cheese, amounted to 860,053 dollars. This species of export is of far less comparative importance than formerly, being limited to its present amount, not by the capacity for production, but by the extent of demand in the foreign markets; an increase of the foreign demand would very soon double and treble the quantity. Some of the articles comprehended in the above list, though agricultural products, yet involve some process of manufacture; such, for example, as butter, cheese, bacon, flour, biscuit, meal, and part of the tobacco. A great many, however, of the exports coming under the head of manufactures include in them the value of materials supplied by agriculture, such as the cotton fabrics, those of leather, and spirits distilled from grain; so that, on the whole, the strictly agricultural products of the country constitute a larger proportion of the whole exports than the tables represent; and, if we add the value of the materials supplied by agriculture for the manufactured exports, we shall have at least six sevenths of the whole domestic exportation consisting of the raw products of agriculture.

The total amount of manufactured articles exported from the United States, in the year 1830, is estimated in the official returns, at 6,258,131 dollars, being rather more than one tenth of the domestic exports of the country; about 930,000 dollars should, however, be struck out of the list of domestic imports, being gold and silver coin, consisting mostly of metals imported from abroad, and, after being coined at the mint, again exported. The labour put upon these materials, in coining, is so inconsiderable a part of their value, that the amount of the coin of country exported ought not to be included in the esti-

mate of the value of manufactured exports. Considerable quantities of gold, it is true, have been produced in North Carolina, but by no means enough, as yet, to supply the demand for the consumption of the country, though it is to be considered, at the same time, that this article, as far as it is supplied from the domestic mines, will be chiefly exported, being drawn into this channel by the higher price of gold, as compared with silver, in England and France than in the United States. Some of it is arrested for use in jewellery and the arts, but very little in the currency, or in the vaults of the banks. As cotton fabrics also form a large item in this list of exported manufactures, and those fabrics are mostly of the coarser kind, the raw material will constitute a very considerable part of their value, and the proportional value of the direct wages of manufacturing labour incorporated in these exports will be proportionately less. If, for instance, a plough, or trunk, or quantity of combs, be sent abroad, almost the whole value of the export consists of the wages of the manufacturers; and a still greater proportion of the value of earthen and stone wares, which make a very considerable item in this list, is of this description; whereas an export of spirits distilled from West India molasses comprises a comparatively small proportional value of manufacturing labour. Taking the whole list of domestic manufactured articles together, and making allowances for the cost of the raw materials in their rudest state, after they are taken from the ground or from animals, and assume the character of merchandise, by deducting their value from the gross amount of that of the exported manufactures, the remainder, which is the result of the manufacturing labour, interest of capital, and profits incorporated into these materials, to bring them into the state in which they are exported, may be estimated at about 4,000,000 dollars. Of the articles of export on which the arts of the United States are employed, the most considerable are cotton twist, thread, and fabrics, the exported value of which for the year 1830 was 1,318,183 dollars, being more than one fiftieth part of the whole domestic exports, the principal markets of which are South America, Mexico, and the Mediterranean. The value of leather and its various manufactures exported, is 375,250 dollars. Hats exported during the same year amount to 309,362 dollars, a very large sum, considering the short period during which this article has been sent to foreign markets. Soap and candles have long been supplied for the foreign markets, but have lately been on the decline, the amount for the year 1830 being 619,238 dollars. The various articles

manufactured for the most part of wood, such as furniture, or of wood, leather, and iron, such as coaches and carriages, besides various agricultural implements supplied to the West Indies and South America, constitute an important branch of trade. The American glass begins to appear in the foreign markets: the value sent abroad in 1830 was 60,280 dollars, and it bids fair to be increased. The other exports consist of a variety of articles in small quantities, among which are, wearing apparel, combs and buttons, brushes, fire engines and apparatus, printing presses and types, musical instruments, books, maps, paper and stationary, and trunks. It is apparent from the above enumeration and estimates, that the manufactured articles of which the export is most considerable and the most flourishing, are those of which the raw materials consist mostly of cotton, wood, and leather.

The foreign articles imported and again exported from the country during the year 1830, amounted to 14,378,479 dollars. This transit trade thus appears to form a very important part of the American commerce. The principal foreign articles re-exported are cottons, coffee and cocoa, sugar, tea, wines, and hardware.

The imports of the United States are of great importance to the commercial interest of the world, but especially to that of Great Britain; and the regulations respecting their admission, as already referred to in connexion with manufactures, form the most prominent topic of discussion, as a domestic question, in the several states composing the republic. It will therefore neither be uninteresting nor unimportant to exhibit a statement of the amounts of the principal imports, distinguishing the countries from which the greater portion of them are severally received. In doing so, we shall, with some slight deviations, follow the order observed in the annual statements of the secretary of the treasury made to congress, and take as the basis of our observations the statement of the year ending the 30th of September, 1830. The principal articles are manufactures of wool, cotton, silk, flax, and hemp, iron, tea, wine, and earthenware; also raw hides and skins, and gold and silver: there are, however, considerable quantities of a great variety of other articles, the produce or manufacture of the different nations of the globe. The information which the following statements contain, if attentively considered, will afford a more correct idea of the state of the inhabitants of the republic, than the personal narration of any individual, however accomplished or intelligent, and however extensively he may have travelled. It must be borne in mind, that

the imports are consumed by a population scarcely amounting to thirteen millions, and in addition to a greater amount of domestic produce than is supplied by any corresponding amount of population.

The articles first noticed are those admitted free of duty—among these are philosophical apparatus, for the use of incorporated societies for the promotion of learning and science, to the amount of 9,830 dollars, imported in nearly equal proportions from England and France; books, maps, and charts, under the same conditions, to the amount of 19,621 dollars, more than three fourths of which were from England, and the remainder about equally divided between France and Germany, the latter through the medium of the Hanse Towns; specimens of botany and natural history, to the amount of 6,118 dollars, from upwards of twenty different countries; models of invention and machinery, 897 dollars, almost exclusively from England; and anatomical preparations, 274 dollars, from France. The fact that this class of articles is duty free, evinces a laudable attention on the part of the congress of the United States to the interests of science and literature; and we hope that no long period will elapse before every production connected with their advancement, not only in the recognised institutions of the country, but in the pursuits of individuals or families, will be accessible on the same terms. We deem it a sound and incontrovertible principle, that the improvement and expansion of the national mind ought not to be impeded or delayed, either for the revenue of government, or for the gain of individuals. To act on a contrary principle is bartering that which is beyond all price.

The remaining articles which are admitted without payment of duty, are either articles derived from mining or from agriculture, which the United States do not produce in sufficient quantities; or of manufactures in which they do not excel. We can only mention a few of the principal of them, referring our readers for the particulars of the remainder to Table IV. Furs were imported in 1830 to the amount of 305,782 dollars, of which, 205,090 dollars were from England; 64,584 dollars from the British American colonies; 19,363 dollars from France; and the remainder in small portions from nine other countries. Raw hides and skins constitute the largest amount of articles (with the exception of specie) imported duty free, being, in 1830, 2,409,850 dollars, of which, 1,904,251 dollars are from the states of South America;* 85,374 dollars from Hayti; and the remainder

in portions, varying from 100 dollars to 60,000 dollars, from twenty other countries. Plaster of Paris is imported to the amount of 125,606 dollars, of which, 119,234 dollars were from the British American colonies, and the remainder from France. Dye wood to the amount of 279,411 dollars, of which, 161,634 dollars were from South America; 77,078 dollars from Hayti; and the remainder chiefly from the West Indies. Mahogany timber to the amount of 286,825 dollars, of which, 203,948 dollars were from Hayti; 28,917 dollars from Cuba; 25,018 dollars from the Central Republic of America; and the remainder chiefly from Mexico and the British West Indies. Of metals, tin was imported to the amount of 101,341 dollars, of which, 62,862 dollars were from England; 15,450 dollars from the Dutch East Indies; 5,960 dollars from China; 9,007 dollars from the Netherlands; 2,485 dollars from the British East Indies; and the remainder from Chili and Peru: copper is imported to a large amount,—403,203 dollars in bars, 283,785 dollars in plates for the sheathing of ships, &c.; 14,435 dollars for the use of the mint, and 82,413 dollars of old copper to be remanufactured; of the former amount, 231,493 dollars were from Peru; 154,965 dollars from Chili; 14,700 from Colombia; and the remainder chiefly from the British American colonies: the amount for sheathing ships was almost exclusively from England, as was also that for the use of the mint. The amount of gold as bullion, imported in 1830, was 115,267 dollars, of which, 39,557 dollars were from Mexico; 33,022 dollars from Africa; 25,633 dollars from Peru; and 12,056 dollars from Colombia: the amount of gold, as specie, was 705,000 dollars, of which 131,852 dollars were from Colombia; 81,343 dollars from other countries of South America; 69,267 dollars from Cuba; 81,262 dollars from British American colonies, and the West Indies; 81,384 dollars from the Swedish West Indies; 78,534 dollars from the Danish West Indies; 76,356 dollars from the Dutch West Indies; 53,123 dollars from England; and the remainder in small amounts from various countries. The amount of silver imported is much larger than that of gold; the amount in bullion was 1,049,343 dollars; of which, 781,201 dollars were from Mexico; 159,735 dollars from Peru; 75,712 from other parts of South America; 18,719 dollars from Cuba; and the remainder from the Dutch and Danish West Indies, and the South Seas. The silver, in specie, imported in 1830, amounted to 6,285,475 dollars, of which, 3,860,936 dollars were from Mexico; 988,756 dollars from

* In these statements it is found convenient to regard Mexico as one of the South American states, as it is generally included

in that appellation by Americans in their commercial transactions.

South America generally; 273,498 dollars from Cuba; 242,468 dollars from the French West Indies; 237,953 dollars from the British American colonies and West Indies; 161,452 dollars from the Danish West Indies; and the remainder from all other parts of the world.

The total amount of articles admitted duty free, in 1830, was 12,746,245 dollars, of which, considerably more than half, however, was gold and silver; of the remainder, raw hides and skins constituted more than three sixths, or nearly one fourth of the whole amount of articles imported duty free; copper about one sixth; furs, dye wood, and mahogany, one sixth, the remaining sixth being divided among miscellaneous articles, the particulars of which will be found in the Table IV.

It cannot fail to have struck our readers, that, when the gold and silver are deducted, the amount of articles admitted duty free bears an extremely small proportion to the whole amount of imports; and it will appear in the sequel, that duties of a greater or less degree have been imposed, not only on all articles which could be procured in sufficient quantities or could be manufactured in America, but upon

those, also, where there could not possibly be at present any international competition. It is, therefore, probable that duties of the latter kind will be remitted, when, the public debt being discharged, the revenue arising from them will not be required; though but little expectation can exist that the protection afforded to American manufacturers will be diminished.

Of the imports subject to duty, the first, as to amount, is cotton, in its various forms of manufacture. It is hardly needful to state, that the great bulk of this article is supplied from England. The amounts from England, Scotland, and France, will be seen in the following table, which, with similar tables subsequently given of the principal articles of import, has been compiled from the last treasury statement, that of the year 1830. The tables have been so arranged as to exhibit the information contained in that publication in a form more readily apprehended, and also to afford the additional information of the total amount of each article imported from the several countries named. They have also been condensed, by omitting the countries from which small amounts only have been imported.

COTTONS.	England.	Scotland.	France.	All other Countries.	Total.
	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
Printed or Coloured	3,553,509	259,038	355,227	188,901	4,356,675
White	1,868,723	65,862	178,784	374,535	2,487,804
Hosiery, Gloves, Mitts, Bindings, &c.	201,783	4	4,001	181,666	387,454
Twist, Yarn, and Thread	141,212	26,899	693	3,981	172,785
Nankeens	23,658	—	2,078	202,497	228,333
All other Manufactures	96,572	2,786	79,204	50,813	229,375
Total from each country	5,885,457	354,589	619,987	1,002,393	7,862,326

The following statement of the manufacture of cotton in the United States, which has lately been published, seems sufficiently authentic. The state of the cotton manufactures in the United States, in 1831, as collected by the Committee of the New York convention, shows, that there were in twelve states of the union, 795 cotton mills, with a capital of \$40,714,984, manufacturing annually 77,751,316 lbs. of cotton, or 214,882 bales of 361,86,100 lbs.

Number of spindles	1,246,903
Number of looms	33,506
Pounds of yarn sold	10,642,000
Yards of cloth made	230,461,900
Pounds of cloth	59,604,925
Males employed	18,593
Females employed	38,927
Pounds of starch used	1,641,253

Barrels of flour for sizing,	17,245
Cords of wood burnt	46,519
Tons of coal burnt	24,420
Bushels of charcoal burnt	9,205
Value of other articles consumed not enumerated	599,223
Spindles then building	172,924
Gallons of oil consumed	300,338
Hand weavers	4,760
Total dependents	117,626
Annual value of cotton manufactures	26,000,000
Aggregate or total annual amount of wages paid	10,294,944

Of articles manufactured from wool, it will be perceived that France furnishes a considerable quantity, although bearing a very small proportion to that of England. The importations from France consist chiefly of stuffs, and other light articles, in which their manufacturers excel those of England, and also some sorts of blankets.

WOOLLENS.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	France.	All other Countries.	Total.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Not exceeding 50 cts. per square yard	418,324	3,604	8	25,098	5,709	452,743
Exceeding 50 cts. and not exceeding 100 cts. per square yard	958,458	453	12	98,695	26,197	1,083,815
Exceeding 100 cts. and not exceeding 250 cts. per square yard	1,137,370	1,726	5	68,166	28,792	1,236,060
Exceeding 250 cts. and not exceeding 400 cts. per square yard	69,984	486	—	3,439	1,797	75,706
Exceeding 400 cts. per square yard	5,890	—	—	—	125	6,015
Blankets	551,149	10	124	42,588	173	594,044
Hosiery, Gloves, Mitts, &c.	124,116	91	3,794	1,040	4,412	133,453
Bombazines	22,906	—	—	10,927	54	33,887
Worsted Stuff Goods	1,228,707	838	40	102,234	65,726	1,397,545
All other Manufactures	157,869	6,155	—	132,379	22,903	319,306
Not exceeding 33½ cts. per square yard	263,283	2,307	—	170	300	266,060
Total from each country	4,938,056	15,670	3,984	484,736	156,188	5,598,634

About six tenths of the silk used in the United States is imported from France, nearly two tenths from China, rather more than one tenth from England and the British East Indies, and the remainder chiefly from Italy. It will be apparent in this arti-

cle, as in many others, that the inhabitants of the union have an advantage over the nations of Europe, in the opportunity of importing their manufactures from those countries which severally bring them to the highest perfection.*

SILKS.	England, &c.	British East Indies.	France.	China.	Italy.	All other Countries.	Total.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
From From India. { Piece Goods	29,358	376,166	2,922	942,923	—	15,723	1,367,092
{ Other Manufactures	—	—	—	28,756	—	2,468	31,224
From From Europe. { Piece Goods	249,860	—	2,256,529	—	265,892	52,637	2,824,918
{ Other Manufactures	119,701	—	1,291,849	—	89,545	49,681	1,550,776
Total from each country	398,919	376,166	3,551,300	971,679	355,437	120,509	5,774,010

The importations of the manufacture of flax are from the northern nations of Europe; more than six tenths from England, Scotland, and Ireland, two tenths

from the Hanse Towns, one tenth from France, one twentieth from Russia, and the remainder chiefly from the Netherlands, or through the medium of Cuba.

MANUFACTURES OF FLAX.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Hanse Towns.	France.	Russia.	All other Countries.	Total.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Linen	1,088,554	156,495	288,524	496,907	292,372	93,019	79,182	2,485,053
Checks and Stripes	23,028	2,750	—	16,923	—	—	24	42,725
Other Manufactures	170,295	185,481	606	20,855	9,137	88,350	8,778	483,503
Total from each country	1,281,877	344,726	289,130	534,685	291,509	181,369	87,984	3,011,280

Of the articles made from hemp, Scotland furnishes nearly half, Russia a quarter, England an eighth, and

the remaining eighth comes chiefly from the Hanse Towns.

MANUFACTURES OF HEMP.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Russia.	Hanse Towns.	All other Countries.	Total.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Ticklenburghs, &c.	79,846	400,070	4,046	—	79,663	40	563,665
Sheeting	9,138	—	—	241,098	—	1	250,237
Other Manufactures	28,642	95,635	—	3,225	5,517	84	133,103
Total from each country	117,626	495,705	4,046	244,323	85,180	125	947,005

Carpeting was imported during the year to the amount of 200,451 dollars, exclusively from Great

Britain or her colonies; sail duck, to the amount of 317,347 dollars, of which 259,896 were from Russia,

* It will perhaps raise the character of the inhabitants of the United States in the opinion of some of our fashionable coteries, if they are informed that French silks and Canton crapes are pro-

fusely worn in that country, even by the moderately gay; and that female dress is sometimes as splendid, and sometimes as ridiculous in New York as in London.

28,485 from the Netherlands, 18,483 from England and Scotland, and 9,567 from the Hanse Towns; cotton bagging, to the amount of 69,126 dollars, of which 52,918 were from Scotland, 5,852 from England, and 10,345 from the Hanse Towns.

Travellers in the United States have expressed

themselves surprised at the variety of foreign wines produced at the tables of the more wealthy inhabitants: when the various kinds included under the different heads of the following table are considered, the amateur in this luxury is left without a wish ungratified, except that of actual participation.

WINES.	England.	British E. Indies.	Portugal.	Gibraltar.	France.	Spain.	Italy and Malta.	All other Countries.	Total value.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Madeira	20,631	50,239	10,579	40	137	—	—	248,797	336,423
Sherry	29,263	100	—	1,276	—	38,124	3	781	69,547
Red of France and Spain	1	—	—	1,310	245,549	20,517	1,244	4,412	273,033
Of France, Spain, Germany, and Mediterranean, not enumerated	404	—	—	27,097	202,029	166,882	5,744	22,148	424,304
Of Sicily and all others not enumerated	15,203	355	84,321	3,309	187,443	5,231	44,685	97,248	437,795
Total from each country	65,502	50,694	94,900	33,032	635,158	230,754	51,676	373,386	1,535,102

However delicious the wines, the desert would be incomplete without the fruits of various climates: but when, in addition to the melons, apples, peaches, pine-apples, oranges, and a hundred other fruits which are the domestic produce of different sections of the

union, are added all the varieties of foreign fruits, epicures, either of the city or west-end species, might partake of an American desert without one serious regret, except, perhaps, that its flavour was destroyed by the *day-light*.

FRUITS.	England.	Gibraltar.	France.	Spain.	Cuba.	Italy and Malta.	Adriatic Ports.	Turkey, Levant, & Egypt.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
Almonds	—	65,757	836,526	165,213	27,140	64,006	—	—
Currants	392,839	—	—	407	—	23,962	153,731	156,590
Prunes and Plums	—	21	70,139	14,576	2,139	—	—	—
Figs	41,238	1,169	313	111,151	39,991	1,669	—	1,423,759
Raisins	54,981	429,385	28,838	4,892,819	72,403	—	11,299	741,017
Total from each country	489,058	496,332	935,816	5,184,166	141,673	89,637	165,030	2,321,366

By the quantity of spirits distilled in America, and the duty imposed on those coming from abroad, the quantity imported is reduced to a comparatively small amount. Of spirits manufactured from grain, the amount imported is 205,704 dollars, of which, 183,551 dollars are from the Netherlands: of those distilled from other materials, the total amount is 453,286 dollars, of which, 199,945 dollars are from the Danish West Indies, and 200,899 from France. The amount of molasses imported is 995,776 dollars, of which, 665,238 dollars are from Cuba; 66,097 dollars from other Spanish West Indies; 154,833 dollars from the French West Indies; 72,549 dollars from the Dutch West Indies; while from the British West Indies, in consequence of the commercial regulations existing, the amount is only 1,239 dollars. Of beer, ale, and porter, the quantity is only 65,260, and the value 60,420 dollars: almost the whole comes

from England and Scotland. If the price of English porter is 4s. 6d. per gallon, (more than five times the price of French wines,) the diminutive amount of the quantity imported can not be matter of surprise.

The amount of tea consumed in the United States is very considerable, and, with exceptions scarcely worth mentioning, is imported direct from China. Of Bohea, 152,990 lbs. only are imported; but of Souchong, and other black, 2,166,142 lbs.; of Hyson and other green, 5,637,247 lbs., and 653,036 lbs. Imperial; the whole value being 2,425,018 dollars. Considerable as is the import of tea, that of coffee is nearly double in value, and six times the amount in weight, being 51,488,248 lbs., worth 4,227,021 dollars. Nearly sixteen millions of pounds are imported from Cuba, fourteen millions and a half from Brazil, and more than eleven millions from Hayti,* while

* We request the advocates of West India slavery to reconcile this authentic statement with their assertion, that since the blacks of Hayti had enfranchised themselves, they had ceased the culti-

vation of this plant, or at least, did not carry it beyond their own immediate necessities.

the amount from the British West India islands is only 57,632 lbs.

The next article we have to notice is of a character very different from the preceding, though not inferior to any in utility,—it is iron. In the variety of articles manufactured from it, this material is pre-eminent; and it will be seen that, almost without exception, the manufactured articles imported, from the needle to the sledge hammer, are from Great Britain; while, on the other hand, the chief importation of bar and bolt iron is from Sweden and Russia. No table more manifests the superiority of British skill, industry, and capital, over that of her competitors, than that respecting iron; and we apprehend

this is almost the last point which will yield to foreign competition. The lighter manufactures of Great Britain may the sooner be superseded in the American market, because on these females labour, and from the decided aversion of the youth of that sex to domestic service, their labour may be brought to bear at a rate very little exceeding the pittance now paid to the English weaver; while, notwithstanding a protecting duty varying from twenty-five to one hundred per cent. on iron, it may be found impossible to exclude the foreign article on account of the high price in the United States of such labour as can only be performed by men.

IRON.	England, &c.	British Colonies.	Russia.	Sweden.	All other Countries.	Total.
<i>Subject to ad valorem duties.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
Side-arms and Fire-arms, other than Muskets and Rifles	98,248	12	—	—	80,893	179,153
Drawing-knives, Axes, Adzes, and Socket-chisels	28,998	9	—	—	—	29,007
Bridle-bits	62,253	—	—	—	18	62,271
Steelyards, Scalebeams, and Vices	30,899	—	—	—	—	30,899
Cutting Knives, Sithes, Spades, &c.	85,821	4	—	—	9,179	95,004
Screws	66,832	—	—	—	3	66,835
Other Articles	2,791,487	714	—	—	116,777	2,908,978
<i>Subject to specific duties.</i>						
Muskets	10,824	38	—	300	13,980	25,142
Rifles	58	27	—	—	—	85
Iron and Steel Wire	59,326	54	—	—	105	59,485
Tacks, Brads, Nails, and Spikes	44,570	240	—	—	286	45,096
Chains and Cables	24,181	505	—	—	1,098	25,885
Mill Irons and Saws	12,252	300	—	—	—	12,452
Anchors	473	128	—	—	520	1,121
Anvils and Blacksmiths' Hammers	34,291	52	—	—	2	34,345
Castings, &c.	33,304	1,144	—	—	4,238	38,686
Rods	6,348	71	—	240	70	6,729
Sheets and Hoop	55,270	2,061	2,482	—	19	59,822
In Pigs	25,643	1	—	—	27,000	52,644
Bars and Bolts	243,802	1,767	541,445	1,148,604	21,093	1,956,711
Steel	233,200	97	—	6,499	52,161	291,957
Total from each country	3,948,080	7,225	543,927	1,155,643	327,342	5,982,307

Owing to the heavy duty, the amount of paper imported into the United States is very limited, being only 110,408 dollars; of this amount, 36,023 dollars are from France; 36,654 dollars from Cuba; 16,208 dollars from England; and 10,168 dollars from Italy. It will be perceived that the articles are con-

fined to letter paper, or mere fancy papers, there being no amount worth mentioning of printing or plate paper. We do not know that this duty has any unfavourable influence on the progress of knowledge, as paper is manufactured nearly as well, and quite as cheap, in the United States as in other countries.

PAPER.	England.	France.	Italy.	Cuba.
	<i>lbs.</i>	<i>lbs.</i>	<i>lbs.</i>	<i>lbs.</i>
Folio and 4to Post	6,682	24,746	14,669	—
Foolscap, Drawing, and Writing	6,160	195,660	79,757	189,136
Printing, Copper-plate, and Stainers	5	32	—	902
Binders and Wrappers	1,005	11,831	—	—
All Other	20,113	11,038	766	2,507
Value in Dollars	16,208	36,023	10,168	36,654

It is with regret we perceive that the importation of books is so comparatively trivial—certainly the amount not at all corresponding with the mental demands of a prosperous republic, containing thirteen millions of inhabitants. The total amount from all foreign countries is only 130,632 dollars, of which, 81,752 are from England, 34,262 from France, 7,075 from the Hanse Towns, 2,346 from the Netherlands, and 1,897 from Italy. We have already expressed our regrets and our hopes on the subject of the pro-

tecting duty which thus limits the importation of knowledge, and will only, therefore, repeat our firm expectation, that the impolicy of an impost so contrary to the peculiar characteristic of an age in which, by "running to and fro," "knowledge is increased," will speedily be discovered by the very class for whose sake it has been enacted, and who, were they less enlightened, might deem it a benefit to themselves, to be nothing less than a national injury.

BOOKS.		England.	France.	Italy.	Hanse Towns.	Cuba.	Netherlands.
Volumes	Printed previous to 1775	785	—	—	—	—	—
In Pounds	In other Languages, except English, Latin, and Greek	2,178	67,433	1,999	9,348	1,790	4,198
	Latin or Greek	2,712	1,636	74	3,407	—	42
	All others (English)	79,478	2,191	58	122	54	—
Value in Dollars		81,752	34,262	1,897	7,075	474	2,346

Glass still continues to form an article of import, though to a very diminished amount. It is chiefly imported from Great Britain, France, and the Hanse Towns.

The Scotch proverb, that "many mickles make a muckle," has no better exemplification than in the import of cigars into the United States, which amounts to 251,818 dollars, of which 243,526 are from Cuba. Thus nearly double the amount of dollars is spent in smoke by the Americans, of that bestowed on works of English and other foreign literature. Surely it would be better to *protect* cigars, and leave knowledge free.

It only remains for us to notice a few articles of raw material, which are imported into the United States. Hemp, to the amount of 200,338 dollars, almost exclusively from Russia; flax, 39,055, of which 29,101 are from Russia, 8,604 from Prussia, and the remainder from the Netherlands; wool, to the amount of 96,853 dollars, of which 39,846 were from England, 20,329 from Turkey, the Levant, and Egypt, 13,932 from Spain, 8,594 from Portugal, 6,252 from the Hanse Towns, and the remainder from the British colonies and South America. Only a few years since, the American wools were an article of export to Great Britain; but a duty being placed on the importation of inferior wools, for the protection of the British farmer, (or, perhaps, more truly—and it is well to accustom ourselves to write the truth on all occasions—for the benefit of the British landholder,) the Americans were forced to commence, though, at first, in the very rudest shape, the manufacture of woollens; and from this commencement the manufacture of that article has advanced, till it not only consumes all the

American wool, but requires a large amount of import. The amount of this article imported for the year 1831, (of which the official accounts are not yet published,) has, we find, far exceeded that of any former year.

Notwithstanding the abundance of salt and coal in America; they are both, to some extent, articles of import; of the former, upwards of five millions of bushels (value 671,979 dollars) have been imported, chiefly from Great Britain or her colonies; and of the latter, 1,640,295 bushels, (value 204,773 dollars,) almost entirely from Great Britain and her dependencies.

The total amount of the imports for the year 1830 (70,876,920 dollars) exceeds that of the exports (63,849,508) by 7,027,412 dollars, or about ten per cent. There should, of course, be an excess of value of imports according to those returns, whether their value is estimated at the cost in foreign ports, or at the market-price in the American ports; for these goods are the returns for the exports, the value of which is estimated at the rate of the markets in the United States; and, unless a greater value of merchandise can be obtained in exchange in the foreign ports, the ship-owners would obtain nothing for outward freight: and still more ought the value of the imports in the American markets, after deducting duties, to exceed that of the exports, since this excess is the only fund for paying the two freights and interest on the capital employed. It can scarcely be doubted, that the estimated amount of the imports must be much under the real value; for the difference of ten per cent. between the imports and exports would be utterly inadequate to remunerate

the ship-owner and the merchant, especially as more than sixty-six millions of the imports are in American vessels, and less than five millions in the ships of other nations. With the world at large, therefore, there is no balance of trade against the United States, the real excess of imports being, in fact, only the profit of the parties who devote their capital, time, and skill, to commerce. With separate countries, however, the balance is, in some cases, generally against, and in others almost as uniformly in favour of the United States. With Great Britain, at the present time, the balance is considerably against the United States, and the rate of exchange is consequently ten per cent. in favour of Great Britain, which operates, to a considerable extent, as an additional duty on the imports of the latter country, as for every hundred pounds the American merchant has to remit, he can only procure bills on England at a premium of ten pounds.

The navigation of the United States, although so intimately connected with commerce, requires to be noticed separately. It is certainly a most important interest, not only as associated with the employment of a numerous class of individuals, and a large amount of capital, but from considerations of a national and political character. It is only through their naval power, as combined with their commercial importance, that the United States can cause themselves to be respected by European nations; and it is manifest, that the adequate supply of hardy and well-disciplined mariners, in case of war, must most materially depend on the state of the commercial marine in times of peace. To foster and protect the naval interest was, therefore, naturally one of the earliest measures of the general government of the United States, after their independence had been established. While, as a necessary addition to the revenue, a duty of six cents per ton only was imposed on vessels of the United States, when entering any of her harbours from any foreign port, on all vessels belonging to foreign nations, there was laid a duty at the rate of fifty cents per ton, with an addition of ten per cent. to the several rates of duty on merchandise brought into the United States, when not imported in ships or vessels thereof. The beneficial operation of this system, from the confidence it inspired in the estimation in which the government held the navigation of the country, from the protection afforded by it to an interest destined to be the great source of its revenue, and from its various relations to the industry, the commerce, the fiscal concerns, and the external defence of the republic, was soon made manifest by the resuscitation and rapid

increase of the navigation of the United States, which immediately ensued from the adoption of it, and which were, doubtless, produced in a good degree by these measures of protection, aided however by other causes, which soon after followed and co-operated with them. The discriminating duty was applauded by the merchants of the United States, and by all those classes more immediately connected with its navigation; in addition to its effects on individual interests, and its countervailing influence on the duties imposed on American shipping in foreign ports, it required indeed little prescience to perceive, that, with an extended sea-coast of near two thousand miles, bordering a vast and fertile country, inhabited by an intelligent, brave, and enterprising people, the ocean was destined, at no distant period, to become one of the great sources, alike of their wealth and their industry—of their prosperity and their glory. The discrimination thus instituted between foreign vessels and those of the United States, with occasional alterations, dependent on the circumstances of the times, and the varying dispositions and conduct of other nations towards the republic, with a duty on foreign vessels of fifty cents per ton, as light-money, in 1804, have been continued to the present time, except with those powers with whom conventions or arrangements have been made for a reciprocal abolition, or suspension of them, in whole or in part.

That the increase of the navigation of the United States before alluded to, was as rapid and gratifying as it was unexpected and unexampled, is established by the fact, that the tonnage of the United States, which, in 1789, amounted to 204,998 tons, of which 127,329 were employed in the foreign, 68,607 in the coasting trade, and 9,062 in the fisheries, had reached, in 1807, to 1,477,075 tons, giving, in that space of time, a sevenfold increase, whereof 1,116,241 were employed in foreign trade, 285,090 in the domestic trade of the country, and 75,744 in the fisheries. This very important expansion of the navigation of the United States, as before observed, emanated in part from the discriminating duties; while the unprecedented political circumstances of the times, could not but also have a powerful influence in producing a result so desirable.

The French revolution, which commenced nearly contemporaneously with the adoption of the federal constitution, deranged for a series of years the mercantile operations of nearly all the navigating nations of Europe; and for long periods between the epochs of 1789 and 1807, left the United States as the only important neutral power traversing the ocean. Under these circumstances, the increase and employ-

ment of the shipping of the United States was favoured in a manner which could not, within the same compass of time, have been effected by any other causes; as the hazards of capture and the higher rates of insurance which attached to European vessels at that period in intercourse with the United States, greatly exceeded the influence of the discriminating duties, and served almost to extinguish, at least for a time, the freighting business of this country, and of other nations, in the vessels of the belligerents. But, in 1807, it became apparent, that, amid the collisions of a world in arms, this state of unrivalled prosperity for the commerce and navigation of the United States, was not to have a longer continuance; for aggressions on their rights as a neutral nation, and depredations on the commerce of the United States by the more important of the maritime powers of Europe, multiplied so fast as to occasion the withdrawal, for a time, of American navigation from the ocean, and to give rise to those measures of resistance which issued in a war with Great Britain. At the conclusion of the war, it was the desire of the government of the United States to promote freedom of commerce among the nations of the earth upon a fair and equal footing, as conducive, by the friendly intercourse and interchange of commodities to which it would give rise, to their mutual advantage; they also felt confident that the vigour and maturity which the navigation of the republic had attained, would enable it successfully to meet a competition with that of other powers upon principles of reciprocity: the act of congress of March, 1815, repealing the discriminating duties on foreign vessels and vessels of the United States, and on goods imported therein, was therefore passed, abolishing the distinction and duties which previously existed, so far as regarded the vessels of those powers which reciprocated the same conditions to the United States. This act was confirmed by an act, passed January 7, 1824, extending the principle so far as to include within it those articles of produce and manufacture which could only be, or most usually are, first shipped from a port or place in Europe, when brought into the United States in the vessels of such nation, whether the articles be of its own produce or manufacture or not: the proffer of which conditions has been accepted by several of the powers of Europe.

Both the facts and the sentiments which we have just stated are, in substance and partly in words, those of the report of the committee made to the senate in the year 1826.* We are aware that the position has

been strenuously maintained, that American navigation has been materially depressed by the enactment of the tariffs of 1824 and 1828. Mr. Cambreleng, chairman of the committee of commerce appointed by the house of representatives, in 1830, in a very long and very able report, takes this view of the subject;† but it appears to us, that, owing to circumstances which no longer exist, the commercial navy of the United States has engrossed more than its due proportion of foreign trade; of which, having so ample a field of employment both for labour and capital, they should be the less tenacious, especially as the amount of tonnage employed in the coasting trade and the whale fishery is decidedly on the increase. It would, however, certainly be desirable, that every diminution of the expense of fitting out vessels which can accrue from the reduction of duties on tonnage, &c. should be effected.

The tonnage of the registered vessels employed in foreign trade at the close of the year 1829, was 650,142 tons; enrolled and licensed vessels, including licensed craft under twenty tons, employed in the coasting trade, 508,858 tons; vessels employed in the whale fishery, 101,796 tons; making a total of 1,260,797 tons. Of the registered tonnage, 57,284 tons were employed in the whale fishery; and of the tonnage reckoned as employed in the coasting trade, 54,036 tons were employed in steam navigation; a larger amount, we apprehend, than the tonnage of steam vessels in the aggregate of all other nations.

The tables annexed to this chapter have already been frequently referred to.—Table I. contains a statement of the value of the domestic exports of the United States, from 1821 to 1830, inclusive; and so far as exports may be regarded as a test, exhibits the progress of the fisheries, the agriculture, and the manufactures of the republic, during that period. Table II. is a statement of the total value of exports, domestic and foreign, from 1790 to 1831; and though but a brief compendium, affords important matter for the economist and the politician: the figures opposite the years 1814 and 1825 stand as memorials of the evils of war and of excessive speculation. Table III. contains a statement both of the value and the destination of the exports, domestic and foreign, during the last ten years. The stream of American commerce, and the relative importance of each country to her markets, are here exhibited. It is gratifying to perceive, that more than one third of the exports of the United States are consumed by Great Britain.

* Nineteenth Congress, First Session, Rep. No. 16.

† Nineteenth Congress, First Session, Rep. No. 165.

Table IV. is a statement of the kind and value of articles imported into the United States during the year 1830, and will enable manufacturers or merchants to ascertain, with the minutest accuracy, the value of every class of articles imported into the United States. Table V. exhibits, combined in one view, the value of the imports and exports from each foreign country during the year 1830; and affords an opportunity of ascertaining the relative proportion of the imports and exports in each case. The large amount of commerce with the island of Cuba will not fail to attract observation. This table also contains the amount of the tonnage of American and foreign vessels engaged in conducting the commerce of the United States into the several nations of the world. It will be perceived, that in their transactions with Great Britain, about three fourths of American and one fourth of British, are employed; while, in the aggregate, the Americans continue to engross nearly seven eighths of the tonnage employed in their commerce.

COMMERCE.—TABLE I.

A SUMMARY STATEMENT OF THE VALUE OF EXPORTS, OF THE GROWTH, PRODUCE, AND MANUFACTURE OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM 1821 TO 1830, ENDING THE 30TH OF SEPTEMBER IN EACH YEAR.

	1821.	1822.	1823.	1824.	1825.
THE SEA.	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
Dried fish, or cod fisheries . .	708,778	666,730	734,024	873,685	830,356
Pickled fish	264,813	249,103	270,776	263,019	248,417
Whale (common) oil and bone	350,480	311,415	432,115	168,272	296,425
Spermaceti oil and candles . .	175,117	157,286	221,309	306,014	219,867
	1,499,188	1,384,539	1,658,224	1,610,990	1,595,065
THE FOREST.					
Skins and furs	766,205	501,362	672,917	661,455	524,692
Ginseng	171,786	313,943	150,976	229,080	144,699
Product of wood—					
lumber, (boards, staves, shingles, hewn timber, &c.) . .	1,512,808	1,307,670	1,335,600	1,734,586	1,717,571
oak bark and other dye . . .	139,534	145,707	111,333	95,674	93,809
naval stores, (tar, pitch, rosin, & turpentine)	314,660	447,869	457,562	555,055	463,897
ashes, pot and pearl	889,348	1,099,053	1,770,523	1,613,796	1,994,381
	3,794,341	3,815,542	4,498,911	4,889,646	4,938,949
AGRICULTURE.					
Product of animals—					
beef, tallow, hides, live cattle	698,323	844,534	739,461	707,299	930,465
butter and cheese	190,287	221,041	192,778	204,205	247,787
pork, (pickled,) bacon, lard, live hogs	1,354,116	1,357,899	1,291,322	1,489,051	1,832,679
horses and mules	69,830	93,753	123,373	213,396	283,835
sheep	22,175	12,276	15,029	14,938	20,027
Vegetable food—					
wheat, flour, and biscuit . .	4,476,357	5,287,286	5,151,437	5,977,255	4,466,679
Indian corn and meal	606,279	900,656	930,489	736,340	878,073
rye meal					73,245
rice	1,494,307	1,553,482	1,820,985	1,882,982	1,925,245
all other, (pulse, rye, oats, potatoes, apples)	173,543	233,825	248,981	271,907	183,476
Tobacco	5,648,962	6,222,838	6,282,672	4,855,566	6,115,623
Cotton	20,157,484	24,035,058	20,445,520	21,947,401	36,846,649
All other agricultural products—					
indigo	420,202		2,314	836	7,084
flax-seed	1,975	392,772	262,314	504,327	324,845
maple, or brown sugar	18,498	805	353	434	2,632
hops	85,654	23,025	27,124	81,810	13,865
wax		93,129	112,574	107,451	85,592
	35,407,992	41,272,379	37,646,726	38,995,198	54,237,751
MANUFACTURES.					
Soap, and tallow candles . . .	661,409	788,946	664,807	816,095	790,975
Leather, boots, shoes, saddlery, &c.	304,430	385,086	566,489	814,638	724,281
Hats	63,363	86,007	115,168	217,648	240,074
Grain, (spirits, beer, and starch,) .	120,561	124,140	89,615	154,144	154,223
Wood, including coaches and other carriages	369,511	487,141	421,633	513,435	470,006
Cordage and canvass	26,662	33,807	22,659	47,262	28,114
Iron	108,083	132,727	97,271	142,974	156,173
Spirits, from molasses	280,648	60,045	37,807	51,172	51,505
Sugar, refined	24,051	26,320		7,195	6,963
Chocolate	2,166	3,391	9,249	2,285	1,184
Gunpowder	56,919	82,947	66,326	163,165	234,366
Brass and copper	26,694	36,974	16,768	26,981	30,472
Medicinal drugs	44,998	43,711	74,490	78,675	69,460
Various items, (snuff, wax, lead, cotton goods, gold and silver coin, umbrellas, books, maps, &c.)	173,127	191,810	175,245	228,752	210,619
Uncertain—manufactured . . .	492,009	637,978	782,071	1,576,962	2,560,682
raw produce	215,742	280,589	211,949	312,283	443,183
	707,751	918,567	994,020	1,889,245	3,003,865
TOTAL	43,671,894	44,897,097	47,155,408	50,649,500	66,944,745

COMMERCE.—TABLE I.—CONTINUED.

	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.
THE SEA.	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
Dried fish, or cod fisheries . . .	667,742	747,171	819,926	747,541	530,630
Pickled fish	257,180	240,276	246,737	220,527	225,957
Whale (common) oil and bone	236,845	223,604	181,270	495,163	680,653
Spermaceti oil and candles . .	311,621	364,281	446,047	353,569	287,910
	1,473,388	1,575,332	1,693,980	1,817,100	1,725,270
THE FOREST.					
Skins and furs	582,473	441,690	626,235	526,507	541,760
Ginseng	137,014	79,566	91,164	114,396	67,832
Product of wood—					
lumber, (boards, staves, shin-					
gles, hewn timber, masts,					
&c.)	2,011,694	1,697,170	1,821,906	1,680,403	1,663,242
oak bark and other dye . . .	65,120	79,884	101,175	165,406	220,275
naval stores, (tar, pitch, rosin,					
and turpentine)	254,491	402,489	487,761	377,613	321,019
ashes, pot and pearl	900,458	643,171	761,370	817,434	1,105,127
	3,951,250	3,343,970	3,889,611	3,691,759	4,019,275
AGRICULTURE.					
Product of animals—					
beef, tallow, hides, and live					
cattle	733,430	772,636	719,961	674,955	717,683
butter and cheese	207,765	184,049	176,354	176,205	142,370
pork, (pickled,) bacon, lard,					
live hogs	1,892,429	1,555,698	1,495,830	1,493,629	1,315,245
horses and mules	247,543	173,629	185,542	207,658	182,244
sheep	17,693	13,586	7,499	10,644	22,110
Vegetable food—					
wheat, flour, and biscuit . .	4,411,870	4,645,784	4,464,774	5,972,920	6,320,603
Indian corn and meal	1,007,321	1,022,464	822,858	974,535	597,119
rye meal	49,297	47,698	59,036	127,004	87,796
rye, oats, and other small					
grain and pulse	72,371	87,284	67,997	74,896	66,249
potatoes	41,583	39,174	35,371	30,079	39,027
apples	27,370	35,828	22,700	15,958	23,727
rice	1,917,445	2,343,908	2,620,696	2,514,370	1,986,824
Tobacco	6,347,208	6,577,123	5,269,960	4,982,974	5,586,365
Cotton	25,025,214	29,359,546	22,487,229	26,575,311	29,674,883
All other agricultural products—					
indigo	3,922	8,358	1,495	.....	827
flax-seed	144,908	188,606	144,095	113,040	180,973
hops	100,663	8,284	25,432	6,917	30,312
maple, or brown sugar . . .	4,964	1,489	4,095	3,289	2,975
	41,253,001	47,065,143	38,610,924	43,954,584	36,977,332
MANUFACTURES.					
Soap, and tallow candles . . .	722,417	901,751	912,322	692,691	619,238
Leather, boots, and shoes . .	586,576	385,525	401,259	356,658	238,603
Saddlery	66,994	57,717	49,758	35,765	26,651
Hats	272,431	286,624	326,294	270,780	309,362
Wax	206,001	123,354	134,886	132,939	153,666
Spirits from grain, beer, ale,					
and porter	143,966	144,832	203,780	215,494	225,357
Wood, including carriages, fur-					
niture &c.	631,060	574,751	611,196	501,946	463,425
Snuff and Tobacco	210,134	239,024	210,747	202,396	246,747
Lead	3,347	3,761	4,184	8,417	4,831
Linseed oil and spirits of turpen-					
tine	27,116	20,704	22,119	20,442	35,039
Cordage and canvass	31,482	63,074	20,030	7,984	4,135
Iron, pigs, bar, nails, &c. . .	248,960	273,158	231,234	223,705	309,473
Spirits, from molasses	70,212	97,003	185,096	166,740	49,798
Sugar, refined	27,043	34,012	38,207	50,739	193,084
Chocolate	2,427	1,350	3,344	1,769	593
Gunpowder	174,273	176,229	181,384	171,924	128,625
Brass and copper	60,083	52,341	60,452	129,647	36,601
Medicinal drugs	133,716	119,390	95,083	101,524	92,154
Cotton piece goods—					
printed and coloured		45,120	76,012	145,024	61,800
white		951,001	887,628	981,370	964,196
nankeens		14,750	5,149	1,878	1,093
twist, yarn and thread . . . }	1,138,125	11,175	12,570	3,849	24,744
all other manufactures of }		137,368	28,873	127,336	266,350
Flax and hemp—					
cloth and thread }		11,084	5,335	2,166	2,152
bags, and all manufactures }	8,381	5,364	3,365	14,954	1,779

COMMERCE.—TABLE I.—CONTINUED.

	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.
MANUFACTURES—CONTINUED.	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
Wearing apparel	85,866	94,768	143,253	91,108	102,277
Combs and buttons	23,654	33,415	60,957	76,250	124,589
Brushes	4,631	7,334	6,372	3,150	6,116
Billiard tables and apparatus	3,811	3,191	2,240	3,443	316
Umbrellas and parasols	50,764	49,138	24,703	22,067	25,796
Leather and morocco skins, not sold per lb.	43,834	119,545	81,221	80,173	70,968
Fire engines and apparatus	4,935	2,513	2,384	2,332	.....
Printing presses and type	33,509	33,713	40,199	12,908	13,274
Musical instruments	5,157	14,544	10,011	8,868	10,261
Books and maps	49,340	54,012	46,937	29,010	32,004
Paper and other stationery	39,582	37,716	32,026	25,629	40,994
Paints and varnish	21,545	29,664	26,229	21,133	13,716
Vinegar	5,801	8,182	5,884	5,953	6,690
Earthen and stone ware	1,958	6,492	5,595	5,592	2,773
Manufactures of glass	44,557	59,307	51,452	49,900	60,280
—tin	4,515	2,967	5,049	1,757	4,497
—pewter and lead	1,820	6,183	5,545	5,185	4,172
—marble and stone	13,303	3,505	3,122	2,647	4,655
—gold & silver, & gold leaf	2,297	3,605	7,505	11,250	3,561
Gold and silver coin	605,855	1,043,574	693,037	612,886	937,151
Artificial flowers and jewellery	25,162	22,357	18,195	21,627	13,707
Molasses	621	1,511	601	1,992	3,968
Trunks	9,397	12,483	6,004	11,248	6,654
Bricks and lime	6,075	3,365	4,573	3,717	2,482
Salt . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	27,648	22,978
	5,852,733	6,386,846	5,993,401	5,716,100	6,083,675
Uncertain—manufactured	248,252	293,379	247,990	309,106	347,228
raw produce	277,086	257,021	233,763	221,544	309,249
	525,338	550,400	481,753	530,650	656,477
TOTAL	53,055,710	58,921,691	50,669,669	55,700,193	59,462,029

COMMERCE.—TABLE II.

A SUMMARY STATEMENT OF THE TOTAL VALUE OF EXPORTS, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN, FROM 1790 TO 1831.

For the Year ending Sept. 30.	Domestic Produce.	Foreign Produce.	Total.	For the Year ending Sept. 30.	Domestic Produce.	Foreign Produce.	Total.
1790	*12,123,094	†8,082,062	20,205,156	1811	45,294,043	16,022,790	61,316,833
1791	*11,407,225	†7,604,816	19,012,041	1812	30,032,109	8,495,127	38,527,236
1792	*12,451,860	†8,301,238	20,753,098	1813	25,008,152	2,847,845	27,855,997
1793	*15,665,744	†10,443,828	26,109,572	1814	6,782,272	145,169	6,927,441
1794	*19,815,741	†13,210,492	33,026,233	1815	45,974,403	6,583,350	52,557,753
1795	*28,793,684	†19,195,788	47,989,472	1816	64,731,896	17,138,556	81,920,452
1796	40,764,097	26,300,000	67,064,097	1817	68,313,500	19,358,069	87,671,569
1797	29,850,206	27,000,000	56,850,206	1818	73,854,437	19,426,696	93,281,133
1798	28,527,097	33,000,000	61,527,097	1819	50,976,838	19,165,683	70,142,521
1799	33,142,522	45,523,000	78,665,522	1820	51,683,640	18,008,029	69,691,669
1800	31,840,903	39,130,877	70,971,780	1821	43,671,894	21,302,488	64,974,382
1801	47,473,204	46,642,721	94,115,925	1822	49,874,079	22,286,202	72,160,281
1802	36,708,189	35,774,971	72,483,160	1823	47,155,408	27,543,622	74,699,030
1803	42,205,961	13,594,072	55,800,033	1824	50,649,500	25,337,157	75,986,657
1804	41,467,477	36,231,597	77,699,074	1825	66,944,745	32,590,643	99,535,388
1805	42,387,002	53,179,019	95,566,021	1826	53,055,710	24,539,612	77,595,322
1806	41,253,727	60,283,236	101,536,963	1827	58,921,691	23,403,136	82,324,827
1807	48,699,592	59,643,558	108,343,150	1828	50,669,669	21,595,017	72,264,686
1808	9,433,546	12,997,414	22,430,960	1829	55,700,193	16,658,473	72,358,671
1809	31,405,702	20,797,531	52,203,233	1830	59,462,029	14,387,479	73,849,508
1810	42,366,675	24,391,295	66,757,970	1831	62,048,233	18,324,333	80,372,566

* Estimated at three fifths of the whole.

† Estimated at two fifths of the whole.

COMMERCE.—TABLE III.

DESTINATION AND VALUE OF EXPORTS, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN, FROM 1821 TO 1830.

WHITHER EXPORTED.	1821.		1822.		1823.		1824.		1825.	
	Domestic	Foreign	Domestic	Foreign	Domestic	Foreign	Domestic	Foreign	Domestic	Foreign
	Produce.	Produce.	Produce.	Produce.	Produce.	Produce.	Produce.	Produce.	Produce.	Produce.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Russia	127,939	500,955	177,261	351,820	51,635	597,099	92,766	139,215	55,191	232,210
Prussia	154,213	62,968	190,411	80,210	151,037	147,191	163,725	161,033	222,164	112,378
Sweden*	507,077	53,149	569,566	91,247	241,701	18,362	204,953	39,667	193,761	41,247
Swedish West Indies	165,565	360,535	32,023	160,757	39,783	53,134	35,457	299,822	214,517	637,146
Denmark and Norway†	1,316,295	455,463	1,603,494	628,256	1,231,152	631,002	1,149,641	698,302	1,281,248	568,177
Danish West Indies	1,954,513	1,739,692	2,077,368	1,524,683	2,642,930	2,409,216	1,597,514	617,831	2,486,468	1,306,839
Danish East Indies	533,250	149,784	921,072	157,704	655,763	157,065	589,775	111,984	497,194	77,092
Holland or Netherlands‡	133,010	1,581,803	121,441	999,571	151,120	1,750,981	61,669	638,616	163,022	1,364,884
Dutch W. Indies and American Colonies	16,339,109	2,125,594	21,072,395	1,029,224	19,968,185	973,474	18,218,841	1,268,282	32,096,380	2,031,186
Dutch East Indies	1,405,448	13,683	1,615,565	10,987	1,158,495	10,104	1,196,219	14,632	1,699,526	7,657
England, Man, and Berwick	589,577	4,069	770,176	714,037	714,037	37,644	913,532	8,673	1,247,550	20,669
Scotland	956,111	513,635	525,708	625,074	875,604	1,028,272	934,402	934,445	861,733	941,981
Ireland	264,632	470	449,601	2,540	1,617,845	10,122	1,750,703	20,305	1,635,574	11,472
Gibraltar	32,089	1,934,190	67,979	1,968,365	10,642	307,738	34,354	927,716	206,450	784,629
British West Indies	260	4,478	1,314	3,183	2,560	7,243	16,068	1,740	1,977	2,025
— East Indies	2,009,336	455	1,881,273	16,286	1,818,113	3,347	1,773,107	2,617	2,538,224	1,740
Newfoundland and British Fisheries	9,953	5,013	4,850	26,232	463	20,463	2,311	23,612	2,025	2,025
British American Colonies	12,113	2,357	4,850	26,232	463	20,463	2,311	23,612	2,025	2,025
— African Ports	1,535,506	597,038	1,644,226	860,789	1,582,354	1,587,085	859,383	1,003,890	1,144,474	1,976,559
Other British Colonies	5,098,843	349,010	4,561,299	1,210,533	4,677,914	2,527,656	7,585,815	1,095,612	7,333,693	2,625,968
The Hanse Towns and Ports of Germany	69,855	10,851	153,191	70,337	323,861	1,171,893	265,815	750,431	187,242	726,499
French European Ports on the Atlantic	846,597	49,535	918,699	42,303	804,218	63,377	770,515	41,217	937,368	74,588
Ditto on the Mediterranean	5,784	1,784	17,952	71,018	36,692	6,207	40,125	963	41,202	963
French W. Indies and American Colonies	19,600	22,556	17,952	71,018	36,692	6,207	40,125	963	41,202	963
French East Indies	1,740,383	530,218	1,746,107	373,704	1,670,140	708,642	1,901,926	463,229	1,648,055	406,560
Bourbon and Mauritius§	324,706	189,900	116,270	67,742	130,966	65,966	140,436	366,434	73,515	82,722
Other French African Ports	24,225	915	25,200	1,354	20,876	19,447	9,840	18,814	6,336	6,336
Hayti	74,828	48,637	85,937	29,140	58,002	21,216	42,845	20,144	70,380	21,271
Spanish European Ports on the Atlantic	300,248	49,522	373,704	11,799	5,449	41,275	8,958	210,562	23,169	165,554
Ditto on the Mediterranean	1,359	209,964	11,799	5,449	41,275	8,958	210,562	23,169	165,554	165,554
Teneriffe and the other Canaries	99,595	106,830	123,115	127,943	211,383	100,052	167,060	194,365	57,286	23,543
Florida	2,950,055	1,590,625	3,201,045	1,069,573	3,271,270	2,134,095	3,611,693	2,195,840	3,276,556	1,844,146
Manilla and Philippine Islands	175,217	33,604	150,435	7,606	256,033	25,405	306,896	233,718	216,102	22,156
Honduras, Campeachy, and Musquito Shore	508,176	529,559	1,592,767	1,828,286	1,372,526	3,229,347	2,827,521	5,040,966	3,419,158	7,757,325
Cuba	147,726	66	102,935	18,555	48,077	77,255	5,168	110,015	2,824	2,824
Spanish West Indies	193,414	26,667	186,952	4,662	117,685	3,976	315,896	26,347	122,840	55,326
Spanish South American Colonies	26,837	11,158	33,160	10,454	27,841	15,704	17,463	4,023	33,421	4,695
South America and Mexico	22,176	7,656	34,941	35,832	22,085	11,010	51,019	21,665	60,072	18,967
Portugal	885,348	496,412	1,217,411	246,518	1,062,209	279,181	1,669,754	602,150	1,641,296	752,458
Madeira	410,171	689,496	560,714	899,470	115,994	951,911	76,868	587,480	66,605	578,434
Fayal, and the other Azores	31,781	308,580	38,752	436,968	25,697	919,618	6,596	518,057	8,834	643,568
Cape de Verd Islands	30,883	406,997	6,124	405,197	4,877	559,783	25,171	314,257	34,373	364,591
Coast of Brazil and other American Colonies¶	6,150	439,230	5,506,138	288,375	4,347,686	330,466	4,970,705	160,059	5,410,456	675,567
Italy and Malta	388,535	3,902,025	439,230	5,506,138	288,375	4,347,686	330,466	4,970,705	160,059	5,410,456
Trieste, and other Austrian Ports on the Adriatic	32,467	1,180,797	74,346	1,087,989	55,902	436,759	19,271	450,358	37,486	675,567
Turkey, Levant, Egypt, Mocha, and Aden	513,039	47,474	515,729	24,331	554,273	59,417	559,998	39,886	646,638	23,030
Morocco and Barbary States	183,354	10,782	58,575	6,391	10,994	17,956	55,401	1,608	16,312	135
Cape of Good Hope	85,062	41,629	71,968	69,410	49,971	55,999	83,900	64,506	59,365	35,720
China	40,328	31,080	37,209	11,934	21,741	45,429	119,367	29,090	27,164	27,164
Asia—generally	94,493	292,505	54,799	110,790	9,703	29,675	11,500	43,601	43,601	43,601
West Indies, ditto	43,671,994	21,302,488	49,874,079	22,286,202	47,155,408	27,543,622	50,649,500	25,337,157	66,944,745	32,590,643
Europe, ditto										
Africa, ditto										
South Seas										
N. West Coast of America										
TOTAL	43,671,994	21,302,488	49,874,079	22,286,202	47,155,408	27,543,622	50,649,500	25,337,157	66,944,745	32,590,643

* After 1823, the Exports were to Sweden and Norway.
 † After 1824, to Mauritius.

‡ After 1823, to Denmark.
 § After 1823, to Brazil.

¶ After 1824, to the Netherlands.

COMMERCE.—TABLE III.—CONTINUED.

DESTINATION AND VALUE OF EXPORTS, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN, FROM 1821 to 1830.

WHITHER EXPORTED.	1826.		1827.		1828.		1829.		1830.	
	Domestic	Foreign	Domestic	Foreign	Domestic	Foreign	Domestic	Foreign	Domestic	Foreign
	Produce.	Produce.	Produce.	Produce.	Produce.	Produce.	Produce.	Produce.	Produce.	Produce.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Russia	11,044	163,604	45,510	336,734	108,922	341,573	51,684	334,542	25,461	381,114
Prussia	15,129	3,421	8,515	15,430	14,411	14,411	14,411	14,411	16,501	16,501
Sweden and Norway	126,034	88,489	201,488	207,553	256,532	215,222	122,663	126,971	181,353	169,949
Swedish West Indies	120,573	23,284	416,822	25,014	611,584	23,616	684,523	23,791	552,700	37,727
Denmark	100,582	245,288	148,958	253,983	150,979	386,689	73,597	13,166	76,292	29,048
Danish West Indies	1,391,004	676,001	1,463,691	538,190	2,202,465	608,034	1,942,010	282,401	1,688,022	220,723
Netherlands	1,970,199	1,899,857	2,339,381	888,950	1,863,767	365,646	3,095,857	889,330	3,354,551	675,527
Dutch East Indies	434,125	57,426	387,573	44,162	415,343	41,616	379,874	18,667	319,495	42,298
Dutch West Indies	57,506	374,957	38,859	127,749	83,710	313,277	62,074	176,316	63,273	107,293
England, Man, and Berwick	19,055,185	1,569,023	23,514,421	904,696	18,737,661	2,960,261	21,281,334	1,767,457	23,773,020	826,946
Scotland	572,894	2,952	1,336,169	959,560	7,927	895,316	19,493	1,465,211	2,488	2,488
Ireland	775,137	6,684	637,120	394,450	810	327,728	366	261,657	261,657	261,657
Gibraltar	692,396	1,055,525	1,040,999	864,387	899,411	506,719	301,132	160,130	513,248	370,150
British East Indies	24,226	418,042	32,717	1,018,733	45,199	795,682	69,070	477,629	93,731	553,126
— West Indies	2,078,571	31,931	683,105	7,470	26,149	2,706	1,463	5,068	140	1,761
Mauritius and Bourbon*	13,893	22,000	13,893	22,000	13,893	22,000	13,893	22,000	13,893	22,000
British American Colonies and Newfoundland	2,564,165	24,630	2,797,014	33,734	1,618,288	56,386	2,724,104	40,805	3,650,031	136,342
Other British Colonies	34,378	500	34,378	500	34,378	500	34,378	500	34,378	500
The Hanse Towns and Ports of Germany	979,313	1,137,384	1,693,971	1,319,214	1,804,333	1,190,918	1,998,176	1,278,984	1,549,732	725,148
French European Ports on the Atlantic	9,075,254	1,316,178	8,712,011	2,555,869	7,091,699	3,095,826	8,008,923	2,105,573	9,183,894	661,925
Ditto on the Mediterranean	273,675	483,677	475,647	781,076	606,638	279,407	886,122	748,777	717,252	430,888
French West Indies	904,115	52,059	979,697	61,156	1,009,437	15,334	1,056,639	15,768	792,241	13,528
— African Ports	512	959	512	959	512	959	512	959	512	959
Hayti	1,252,910	161,584	1,162,473	169,436	1,123,405	209,306	814,987	160,171	714,791	108,387
Spanish European Ports on the Atlantic	71,313	22,227	74,761	47,178	40,946	199,953	545,753	139,732	538,956	61,327
Ditto on the Mediterranean	80,964	20,046	62,353	7,112	66,844	51,193	185,952	45,700	145,556	145,556
Teneriffe and the other Canaries	42,761	21,742	46,163	39,817	33,529	8,551	42,839	23,317	19,040	610
Manilla and Philippine Islands	14,133	58,207	14,133	58,207	14,133	58,207	14,133	58,207	14,133	58,207
Cuba	3,749,658	2,382,774	4,160,747	2,655,341	3,912,997	2,490,994	3,719,263	1,859,626	3,439,060	1,477,675
Other Spanish West Indies	210,858	12,668	218,156	10,363	222,191	15,677	209,786	38,900	245,636	27,523
Portugal	99,945	538	116,103	220	77,010	1,164	42,088	628	43,408	1,803
Madeira	119,058	25,549	100,153	18,281	101,948	9,985	175,074	15,089	155,719	12,358
Fayal, and the other Azores	16,976	2,495	13,487	4,861	19,559	4,719	7,949	78	6,649	1,524
Cape de Verd Islands	36,693	9,299	80,010	24,155	67,502	9,727	68,528	13,477	50,560	7,778
Italy and Malta	81,622	448,599	74,417	535,804	279,520	641,230	289,755	611,257	326,239	414,121
Trieste, and other Ports on the Adriatic	13,387	273,933	42,671	234,122	119,233	205,255	409,288	280,200	300,859	293,261
Turkey, Levant, and Egypt, Greece, and Grecian Archipelago	46,897	271,438	131,734	470,325	78,374	124,567	27,600	47,384	75,801	337,539
Morocco and Barbary States	21,154	6,433	2,031	2,003	2,003	2,003	2,003	2,003	2,003	2,003
Cape of Good Hope	242,451	2,324,193	290,862	3,573,543	230,385	1,252,417	260,759	1,094,103	156,290	585,903
Mexican Ports on the Atlantic	1,024,275	5,256,775	886,907	3,286,350	522,016	2,364,468	495,626	1,835,525	985,764	3,851,694
Central Republic of South America	79,294	40,480	147,574	77,198	106,773	52,499	123,631	116,223	138,456	111,662
Honduras, Campeachy, &c.	1,597,344	603,005	1,485,433	377,373	1,595,770	482,935	1,510,260	419,667	1,600,999	242,239
Buenos Ayrest	222,832	156,508	100,780	50,424	94,372	59,856	444,716	181,326	425,220	204,667
Chili	512,650	934,848	1,040,748	661,853	1,109,978	1,109,424	890,356	530,778	915,718	620,396
Peru	278,724	231,175	202,944	70,077	159,389	100,555	91,542	119,615	32,400	39,402
South America—generally	56,725	8,003	71,537	21,489	146,967	13,808	147,670	6,175	9,190	170
Asia, ditto	17,565	387,490	21,130	640,670	46,776	356,835	40,721	232,768	56,318	229,290
West Indies, ditto	603,807	14,062	454,904	11,956	437,916	22,281	359,496	10,123	242,114	5,010
Europe, ditto	166,875	12,443	150,236	779	46,586	9,367	102,364	250	16,090	22,653
Africa, ditto	108,226	54,840	126,968	67,872	131,249	26,361	108,837	49,516	96,867	52,236
South Seas	27,468	62,859	24,923	267	42,147	40,989	45,969	20,991	21,178	6,764
North West Coast of America	29,921	74,870	37,702	40,882	39,020	55,365	2,911	4,399	28,392	24,698
TOTAL	53,055,710	24,539,612	58,921,691	23,403,136	50,669,669	21,595,017	55,700,193	16,658,478	59,462,029	14,387,479

* After 1823, the exports were to Bourbon.

† After 1823, to the Argentine Republic.

A SUMMARY STATEMENT OF THE VALUE OF GOODS IMPORTED, FROM THE 1ST OF OCT. 1829, TO THE 30TH SEPT. 1830.

SPECIES OF MERCHANDISE.	VALUE.	SPECIES OF MERCHANDISE.	VALUE.
MERCHANDISE FREE OF DUTY.	Dollars.	MERCHANDISE SUBJECT TO DUTIES AD VALOREM.	Dollars.
Articles imported for the use of the United States	430	Lace—Of thread, silk, or cotton	824,99
Articles specially imported for Philosophical Societies, &c.—		Coach	3,02
Philosophical apparatus, instruments, &c.	9,830	Flax—Linen, bleached and unbleached	2,485,053
Books, maps, and charts	19,621	Checks and stripes	42,725
Paintings and drawings	322	Other manufactures of	483,502
Medals, and collections of antiquity	95	Hemp—Ticklenburgs, osnaburgs, and burlaps	563,665
Anatomical preparations	274	Sheeting, brown	209,152
Antimony, regulus of	6,745	Ditto . . white	41,085
Lapis calaminaris, tutanag, spelter, or zinc	2,560	All other manufactures of	133,103
Burrstones, unwrought	16,317	Clothing, ready made	46,789
Brimstone and sulphur	17,240	Hats, caps, and bonnets—Leghorn, straw, chip, &c.	326,793
Cork tree, bark of	2,538	Fur, wool, leather, or silk	49,004
Clay, unwrought	9,048	Iron, or Iron and Steel Wire—	
Rags of any kind of cloth	72,661	Side arms and fire arms, other than muskets and rifles	179,153
Furs of all kinds	305,782	Drawing knives, axes, adzes, and socket chisels	29,007
Hides and skins, raw	2,499,859	Bridle-bits of every description	62,271
Plaster of Paris	125,606	Steelyards, scalebeams and vices	30,899
Specimens of botany, natural history, and mineralogy	6,118	Cutting knives, sithes, sickles, reaping-hooks, spades and shovels	95,004
Models of invention and machinery	897	Screws weighing 24 pounds or upwards	17
Barilla	68,322	Wood screws	66,817
Wood, dye	279,411	Other articles not specified	2,908,378
—, unmanufactured mahogany	286,825	Copper—Vessels of	1,235
Animals for breed	23,151	All other manufactures of	15,198
Pewter, old	815	Gold and silver—Lace	3,191
Tin in pigs and bars	101,341	Watches, and parts thereof	312,924
Brass in pigs and bars	29,615	Articles composed of, &c.	65,026
—, old,	3,314	China or porcelain	119,925
Copper in pigs and bars	403,203	Earthen and stone	96,598
—, in plates, suited to the sheathing of ships	289,785	Japanned	1,168,477
—, for the use of the Mint	14,435	Plated	36,233
—, old, fit only to be re-manufactured	83,413	Gilt	95,225
Bullion, gold	115,267	Brass	60,785
—, silver	1,049,343	Tin	329,716
Specie, gold	795,570	Pewter and lead, except shot	6,248
—, silver	6,285,475	Wood, including cabinet wares	24,409
All other articles	577	Leather, including saddles, bridles, and harness	112,047
TOTAL	12,746,245	Plated saddlery, coach and harness furniture	499,923
		Marble, and manufactures of	47,572
		Square wire, used for umbrella stretchers	14,417
		Ciphering slates	5,550
		Prepared quills	11,526
		Blacklead pencils	15,888
		Paper hangings	4,850
		Brushes of all kinds	59,524
		Hair seating	9,362
		Bolting cloths	25,332
		Copper bottoms, cut round, raised to the edge	39,158
		Quicksilver	3,609
		Brass, in plates	314,167
		Tin, in plates	10,608
		Crude saltpetre	390,900
		Opium	32,214
		Unmanufactured—Raw silk	139,596
		Articles not specially enumerated, subject to a duty of 12 1-2 per cent.	119,074
		Ditto . . . ditto . . . ditto . . . 15 per cent	883,685
		Ditto . . . ditto . . . ditto . . . 20 "	2,558,858
		Ditto . . . ditto . . . ditto . . . 25 "	105,610
		Ditto . . . ditto . . . ditto . . . 30 "	101,102
		Ditto . . . ditto . . . ditto . . . 33 1-2 "	389,821
		Ditto . . . ditto . . . ditto . . . 35 "	761
		Ditto . . . ditto . . . ditto . . . 40 "	1,233
		Ditto . . . ditto . . . ditto . . . 45 "	14
		Ditto . . . ditto . . . ditto . . . 50 "	513
		TOTAL	2,610
		TOTAL	35,835,450

COMMERCE.—TABLE IV.—CONTINUED.

SPECIES OF MERCHANDISE.	VALUE.	SPECIES OF MERCHANDISE.	VALUE.
MANUFACTURES PAYING SPECIFIC DUTIES.	Dollars.	MANUFACTURES PAYING SPECIFIC DUTIES.	Dollars.
Manufactures of wool, not exceeding 33 1-2 cents per square yard	266,060	Cordage—Tarred and cables	71,291
Carpeting—Brussels, Turkey, and Wilton	77,562	Untarred and yarn	8,114
Venetian and ingrain	123,950	Twine, packthread, and sein	75,006
All other of wool, flax, or cotton	137	Corks	30,730
Patent printed or stained floorcloths	19,865	Copper—Rods and bolts	262
Oilcloth, other than patent floorcloth	762	Nails and spikes	2,141
Furniture oilcloth	2,596	Fire-arms—Muskets	25,142
Floor matings of flags or other materials	9,486	Rifles	85
Sail duck	317,347	Iron—Iron and steel wire	59,485
Cotton bagging	69,126	Tacks, brads, and sprigs	2,799
Wines—Madeira	330,423	Nails	40,906
Sherry	69,547	Spikes	1,391
Red, of France and Spain	273,033	Cables and chains, or parts thereof	25,885
Of France, Spain, and Germany, not enumerated	424,304	Mill-cranks, and mill-irons of wrought iron	200
Of Sicily and other countries, and all wines not enumerated, in casks and bottles	437,795	Mill-saws	12,252
Foreign spirits—From grain	205,704	Anchor	1,121
From other materials	453,286	Anvils	31,249
Molasses	995,776	Hammers and sledges for blacksmiths	3,096
Beer, ale, and porter	60,420	Castings, vessels and all other	38,686
Vinegar	4,241	Braziers' rods or round iron, of 3-10 to 8-16 diameter inclusive	5,945
Oil—Foreign fishing, spermaceti, whale, olive (in casks,) castor, linseed, and hempseed	18,074	Nail or spike rods, slit	784
Teas—Bohea, souchong and other black, hyson skin and other green, hyson and young hyson, imperial, gunpowder, and Gomei	2,425,018	Sheets and hoop	59,822
Coffee	4,227,021	Slit or rolled, &c.	81
Cocoa	137,453	In pigs	25,644
Chocolate	899	Bar and bolt, rolled	226,336
Sugar—Brown	3,985,865	hammered	1,730,375
White, clayed, &c.	644,477	Steel	291,957
Candy and loaf	571	Hemp	200,338
Other refined	9	Flax, unmanufactured	39,055
Fruits—Almonds, currants, prunes and plums, figs, raisins (in jars and boxes,) and all other	520,275	Wheat flour	599
Spices—Ginger, Cayenne pepper, mace, nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves, black pepper, pimento, and cassia	457,723	Wool, unmanufactured	96,853
Candles—Spermaceti and wax	519	Salt	671,979
Tallow	8,959	Coal	204,773
Cheese	8,898	Wheat	492
Soap	3,310	Oats	378
Tallow	43	Potatoes	9,189
Lard	10	Paper—Folio and quarto post, foolscap, drawing, and writing, printing, copperplate, and stainers', sheathing, binders', wrapping, box boards, &c.	110,408
Beef and pork	23,220	Printed books, in all languages	130,632
Bacon	681	Glassware—Cut and not specified	6,192
Butter	662	All other articles of	129,632
Saltpetre	80	Glass—Apothecaries' phials, not above 8 oz.	3,473
Camphor, crude	26,374	Bottles, not above 1 gallon	52,991
Salts, Epsom	111	Demijohns	15,624
Tobacco, manufactured, other than snuff and cigars	224	Window	25,697
Snuff	834	Fish—Foreign, dried or pickled	27,624
Indigo	715,715	Shoes and slippers	5,362
Cotton	34,737	Boots and booties	1,013
Gunpowder	20,488	Cigars	251,818
Bristles	26,518	Playing cards	430
Glue	3,110	Roofing slates	34,683
Ochre—Dry	21,182		
In oil	430		
White and red lead	14,231	Value of merchandise paying specific duties	22,295,225
Whiting, and Paris white	3,933	Ditto . . . ditto . . . paying ad valorem duties	35,835,450
Sugar of lead	11,846	Ditto . . . ditto . . . free of duty	12,746,215
Lead—Bar, sheet, and pig	18,757		
Shot	1,638	TOTAL	70,876,920

COMMERCE.—TABLE V.

A STATISTICAL VIEW OF THE VALUE OF IMPORTS FROM, AND EXPORTS TO, EACH FOREIGN COUNTRY, AND THE TONNAGE OF AMERICAN AND FOREIGN VESSELS EMPLOYED, FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPT. 30, 1830.

COUNTRIES.	COMMERCE.				NAVIGATION.			
	VALUE OF IMPORTS.	VALUE OF EXPORTS.			AMERICAN TONNAGE.		FOREIGN TONNAGE.	
		Domestic Produce.	Foreign Produce.	TOTAL.	Entered into the U. S.	Departed from the U. S.	Entered into the U. S.	Departed from the U. S.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Russia	1,621,699	35,461	381,114	416,575	13,681	3,492	264	264
Prussia	16,605	16,501	16,501	16,501	372	232	2,935	2,023
Sweden and Norway	1,168,110	181,353	189,949	371,302	15,144	3,502	965	984
Swedish West Indies	230,530	552,700	37,727	590,427	10,406	19,960	600	849
Denmark	5,384	76,292	29,048	105,340	877	1,923	793	4,515
Danish West Indies	1,665,34	1,688,022	220,723	1,908,745	38,767	52,535	220	124
Netherlands	888,408	3,354,551	675,327	4,030,078	42,998	35,220	61,355	58,589
Dutch East Indies	157,418	63,273	107,293	170,566	662	1,501	12,560	7,707
— West Indies	286,300	319,495	42,298	361,793	12,047	11,043	6,949	2,570
England	22,755,040	23,773,020	826,946	24,599,966	199,972	192,714	4,002	14,267
Scotland	1,382,441	1,465,211	2,488	1,467,699	5,784	6,913	8,488	10,262
Ireland	381,333	261,687	261,687	543,024	5,494	4,594	4,061	6,014
Gibraltar	90,028	513,248	370,150	883,398	3,346	13,450	205	1,074
British East Indies	1,373,247	93,731	553,126	646,367	4,806	4,029	5,945	4,325
— West Indies	168,579	140	1,761	1,901	22,428	2,395	122	11,356
Newfoundland	650,303	3,650,031	136,342	3,786,373	452	1,523	625	489
British American Colonies	2,300	1,263	1,263	1,263	396	510	184	137
— African ports	1,873,253	1,549,732	725,148	2,274,880	17,259	14,728	1,633	1,748
Other British Colonies	6,831,015	9,183,894	661,925	9,845,819	79,459	82,521	4,362	3,551
Hanse Towns	891,183	717,252	430,888	1,148,140	15,406	18,967	1,074	4,325
France on the Atlantic	518,687	792,241	13,528	805,769	25,928	47,129	106	9,387
Ditto on the Mediterranean	461,267	538,956	61,327	600,283	16,288	9,387	3,017	770
French West Indies	543,271	145,556	145,556	145,556	10,920	3,017	122	11,356
— African Ports	99,378	19,040	610	19,650	1,762	770	122	11,356
Spain on the Atlantic	384,887	39,129	54,539	93,668	2,774	459	122	11,356
Ditto on the Mediterranean	5,577,230	3,439,060	1,477,675	4,916,735	97,644	114,054	12,954	11,356
Teneriffe, and other Canaries	1,307,148	245,636	27,523	273,159	19,031	8,734	625	489
Manilla and Philippine Islands	165,321	43,408	1,803	45,211	12,287	2,243	184	137
Cuba	239,652	155,719	12,358	168,077	3,212	6,080	114	137
Other Spanish West Indies	32,912	6,649	1,524	8,173	634	244	137	137
Portugal	33,758	50,560	7,778	58,338	1,253	2,628	418	418
Madeira	940,254	326,239	414,121	740,360	5,062	6,626	135	282
Fayal, and the other Azores	3,740	3,740	3,740	3,740	1,697	135	282	282
Cape de Verd Islands	132,093	300,859	223,261	594,120	4,332	4,662	345	2,887
Italy	417,392	75,801	337,539	413,340	3,668	2,887	1,633	1,748
Sicily	1,597,140	714,791	108,387	823,178	18,513	19,395	4,362	3,551
Trieste, and other Adriatic ports	5,235,241	985,764	3,851,694	4,537,458	22,062	27,295	2,044	62
Ragusa, and the Seven Islands	302,833	135,456	111,662	250,118	4,560	3,955	1,076	507
Turkey, &c.	1,120,095	316,732	180,258	496,990	13,514	5,955	248	116
Hayti	1,472	25,132	6,432	30,564	68	1,042	248	116
Mexico	2,491,460	1,600,999	242,239	1,843,238	38,005	44,480	507	116
Central Republic	1,431,883	425,220	204,667	629,887	6,584	9,565	225	116
Colombia	182,585	915,718	620,396	1,536,114	236	1,373	282	282
Honduras	972,884	32,400	39,402	71,802	304	12,287	304	12,287
Brazil	40,269	9,190	170	9,360	3,276	732	394	679
Argentina Republic	3,678,141	156,290	585,903	742,193	8,595	3,501	3,697	3,697
Cisplatine Republic	98,451	56,318	229,290	285,608	1,679	3,697	7,417	7,417
Chili	7,386	242,114	5,010	247,124	2,288	7,417	424	911
Peru	394	16,090	22,653	38,743	1,904	911	141	290
South America, generally	172,861	96,867	52,236	149,103	2,730	2,560	580	580
China	20,748	21,178	6,764	27,942	15,392	28,222	522	522
Asia, generally	28,392	24,698	53,090	53,090	522	522	522	522
West Indies, ditto	70,876,920	59,462,029	14,387,479	73,849,508	967,227	971,760	131,900	133,436
East Indies, ditto								
Europe, ditto								
Africa, ditto								
Cape of Good Hope								
South Seas								
North West Coast of America								
TOTAL	70,876,920	59,462,029	14,387,479	73,849,508	967,227	971,760	131,900	133,436

CHAPTER IV.

FINANCES—REVENUE, EXPENDITURE, DEBT.

THE revenue of the United States is derived chiefly from the duties levied on the importation of foreign commodities, or the sale of public lands; the former source at present* producing twenty-two parts (22,681,996 dollars) out of twenty-four of the whole amount, (24,767,122 dollars,) the remaining twelfth being raised from the latter, (1,457,004 dollars;) together with dividends or sales of bank stock, (490,000 dollars;) the arrears of internal duties, (14,404 dollars;) direct taxes, (11,231 dollars;) and miscellaneous charges, (112,425 dollars.) The post-office department has frequently been a source of gain to the treasury; but in the year 1819, the whole amount received appears to have been expended in improvements of the post-roads, and, indeed, for the last ten years it has not, for a similar reason, been at all materially productive. We shall notice very briefly each of the sources from which the revenue is derived.

The present rates of duty imposed on the most important articles imported from foreign countries have been given in a table at the close of the chapter on manufactures, as indicative of the extent to which they are severally protected. The amount received from the customs annually, from 1791 to 1830, will be found in Table I., at the end of this chapter. It will be perceived that from the year 1792, when it was 3,443,070 dollars, it gradually rose to the year 1808, when it reached 16,363,550 dollars. This increase manifests very decidedly the progressive prosperity of the republic during that period, since it did not accrue from any increase of the rate of the imports, but of the quantity of the articles consumed or the amount of the tonnage employed. During the years 1809–10, in consequence of the embargo, the amount declined to about half the sum; in 1811 it reached thirteen millions of dollars; but, in consequence of the war, it sank again, in 1812, to under nine millions of dollars. In July of that year the rate of duties was doubled; and in 1813, they exceeded thirteen millions of dollars: in 1814, however, in consequence of the continuance of the war, and the effectual manner in which the British navy blockaded the American coast, they did not amount to six millions of dollars, and in 1815, a little exceeded seven millions of dollars. After the close of the war, the double duties, which were continued to the 30th of June, 1816, and the immense

importation of goods which the active competition of British manufacturers and merchants poured into the United States, raised the amount of customs for the year 1816 to the surprising sum of 36,306,874 dollars, the highest amount, by nearly one third, they have ever attained. The tariff which was established on the abandonment of the war duties, in June, 1816, was at a considerably higher rate than the old duties, and produced, in 1817, a revenue of upwards of twenty-six millions of dollars. The American market, during the first two years of peace, was glutted with foreign manufactures, and consequently, a reaction in the imports took place, which reduced the amount, in 1818, to little more than seventeen millions of dollars; in 1819 it reached twenty millions of dollars; from 1820 to 1825 the amount varied from thirteen to twenty millions of dollars. Since that time it has, with the exception of 1827, been about twenty-three millions of dollars. It is generally understood (although we have not received the official returns) that in consequence of the large importations under the high duties imposed by the tariff of 1828, the revenue derived from the customs this year will reach twenty-eight millions of dollars, an amount greater than that of any year since the establishment of the republic, except the first after the war.†

The sale of public lands is at present almost the only real source of revenue besides the customs; for although an amount of 499,000 dollars from dividends on stock in the bank of the United States appears in the statement of receipts, while any public debt remains, that sum, or nearly so, must be paid to the public creditor as interest on the debt, of which the loan to the United States bank forms a part, and upon which the interest paid by the bank cannot therefore be esteemed as clear revenue. The title of the United States to the public lands is derived from three distinct sources: first, from treaties with foreign nations, by which territory has been acquired, or boundaries settled; secondly, by treaties with the Indian tribes, by which, for a certain remuneration, the title of the natives to the land has been extinguished; and thirdly, from cessions of territories made by individual states to the general government. It cannot be matter of surprise, that the title of the United States should be frequently disputed by individuals, on the ground of claims existing previously to the cession of the land in question to the government. No less than fourteen extensive claims are

* These statements and calculations are founded on the official reports of the year ending 30th of September, 1829.

† Since these sheets were prepared for the press, the Report of

the Finances of the United States has been received, in which the receipts for the year ending 30th September, 1831, are estimated to be 28,000,412 dollars.

stated by Seybert,* some of them arising from alleged purchases from the Indians, which however were, even if substantiated, undoubtedly contrary to law, and others originating in grants from officers of the different governments to which the territory belonged before its acquisition by the United States, but of which the evidence of confirmation by their respective governments is either totally wanting or incomplete. Our limits will not permit us to state the details of these disputed claims: there is one, however, both from its peculiar character and its magnitude, too remarkable to be passed over. The Yazoo claims, as they were called, embraced 35,000,000 acres in the Mississippi territory, and were derived from a pretended sale by the legislature of Georgia, but declared null, as fraudulent, by a subsequent legislature. "The evidence, as published by the state of Georgia, and by congress," says Dr. Seybert, "shows that that transaction, even if considered as a contract, is, as such, on acknowledged principles of law and equity, null, *ab initio*; it being in proof that all the members of the legislature who voted in favour of the sale, that is to say, the agents who pretended to sell the property of their constituents, were, with the exception of a single person, interested in, and parties to the purchase." This claim, however, was arranged by commissioners appointed by congress in 1814, and treasury certificates to the amount of more than four millions of dollars were awarded among the various claimants.

On the 10th of May, 1800, an act of congress was passed, laying the foundation of the land system, as it now exists. Under this law, all the lands, before they are offered for sale, are surveyed, on a rigidly accurate plan, at the expense of the government. This is the corner-stone of the system. In this consists its great improvement over the land system of Virginia, according to which, warrants were granted to those entitled to receive them, for tracts of unsurveyed public land. These warrants might be located on any land not previously appropriated. In the absence of geometrical surveys, it was difficult, by natural boundaries, Indian paths, and buffalo traces, to identify the spots appropriated. The consequence was, that numerous warrants were laid on the same tract, conflicting claims arose, and the land titles of the country were brought into a state of the most

perplexing and injurious embarrassment. The state of Kentucky, and that portion of Ohio allotted as bounty-lands to the Virginia troops, have constituted one great theatre of litigation, from their first settlement. On the other hand, land titles acquired under the system of the United States are almost wholly exempt from controversies arising from uncertainty of location or boundary. The surveys of the public lands of the United States are founded upon a series of true meridians. The first principal meridian is in Ohio, the second in Indiana, the third in Illinois, &c., each forming the base of a series of surveys, of which the lines are made to correspond, so that the whole country is at last divided into squares of one mile each, and townships of six miles each; and these subdivisions are distributed with mathematical accuracy into parallel ranges. The greatest division of land marked out by the survey is called a township, and contains 36,000 acres, being six English or American miles square. The township is subdivided into thirty-six equal portions, or square miles, by lines, crossing each other at right angles. These portions are called sections. The section contains 360 acres, and is subdivided into four parts, called quarter-sections, each of which, of course, contains 90 acres. The quarter-sections are finally divided into two parts, called half-quarter-sections, of eighty acres each, and this is the smallest regular subdivision known to the system. The sectional and quarter-sectional divisions are designated by appropriate marks in the field, which are of a character to be easily distinguished from each other. The half-quarter-sections are not marked in the field, but are designated on the plot of the survey, by the surveyor-general marking the distance on one of the ascertained lines, in order to get the quantity of such half-quarter-sections as exhibited by his plan of survey. The fractional sections, which contain less than 90 acres, are not subdivided; the fractional sections which contain 90 acres and upwards are subdivided in such a manner as to preserve the most compact and convenient forms. A series of contiguous townships laid off from north to south is called a range. The ranges are numbered north and south from the base, or standard line, running due east and west. They are counted from the standard meridian, east and west.† The dividing lines of the sections, of course,

* Statistical Annals, chap. v. p. 355.

† The following first section of a private act, passed in 1825, may serve as a specimen of the nomenclature by which lots of land may be indicated in the system of the public surveys:—"Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, that, when the secretary of the treasury shall be satisfied that John Johnson of Indiana, did

enter at the Brookville land-office, in said state, the east half of the north-east quarter of section thirty-five, and the west half of the north-west quarter of section thirty-six in township seventeen north, in range four east, by mistake, instead of the east half of the south-east quarter, and the west half of the south-west quarter of the said sections, it shall be lawful for a patent to be issued to the said Johnson, for the two last mentioned half quarters, so in-

run by the cardinal points, except where what is called a fractional section is created by a navigable river or an Indian boundary.

The superintendence of the surveys is committed to five surveyors-general. One thirty-sixth part of all the lands surveyed, being section No. 16, in each township, is reserved from sale, for the support of schools in the township; and other reservations have been made for colleges and universities. All salt springs and lead mines are also reserved, and are subject to be leased under the direction of the president of the United States. Whenever the public interest is supposed to require that a certain portion of territory should be brought into market, for the accommodation of settlers or others who may wish to become purchasers, the president issues instructions to the surveyor-general, through the commissioner of the general land office, at Washington, to have such portion of territory surveyed. The surveyor-general makes this requisition publicly known to those individuals who are in the habit of contracting for public surveys; and a contract for the execution of the surveys required is entered into between the surveyor-general and deputy surveyors. The contract is given to the lowest bidder, provided the surveyor-general be fully satisfied of his capacity to fulfil the contract. The maximum price established by law for executing the public surveys is three dollars a mile, in the upland and prairie countries. In the southern parts of the United States, where the surveys are rendered difficult by the occurrence of bayous, lakes, swamps, and cane-brakes, the maximum price established by law is four dollars a mile. The deputy surveyors are bound by their contract to report to the surveyors-general the field notes of the survey of each township, together with a plan of the township. From these field notes the surveyor-general is enabled to try the accuracy of the plan returned by the deputy surveyor, and of the calculations of the quantity in the legal subdivisions of the tract surveyed. From these documents three plans are caused to be prepared by the surveyor-general; one for his own office; one for the register of the proper land office to guide him in the sale of the land; and the third for the commissioner of the general land office at Washington. The government has generally found it expedient to authorize the surveying of forty townships of land annually, in each land district, so as to admit of two sales by public auction annually, of twenty townships each. The general land office at Washington is under the superintendence of an

tended to be entered, on his relinquishing to the United States his interest in, and surrendering the patent issued for, the two first

officer, called the commissioner of the general land office. It is subordinate to the treasury department. The public lands are laid off into districts, in each of which there is a land office, under the superintendence of officers appointed by the president and senate, called the register of the land office, and the receiver of public moneys. There are at present forty-two land offices. The register and the receiver each receive a salary of 500 dollars per annum, and a commission of one per cent. on the moneys paid into their office.

Till 1820, a credit was allowed on all purchases of public lands. In consequence of this system, large quantities of land had been purchased on speculation, and in the ordinary course of purchases a vast amount of land debt to the government had been contracted. To relieve the embarrassed condition of these debtors, an act was passed, authorizing the relinquishment of lands purchased, and substituting cash payments for the credit system. The most beneficial effects have resulted from this change, apart from the relief of those who were indebted to the government. At the same time the minimum price of the land was reduced from two dollars to one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre. In the first instance the public lands are offered for sale, under proclamations of the president, by public auction, with the limitation of the minimum rate. Lands not thus sold are afterwards subject to private sale at the minimum price.

A very large amount of public land is in the occupation of persons who have settled upon it without title. This is frequently done, in consequence of unavoidable delays in bringing the land into market, and not from any intention, on the part of the settler, to delay payment. Laws have been passed, granting to settlers of this description a pre-emptive right in the acquisition of a title, that is, the preference over all other persons at private sale. These laws afford the actual settler no protection against those who might choose to overbid him at the public sales; but it is believed, that in most cases, by mutual agreement among purchasers, the actual settler is enabled to obtain his land, even at public sale, at the minimum price. It is stated, however, that great injury is done to the settlers by combinations of land speculators, who infest the public sales, purchasing the lands at the minimum price, and compelling *bona fide* settlers to take them at an enhanced valuation. Should the settler refuse such an agreement, the speculators enter into competition with him at the sale. On the whole it would appear, that, in general, the

mentioned half quarters, in such manner as shall be directed by the secretary of the treasury."

government obtains but the minimum price for its lands, although what is actually sold and occupied, being the choice of the whole quantity brought into market, is, of course, worth much more.

It has been suggested, and with an appearance of justice, that the price of the public lands is still too high. The government, having already reimbursed itself for the cost of them, cannot be considered as having any other duty to perform than to promote their settlement, as rapidly as it can take place by a healthy process, and to meet the wishes of all who desire *bona fide* to occupy them. Considering the class of men most likely to take the lead in settling a new country, one hundred dollars, (the price of a half-quarter section) paid in cash to the government, is a tax too heavy perhaps for the privilege of taking up a farm in an unimproved wilderness. The price is already too low to oppose a serious obstacle to speculation; so that a considerable reduction of it would not probably increase that evil, while it would essentially relieve the *bona fide* settler. There would, in fact, perhaps be little else to object to a plan of gratuitous donation of a half-quarter-section to actual settlers, than the comparative injustice of such a plan toward those settlers who have already purchased their farms.

Five per cent. on all the sales of public lands within the several states is reserved; three fifths of which are to be expended by congress in making roads leading to the states, and two fifths to be expended by the states in the encouragement of learning. The first part of this reservation has been expended on the Cumberland-road; and the treasury of the United States is greatly in advance to that fund on account of this public work.—It appears, that up to the present time, about 150 millions of acres of the public lands have been surveyed. Of these, thirty millions have not been proclaimed for sale; twenty millions have been sold and, as much more granted by con-

gress for education, internal improvement, and other purposes. There are then 110 millions of acres surveyed, but not sold, eighty millions of which are in the market, ready for sale at the minimum price, and thirty millions subject to be proclaimed for sale whenever there is a demand. The total quantity of land, the title of which vests in the United States, is estimated by Pitkin and Seybert at 400 millions of acres: the Indian title to a very considerable proportion of this, however, is not yet extinguished. It must be evident, that while such a resource is possessed for the profitable occupation of redundant labour or capital, the labourer will never be without remunerating produce for his toil, and the capitalist will be clear of the folly, not to say the guilt, of reducing profits to such a shade, that no small manufacturer or small vender can possibly exist; and consequently, that the country so favoured will enjoy a long period of prosperity.

The total amount received by the treasury for the sale of public lands, from the year 1796 to 1829, as stated in a letter from the secretary of the treasury to the chairman of the committee of retrenchment, in April, 1830, was 32,403,527 dollars; the highest amount was in 1819, 3,274,422 dollars. It appears that the capital thrown out of employ by the destruction of manufactures, on the return of peace, was appropriated to speculations in land, in 1817, 1818, and 1819; but many of these speculations turning out unfavourably, the amount expended in the purchase of land resumed its usual level. From that year to the year 1829, the amount received from this source has varied from about one million to one million and a half of dollars; but during the last two years it has greatly increased—the amount of 1830 being 2,329,356 dollars, and the amount for the present year, as calculated by the secretary of the treasury, would prove to be about three millions and a half, a sum exceeding that of any former year.*

* It would appear that in consequence of the revenue produced from the sale of public lands being no longer needful to the general government, a most important change respecting them may possibly occur—the transfer of their title from the general government to the states where they are situated. "On this point," says Mr. Mc Lane, "the undersigned deems it proper to observe, that the creation of numerous states throughout the western country, now forming a most important part of the union, and the relative powers claimed and exercised by congress and the respective states over the public lands, have been gradually accumulating causes of inquietude and difficulty, if not of complaint. It may well deserve consideration, therefore, whether at a period demanding the amicable and permanent adjustment of the various subjects which now agitate the public mind, these may not be advantageously disposed of in common with the others, and upon principles just and satisfactory to all parts of the union. It must be admitted that the public lands were ceded by the states, or subsequently acquired by the United States, for the common benefit, and that each

state has an interest in their proceeds, of which it can not be justly deprived. Over this part of the public property the powers of the general government have been uniformly supposed to have a peculiarly extensive scope, and have been construed to authorize their application to the purposes of education and improvement, to which other branches of revenue were not deemed applicable. It is not practicable to keep the public lands out of the market; and the present mode of disposing of them is not believed to be the most profitable either to the general government or to the states, and must be expected, when the proceeds shall be no longer required for the public debt, to give rise to new and more serious objections.

"Under these circumstances, it is submitted to the wisdom of congress to decide upon the propriety of disposing of all the public lands in the aggregate, to those states within whose territorial limits they lie, at a fair price, to be settled in such manner as might be satisfactory to all. The aggregate price of the whole may then be apportioned among the several states of the union, according to such an equitable ratio as may be consistent with the

Respecting the internal revenue, as it has almost ceased to exist except in the shape of arrears, it is unnecessary to enter into any lengthened detail. Soon after the establishment of the government, it was found necessary to impose internal taxes, and the articles made liable to them are stills and spirits, snuff, refined sugar, sales at auction, licenses to retail wines and spirituous liquors, carriages for the conveyance of passengers, and stamped paper. It is interesting to observe the regular and rapid increase in the product of these duties, from about 209,000 dollars to upwards of one million, from 1792 to 1801. As the rate of duty was not increased, it must be evident the quantity consumed of the articles liable to them must have increased in the ratio of fifty per cent. per annum, the amount of the last year being five times that of the first. There is only one drawback on the satisfactory nature of this statement—a large portion of the increased consumption was in spirituous liquors! The above duties were repealed in 1802; but the arrears of them continue to occupy a place in the treasury accounts till the year 1814, when, with very little variation, they were re-enacted. Subsequently, however, in consequence of the war, additional duties were imposed by congress on spirits and other articles, and during the same session taxes were imposed on most of the articles manufactured in the United States. In 1815, the revenue derived from internal taxation amounted to more than four and a half million of dollars, and in 1816 it reached its maximum of upwards of five millions. Soon after the termination of the war, many of the duties

were either reduced or repealed, and subsequently the remainder have been dismissed from the statute book, unless the "fees on letters-patent," which amount for 1829 to 12,990 dollars, may be termed a remnant of internal taxation. It has already been intimated that the amounts which are stated in Table I., in the column of internal revenue, are only the arrears of the former imposts, which as debts due to the government, continue to be collected.

The direct taxes are those laid upon houses and lands, and upon slaves. They were first imposed in 1798, to the amount of two millions of dollars, apportioned to the several states according to the constitution. Of this sum, rather more than one third was collected in the year 1800, another third in 1801 and 1802, and a portion only of the remainder has since been collected as arrears. In 1813 a tax to the amount of three millions of dollars was imposed; and in 1815 an *annual* direct tax of six millions of dollars was enacted, which, however, was reduced to three millions of dollars by the congress of 1816, and entirely repealed in 1817. The arrears of this tax still continue to flow annually into the treasury. The whole amount levied by the four enactments was fourteen millions of dollars, and in the year 1829, 12,702,597 dollars had been received, which allowing for expenses of collection, does not leave room for many defaulters. The following statement of the rate of assessment on each occasion of the several states will be instructive, as another test of the progressive increase in value of the property of the inhabitants.

STATES.	Quotas apportioned in 1798.			Quotas apportioned in 1813.		Quotas apportioned in 1815.	
	Dolls.	Cts.	Mills.	Dolls.	Cts.	Dolls.	Cts.
New Hampshire	77,705	36	2	96,793	37	193,586	74
Massachusetts	260,435	31	2	316,270	98	632,541	96
Rhode Island	37,502	08	0	34,702	18	69,404	36
Connecticut	129,767	00	2	118,167	71	236,335	42
Vermont	46,864	18	7	98,343	71	196,687	42
New York	181,680	70	7	430,141	62	860,283	24
New Jersey	98,387	25	3	108,871	83	217,743	66
Pennsylvania	237,177	72	7	365,478	16	730,958	32
Delaware	30,430	79	2	32,046	25	64,092	50
Maryland	152,599	95	4	151,623	94	303,247	88
Virginia	345,488	66	5	369,018	44	738,036	88
Kentucky	37,643	99	7	168,928	76	337,857	52
North Carolina	193,697	96	4	220,238	28	440,476	56
Tennessee	18,806	38	3	110,086	55	220,173	10
South Carolina	112,997	73	9	151,905	48	303,810	96
Georgia	38,814	87	5	94,936	49	189,872	98
Ohio . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	104,150	14	208,300	28
Louisiana . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	28,295	11	56,590	22

objects of the original cession; and the proportion of each may be paid or secured directly to the others by the respective states purchasing the land. All cause of difficulty with the general government on this subject would then be removed; and no doubt can be entertained, that, by the means of stock issued by the buying states, bearing a moderate interest, and which, in consequence of the re-

imbursement of the public debt, would acquire a great value, they would be able at once to pay the amount upon advantageous terms. It may not be unreasonable also to expect, that the obligation to pay the annual interest upon the stock thus created, would diminish the motive for selling the lands at prices calculated to impair the general value of that kind of property. It is believed, moreover,

Of the various tests by which the progressive prosperity of a country may be ascertained, the extension of its internal communications is certainly not one of the least important. In this respect the progress of the United States is, perhaps, more conspicuous than in almost any other. In the year 1775, congress first established a line of posts from Falmouth, in New England, to Savannah, in Georgia: in 1782 all the surplus income derived from the postage was directed to be applied to the establishment of new post-offices, and the support of packets. In the year 1790, there were 75 post-offices, and 1,875 miles of post-roads; in the year 1810 there were 2,300 post-offices, and 36,406 miles of post-roads; and in 1829 there were 8,004 post-offices, and 115,000 miles of post-roads. The general post-office is established at Washington, under the direction of a postmaster-general, who is authorized to appoint two assistants, and the requisite number of clerks; he is further directed to superintend the business of the department in all the duties that are or may be assigned to it; and he is required, once in three months, to render to the secretary of the treasury an account of all the receipts and expenditures in the department, to be adjusted and settled as other accounts. The postmaster-general may establish post-offices, and appoint post-masters on the post-roads which are or may be authorized by law, at all such places as to him may appear expedient. He regulates the number of times the mail shall go from place to place, and he is authorized to contract for carrying the mail, and to establish post-roads.

The rates of postage are very moderate, being about half those of Great Britain. For any distance not exceeding 30 miles, six cents; 80 miles, ten cents; 150 miles, twelve cents and a half; 400 miles, eighteen cents and three quarters; above 400 miles, twenty-five cents.* Thus a letter may be conveyed from Maine to New Orleans, at least 2,000 miles, for a fraction more than one shilling sterling. Double

that the interests of the several states would be better promoted by such a disposition of the public domain, than by sales in the mode hitherto adopted; and it would at once place at the disposal of all the states of the union, upon fair terms, a fund for purposes of education and improvement, of inestimable benefit to the future prosperity of the nation."—*Finance Report, December 7, 1831, pp. 19, 20.*

* It may not be improper to remind our readers, who may not be familiar with American coins, that a cent, or the hundredth part of a dollar, is nearly equivalent to the English halfpenny.

† Newspapers are not subject to stamp or other duty in the United States.

‡ *Privilege of Franking.*—"Letters and packets to and from the following officers of the government, are by law received and conveyed by post, free of postage:—The president and vice-president of the United States; secretaries of state, treasury, war, and navy; attorney-general; postmaster-general and assistant postmaster-general; comptrollers, auditors, register, and solicitor of the treasury; treasurer; commissioner of the general land office; com-

missioners of the navy board; commissary-general; inspectors-general; quartermaster-general; paymaster-general; superintendent of patent office; speaker and clerk of the house of representatives; president and secretary of the senate; and any individual who shall have been, or may hereafter be, president of the United States; and each may receive newspapers by post free of postage.—Each member of the senate, and each member and delegate of the house of representatives, may send and receive, free of postage, newspapers, letters, and packets, weighing not more than two ounces, (in case of excess of weight, excess alone to be paid for,) and all documents printed by order of either house, during and sixty days before and after each session of congress.—Postmasters may send and receive, free of postage, letters and packets not exceeding half an ounce in weight; and they may receive one daily newspaper each, or what is equivalent thereto.—Printers of newspapers may send one paper to each and every other printer of newspapers within the United States, free of postage, under such regulations as the postmaster-general may provide."—*American Almanac, 1832.*

Before entering on the general expenditure of the United States, it may be proper to notice the mint establishment, and the state of the circulating medium. In 1792, a mint establishment for the United States, to be carried on at the seat of government for the time being, was authorized by congress. Since the removal of the seat of government to Washington,

this establishment has, by special act of congress, been continued at Philadelphia; and very recently, a handsome and commodious new building has been provided, on such a plan as to admit of its operations being carried on to much greater extent than formerly. The gold coins of the United States are—eagles, of the value of ten dollars or units, containing 247 1-8 grains of pure, or 270 grains of standard gold; half eagles, of the value of five dollars; quarter eagles, of the value of two and a half dollars. The silver coins are—the dollar or unit, of the value of one hundred cents, containing 371 4-16 grains of pure silver, or 416 grains of standard silver; half dollar, of the value of fifty cents; quarter dollar, of the value of twenty-five cents; dime, of the value of ten cents; half dime, of the value of five cents. The copper coins are—cent, of the value of the one hundredth part of a dollar, and containing eleven penny-weights of copper; half cent, of the value of the two hundredth part of a dollar. The devices upon the coins are, upon one side, an impression emblematical of Liberty, with an inscription of the word "Liberty," and the year of the coinage; upon the reverse of the gold and silver coins, the representation of an eagle, with the inscription, "United States of America;" upon the reverse of the copper coins, an inscription expressing the denomination of the piece. The proportional value of the gold and silver in all the coins which are current in the United States, is as fifteen to one, according to quantity in weight; that is to say, every fifteen pounds weight of pure silver, are of equal value with one pound weight of pure gold. The standard of all the gold coins of the United States is eleven parts fine to one part of alloy; the alloy is composed of silver and copper in proportions not exceeding one half of silver. The standard of all the silver coins is 1,485 parts fine to 179 parts of alloy; the alloy is wholly of copper. Any person may carry gold or silver bullion to be coined at the mint; the bullion so brought is assayed and coined as speedily as possible, free of expense. As soon as the bullion has been coined, the person who deposited the same, may upon demand receive

in lieu thereof, coins of the same species of bullion weight for weight of the pure gold or pure silver therein contained. The gold and silver coins struck at the mint are a lawful tender; the value thereof is in proportion to their respective weights.

The coinage effected within the last year (1830) amounts to 3,155,620 dollars, comprising 643,105 dollars in gold coins, 2,495,400 dollars in silver, 17,115 dollars in copper, and consisting of 8,357,191 pieces of coin, viz.

		Dollars.
Half eagles . . .	126,351 making . . .	631,755
Quarter eagles . .	4,540 " . . .	11,350
Half dollars . . .	4,764,800 " . . .	2,382,400
Dimes . . .	510,000 " . . .	51,000
Half dimes . . .	1,240,000 " . . .	62,000
Cents . . .	1,711,500 " . . .	17,115
	<hr/> 8,357,191	<hr/> 3,155,620

Of the amount of gold coined within the last year, about 125,000 dollars were derived from Mexico, South America, and the West Indies; 19,000 dollars from Africa; 466,000 dollars from the gold regions of the United States, and about 33,000 dollars from sources not ascertained. Of the gold of the United States above mentioned, 24,000 dollars may be stated to have been received from Virginia, 204,000 dollars from North Carolina, 26,000 dollars from South Carolina, and 212,000 dollars from Georgia. In the last annual report of the director of the mint, the progressive development of the gold region of the United States was illustrated by referring to the increase of the annual receipts from North Carolina, which, previous to 1824, had been inconsiderable; but from that year to 1829, inclusive, had advanced from 5,000 dollars to 128,000 dollars, and also to the then novel occurrence of gold having been received at the mint from Virginia and South Carolina, about 2,500 dollars having been received from the former, and 3,500 dollars from the latter. The past year exhibits, in relation to all these states, a conspicuous increase in the production of gold, and presents, also, the remarkable fact of 212,000 dollars in gold received from Georgia, from which state no specimen even had been received at the mint in any previous year.*

* A late British writer gives the following account of the quantity of the precious metals produced from the American mines:—"An elaborate paper prepared in the foreign office has been laid before parliament, which decides the question as to the comparative productions of the American gold and silver mines during the last ten years, ending with 1829, and the periods immediately preceding. This return exhibits a material falling off; and although much of the diminution may, perhaps, fairly be attributed to the unsettled state of the countries in which the mines are situated, still there is abundant reason for concluding, that the source itself is approaching to exhaustion. From this curious document we make the following abstract:—From 1790 to 1809, the mines of Mexico yielded gold of the value of 4,523,378*l.*, silver, 94,429,303*l.*;

those of Panama, gold, 223,518*l.*; Chili, gold, 863,974*l.*, silver, 944,736*l.*; Buenos Ayres, gold, 1,862,955*l.*, silver, 19,286,830*l.*. From 1810 to 1821, Mexico yielded gold, 1,913,075*l.*, silver, 45,388,729*l.*; Panama, gold, 23,603*l.*; Chili, gold, 1,904,514*l.*, silver, 878,188*l.*; Buenos Ayres, gold, 2,161,940*l.*, silver, 7,895,842*l.*; Russia, gold, 3,703,743*l.*, silver, 1,502,981*l.*. The returns from Monte Video are too vague to lead to any safe results. The comparative increase or decrease in periods of ten years is as follows:—Mexico, from 1790 to 1799, and 1800 to 1809, in gold, an increase of 16 1-10th; in silver, a decrease of 2 2-5ths; on the whole, a decrease of 1 3-5ths, as compared with the first period, from 1810 to 1819, in gold, a decrease of 30; of silver, a decrease of 48 3-5ths; on the whole, a decrease of 47 4-5ths, as compared

Owing to the proportionate value of the gold and silver coins not being properly adjusted, (gold being valued at only 15 to 1 of silver, while its real value is very nearly 16 to 1,)* there is no gold coin now in circulation.†

It has been a question much agitated amongst financiers and political economists, whether the absence of the precious metals is a subject for lamentation or for congratulation. It has been affirmed by some, not without apparent reason, that as the circulating medium is only an instrument—a machine—the less the expense of its construction and maintenance, the more profit or the less loss must accrue: while it has been maintained, on the other hand, that there is no safety for commerce, unless gold, or paper immediately convertible into gold, be the circulating medium. We shall not so far forget the nature and limits of our undertaking, as to enter into this controversy, but content ourselves with stating our opinion, that, excepting the advantage of cheapness, it is a matter of indifference whether the circulating medium be of value in itself, or be the representative of value; that if it be the representative of value, it is not important whether that value be gold, or land,

or houses, or barrels of flour, provided the circulating medium by which they are represented does not represent more than their marketable or exchangeable value; and that the interests of commerce are not directly affected by the question, whether the circulating medium be real value itself, or the representative of real value, but by the amount of the circulating medium, the variations of which have a corresponding effect upon the prices of all articles of trade. There can be no doubt, that as the interests of all are affected by the increase or diminution of the currency, this point should be sufficiently under the control of the executive, to prevent or mitigate the pernicious extremes in which the avarice or indiscretion of individuals have too often resulted. The committee, however, consider that the abundance of "paper money" in the United States is an evil. "While we have so much paper money," they state, "we can not have any great quantity of the precious metals in use, as money; and while this extensive use of paper money shall continue, an adjustment of the relative value of gold and silver will not bring much gold into circulation. Still, the necessary adjustment should be made. No man can foresee how

with the first period; from 1820 to 1829, in gold, a decrease of 78 7-10ths; silver, a decrease of 56 2-5ths; on the whole, a decrease of 57 2-5ths, as compared with the first period. Panama, from 1790 to 1799, and 1800 to 1809, in gold, a decrease of 11 7-10ths, as compared with the first period; from 1810 to 1819, a decrease of 93 3-10ths; 1820 to 1829, a decrease of 86 4-5ths. Chili, from 1790 to 1799, and 1800 to 1809, in gold, an increase of 65 4-5ths; silver, a decrease of 31; on the whole, an increase of 4 3-5ths; from 1810 to 1819, in gold, an increase of 330 1-2; silver, an increase of 30 4-5ths; on the whole, an increase of 148 3-5ths; 1820 to 1829, in gold, an increase of 55 2-5ths; silver, a decrease of 81 3-10ths; on the whole, a decrease of 31 9-60ths. Buenos Ayres, from 1790 to 1799, and 1800 to 1809, in gold, an increase of 45 4-5ths; silver, a decrease of 23 4-5ths; on the whole, a decrease of 19 1-5th; from 1809 to 1819, in gold, an increase of 42 3-5ths; silver, a decrease of 51; on the whole, a decrease of 51 1-2; 1820 to 1829, in gold, an increase of 42 3-5ths; silver, a decrease of 70; on the whole, a decrease of 62 3-5ths. From 1820 to 1829, Russia produced, in gold, 3,703,743*l*, in silver, 1,502,981*l*. On the produce of the whole of these mines, therefore, from 1790 to 1799, and from 1800 to 1809, there has been, as compared with the first period, in gold, an increase of 26 4-5ths; silver, a decrease of 6 3-5ths; on the whole, a decrease of 4 4-5ths; from 1810 to 1819, in gold, an increase of 20 2-5ths; silver, a decrease of 49 1-2; on the whole, a decrease of 45 4-5ths; and from 1820 to 1829, in gold, an increase of 74 3-5ths; silver, a decrease of 56 3-5ths; and on the whole, a decrease of 497-10ths."

* "The relative value of gold and silver in our coins should be 15.9 to 1. In France, the relative value of gold to silver is about 15.62 to 1. In Great Britain, gold is in value to silver about as 15.86 to 1. The relative value of gold and silver in Spain has been 16 to 1 during the last fifty or sixty years, and, according to recent information, the value of gold in Spain is now a little higher than this proportion. In Portugal, the rise of gold and the decline of silver in relative value were slower and later than in Spain; but the relative value of the two metals in Portugal is now about 16 to 1, and this proportion appears to have prevailed there for many years. From all the information which can be obtained, it appears that the value of gold in relation to silver, is about 16 to 1

in all the American countries south of the United States. This relative value seems to have prevailed in those parts of America which were formerly Spanish, and especially in Mexico and Peru, during the last forty or fifty years. In Brazil, gold was for a long time somewhat less valuable, but during the last ten years, the relative value of gold in Brazil has also been about 16 to 1. In the West Indies, the two metals fluctuate much in respect to each other; but the ratio 16 to 1 seems to be the average of relative value."—*Report of the Select Committee appointed to consider the state of the Current Coin, &c., presented to the Senate, 15th of December, 1830.*

† "The fact that we have no gold coins in use, is not the intended effect of our institutions. It has resulted from too low a valuation of gold in respect to silver, when our system was established, and a progressive rise in the relative value of gold since that time. By our system, the two metals are coined upon the basis that one pound of gold is equal in value to fifteen pounds of silver, and all our coinage of the two metals has been executed in conformity to this relative valuation. This proportion was too low a valuation of gold in the year 1792, and it is certainly much too low a valuation of gold in relation to silver at this time. Our gold coins being much underrated in respect to silver, have never had any general circulation in the country; they have ceased to be used as money; they are merely merchandize, purchased by a considerable premium over silver, and they are used in manufactures, or exported to Europe. Our public coinage of gold is now wholly without any public benefit: we prohibit and punish all private coinage of gold; we coin this metal at the mint upon a principle which does not permit it to circulate as money, and we pay the expense of this useless coinage. In practice, this coinage affords a facility to the possessor of gold bullion, since it enables him to employ the mint to weigh and assay his bullion, and to divide it into very convenient portions, without expense to himself. When the coins are received from the mint they are sold for their value as bullion; some of them are used in manufactures, and the greater part are exported. If we will not rectify the legal proportion between the coins of the two metals, we ought to abolish the coinage of gold, save a useless expense, and leave gold to be treated like other metals not coined as money."—*Report of the Select Committee, 1830.*

far the present course of issuing paper will proceed, or how long paper money, in its present form and abundance, will be tolerated. Whatever may happen in respect to paper money, the precious metals should always be coined, and a sound system of coins should be in constant operation, to the end that whether paper money shall be used or not, and whether the amount of our coins shall be great or small, a portion of them may consist of gold, and another portion of silver."^{*}

It appears from the testimony of the select committee, that the coins now in the United States, and the bank notes now circulating as money, are estimated at about one hundred millions of dollars. The coin is estimated at about twenty-three millions of dollars; of which sum, it is conceived, that about fifteen millions of dollars are held by the banks, and

about eight millions of dollars are in circulation among the people. The bank notes in circulation are estimated at about seventy-seven millions of dollars. The amount of money in circulation among the people is, accordingly, about eighty-five millions of dollars, consisting of about seventy-seven millions of bank notes, and about eight millions of coin. The banks in the principal sea-ports have at this time an unusual quantity of coin; and the amount of coin now held by those banks is much greater than the sum which they have generally held. Of the sum of seventy-seven millions of dollars of bank notes in circulation, it is estimated that about one half consists of notes for sums exceeding five dollars, about one fourth of notes for five dollars, and about one fourth of notes for sums less than five dollars. The notes for sums less than five dollars are chiefly for one dol-

* Very recently, so late as in June, 1834, three several bills were passed by the government of the United States, relative to the gold and silver currency of the country. These several acts altering and regulating the value of gold and silver coins, foreign and domestic, are as follows: they have too important a bearing not to be here inserted.

An Act concerning the gold coins of the United States, and for other purposes.—Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, That the gold coins of the United States shall contain the following quantities of metal, that is to say: each eagle shall contain two hundred and thirty-two grains of pure gold, and two hundred and fifty-eight grains of standard gold; each half eagle one hundred and sixteen grains of pure gold, and one hundred and twenty-nine grains of standard gold; each quarter eagle shall contain fifty-eight grains of pure gold, and sixty-four and a half grains of standard gold. Every such eagle shall be of the value of ten dollars; every such half eagle shall be of the value of five dollars; and every such quarter eagle shall be of the value of two dollars and fifty cents. And the said gold coins shall be receivable in all payments, when of full weight, according to their respective values; and when of less than full weight, at less values, proportioned to their respective actual weights.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That all standard gold or silver deposited for coinage after the thirtieth day of June next, shall be paid for in coin under the secretary of the treasury, within five days from the making of such deposit, deducting from the amount of said deposit of gold and silver one half of one per centum. Provided, That no deduction shall be made unless said advance be required by such depositor within forty days.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That all gold coins of the United States minted anterior to the thirty-first day of July next, shall be receivable in all payments at the rate of ninety-four and eight tenths of a cent per pennyweight.

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, That the better to secure a conformity of the said gold coins to their respective standards as aforesaid, from every separate mass of standard gold which shall be made into coins at the said mint, there shall be taken, set apart by the treasurer, and reserved in his custody, a certain number of pieces, not less than three, and that once in every year the pieces so set apart and reserved shall be assayed under the inspection of the officers, and at the time, and in the manner now provided by law; and if it shall be found that the gold so assayed shall not be inferior to the said standard hereinbefore declared, more than one part in three hundred and eighty-four in fineness, and one part in five hundred in weight, the officer or officers of the said mint whom it may concern, shall be held excusable; but if any greater inferiority shall appear, it shall be certified to the president of the United States, and if he shall so decide, the said officer or officers shall be

thereafter disqualified to hold their respective offices: Provided, That, in making any delivery of coin at the mint in payment of a deposit, the weight whereof shall be found defective, the officer concerned shall be responsible to the owner for the full weight, if claimed at the time of delivery.

SEC. 5. And be it further enacted, That this act shall be in force from and after the thirty-first day of July, in the year of one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four.

An Act relating to the value of certain foreign gold coins within the United States.—Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, That from and after the thirty-first day of July next, the following gold coins shall pass current as money within the United States, and be receivable in all payments by weight, for the payment of all debts and demands, at the rates following, that is to say: the gold coins of Great Britain, Portugal, and Brazil, of not less than twenty-two carats fine, at the rate of ninety-four cents and eight tenths of a cent per pennyweight; the gold coins of France, nine tenths fine, at the rate of ninety-three cents and one tenth of a cent per pennyweight; and the gold coins of Spain, Mexico, and Colombia, of the fineness of twenty carats, three grains and seven sixteenths of a grain, at the rate of eighty-nine cents and nine tenths of a cent per pennyweight.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the secretary of the treasury to cause assays of the aforesaid gold coins, made current by this act, to be had at the mint of the United States, at least once in every year, and to make a report of the result thereof to congress.

An Act regulating the value of certain foreign silver coins within the United States.—Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, That from and after the passage of this act, the following silver coins shall be of the legal value, and shall pass current as money within the United States, by tale, for the payment of all debts and demands, at the rate of one hundred cents the dollar; that is to say: the dollars of Mexico, Peru, Chili, and Central America, of not less weight than four hundred and fifteen grains each; and those restamped at Brazil, of the like weight, of not less fineness than ten ounces fifteen pennyweights pure silver in the Troy pound of twelve ounces of standard silver; and the five franc pieces of France, when of not less fineness than ten ounces and sixteen pennyweights in twelve ounces Troy weight of standard silver, and weighing not less than three hundred and eighty-four grains each at the rate of ninety-three cents each.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the secretary of the treasury to cause assays of the aforesaid silver coins made current by this act, to be had at the mint of the United States, at least once in every year, and to make report of the result thereof to congress.

lar, two dollars, and three dollars; and a great portion of them consists of notes for one dollar.

The power to establish banks is claimed and exercised by the government of the United States, and also by each of the states. There are now in the United States about five hundred incorporated banks, and the number is annually increased. The public revenue of the United States, and of every one of the states, is collected and disbursed almost wholly in bank notes. The coin held by the banks, and in circulation among the people, is silver. All the coin in common circulation, and most of that held by the banks, is half dollars and the minor silver pieces.

It will have been perceived, that the subject of coinage is eventually interwoven with that of the use of bank notes. Before we leave this subject, therefore, we shall notice the bank of the United States—an institution, the existence of which, on constitutional grounds, forms the subject of considerable discussion in the republic at this time.* The old bank of the United States was incorporated by an act of congress, approved in February, 1791. By the limitation of the charter, it was to expire on the 4th of March, 1811. This, like the banks of England and France was a bank of deposit, discount, and circulation, with a capital of 10,000,000 dollars. Those European writers, both British and French, who have eulogized this institution as being purely commercial, and distinguished from those of England and France by not being connected with the government, or an engine of finance, cannot have read the charter, the preamble to which begins thus: "Whereas the establishment of a bank will be very conducive to the conducting of the national finances, will tend to give facility to the obtaining of loans for the use of the government in sudden emergencies, and will be productive of considerable advantages to trade and industry in general," &c. Instead of being a merely commercial establishment, therefore, it was, essentially and mainly, of a financial and political character, and it was on this ground that its constitutional character was defended; the right of congress to grant such a charter being claimed mostly upon the strength of that clause of the constitution, which gives to congress the authority necessary for carrying into execution the powers enumerated, and expressly vested in that body. The origin of this establishment was, therefore, similar to that of the bank of England, and the resemblance is not limited to the general purposes of

its institution; for, as the bank of England originated in a loan to the British government, so the act by which the old bank of the United States was chartered, provided that the sums subscribed by individuals and corporations should be "payable, one fourth in gold and silver, and three fourths in the public debt' certificates. The president of the United States was authorized to subscribe for two millions of the stock in behalf of the United States. The directors, being twenty-five, were chosen by the stockholders, without any interference on the part of the government in the election; but the government reserved the right of inspecting the affairs of the bank, and, for this purpose, the secretary of the treasury was authorized to demand of the president and directors a statement of its concerns as often as he might see fit. The corporation was authorized to establish branches in any part of the United States. The only restriction, as to circulation, was, that the amount of debts due from the corporation by bond, bill, note, or otherwise, besides the debts due for deposits, should never exceed 10,000,000 dollars; and, in case of excess, the directors, by whose agency such debt should be incurred, were made personally answerable. This bank went into operation, and had a most powerful agency in establishing the credit of the government, facilitating its financial operations, and promoting the interests of industry and commerce. Congress having refused to renew the charter, it expired by its own limitation, in 1811.

During the war, however, the want of a national bank was severely felt, not only as an agent for collecting the revenues, but more especially for transmitting funds from one part of the country to another; and then it might have been a useful auxiliary to public credit, by supplying temporary loans in cases of emergency. So thoroughly convinced were the public of the necessity of such an institution, that the members of the same political party by which the constitutional objections had been made to the old bank, and which had refused to renew its charter, passed an act of congress, which was approved by the president April 10, 1816, chartering the present bank of the United States, with a capital of 35,000,000 dollars, upon principles, and with provisions, very similar to those contained in the former charter. For this charter the government demanded and received a bonus of 1,500,000 dollars from the stockholders. The government became a stockholder in the same

* For this statement respecting the United States bank, we with pleasure acknowledge our obligations to that ably conducted work, the *Encyclopædia Americana*. Although we have read much in various American publications upon the subject the statements of

the editors appeared to us so correct, and their views so just, that we found it unnecessary to do more than to add the state of the bank at a period somewhat later than that work contains.

moderate the notions of a few overheated individuals, who would apparently rather make an effort to dissolve their connexion with the Union, than acquiesce in an arrangement which, while certainly beneficial to a very large portion of the republic, is very slightly, if at all, injurious to themselves.

If satisfaction has been felt in the management of the funds of the several departments already noticed, who can withhold the meed of praise and congratulation when the state of the public debt of the republic is developed? The Table No. IV., at the close of this chapter, exhibits operations of finance such as, we believe it may be safely asserted, no nation has ever before achieved. On some points, indeed, it has been a subject of dispute, whether the example of America has been beneficial or injurious; but surely all must concur in the opinion, that in being the first nation to annihilate her national debt, not by any "equitable adjustment," nor by following the example of the "beloved" Ferdinand, but by the legitimate mode of direct payment, the nation is placing a laurel on her brow that will wear its greenness when the trophies of mere military prowess are faded and turned to dust. In 1817, owing to the war with Great Britain, the public debt of the United States amounted to nearly one hundred and sixteen millions of dollars, or about twenty-five millions sterling. In comparison with our own debt, indeed, this may appear trifling; but when the circumstances and resources of the two countries are considered, the Americans may well be excused for deeming it large and oppressive. During twelve years it was reduced to fifty-eight millions of dollars, which was the amount when General Jackson ascended the presidential chair. Fortunate in his military career, the general seems not to be forsaken in his political course; but appears likely to render his administration celebrated, by accomplishing the entire liquidation of the public debt before the expiration of his presidency. During the first three years of his administration, the amount has been reduced from 58,362,138 to 24,322,235 dollars. The whole of this amount, the secretary, in accordance with "the views of the president," proposes to liquidate before the 3d of March, 1833. "The occasion," observes Mr. McLane, "is deemed a propitious one to bring before the legislature the subject of the debt, with a view to its redemption, at a period not only earlier than has been heretofore anticipated, but before the termination of the present congress.

Dolls. Cts.

"The entire public debt on the 2d of January next,
as has been already shown, will amount to . . . 24,322,235 18

Dolls. Cts

The amount of the receipts into the treasury during the year 1832, after satisfying all the demands of the year, other than on account of the public debt, are estimated, as above, at	16,734,797 84
To this may be added the balance in the treasury on the 1st of January, 1832, (exclusive of the ineffective funds and the Danish indemnity,) at	1,208,276 24
From this aggregate of	17,943,074 08
After deducting the amount of the unsatisfied appropriations already estimated at	3,423,525 87
There will remain a surplus in the year 1832, of Which, unless congress should enlarge the appropriations for other objects, may be applied to the public debt.	14,519,548 21
The interest on the debt during the year 1832, may be estimated at	500,000 00
Leaving for the principal in that year	14,019,548 21
Which, being applied to that object, will leave the total amount of the public debt at the close of the year 1832, at	10,302,686 97
The government, however, has other means, which, if congress see proper, may be applied towards the payment of the debt, viz. the shares in the bank of the United States, amounting at par to 7,000,000 dollars; but which, as will be presently explained, may be estimated at not less than	8,000,000 00
In that event, the amount of the debt on the 1st of January, 1833, would be but	2,302,686 97
Which sum, together with a fair allowance for the cost of purchasing, at the market price, the stocks not redeemable in the course of the proposed operation, might be supplied in the months of January and February, 1833, by the application from the revenues of that year of a sum equal to two twelfths of the amount applied from the ordinary revenues to the debt of the year 1832, say	2,503,258 02

"It may be further observed, that should any diminution take place in the estimated revenue, or should the expenditure exceed the estimated amount, the deficiency which either event might produce in the means of the treasury applicable to the debt, would be supplied by the amount reserved in this estimate for the unsatisfied balances of appropriations; for, although that sum constitutes a legal charge on the treasury, to be met as occasion requires, yet, in any estimate of present means, it may be considered rather as a nominal than a real charge. It will be thus perceived, that the government has the means, if properly employed, of reimbursing the whole of the public debt, by purchase, or otherwise, on or before the 3d of March, 1833. The moral influence which such an example would necessarily produce throughout the world, in removing apprehension, and inspiring new confidence in our free institutions, can not be questioned. Seventeen years ago, our country emerged from an expensive war encumbered with r

sides the principal bank, there were in January, 1830, twenty-two offices of discount; namely, at Portland, Portsmouth, Boston, Providence, Hartford, New York, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Norfolk, Fayetteville, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans, Nashville, Lexington, Louisville, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. The state of the bank, April 1, 1830, was as follows:—

	Dollars.	Cents.
Notes discounted	32,138,270	89
Domestic bills discounted	10,506,882	54
Funded debt held by the bank	11,122,530	90
Real estate	2,891,890	75
Funds in Europe, equal to specie	2,789,498	54
Specie	9,043,748	97
Public deposits	8,905,501	87
Private deposits	7,704,256	87
Circulation	16,083,894	00

The expenditure of the United States is divided into four departments: the civil list, which includes the salaries paid to all the political, judicial, and diplomatic functionaries of the general government, both at home and abroad, as well as a large amount for miscellaneous items; the military establishment, including Indian affairs and internal improvements; the naval establishment; and the public debt. The last of them is an item which will probably not appear in any finance report after the present, or, at any rate, the following year. At the close of this chapter we have given a detailed statement of the expenditure of the United States for the year 1829, extracted from the appendix of the Finance Report for that year. It speaks volumes in favour of the government from which it issues. Here are no attempts at concealment—no appropriations obtained for one object and devoted to another—but a simplicity of statement worthy of the utility of the objects to which the revenue is devoted; indeed, the statement is so

springing from the inconveniences which followed the first loss of the bank of the United States, and the evils and distresses incident to the excessive, and, in some instances, fraudulent issues of the local banks during the war. The propriety of continuing it is to be considered not more in reference to the expediency of banking generally, than in regard to the actual state of things, and to the multiplicity of state banks already in existence, and which can neither be displaced, nor in other manner controlled, in their issues of paper, by the general government. This is an evil not to be submitted to; and the remedy at present applied, while it preserves a sound currency for the country at large, promotes the real interests of the local banks, by giving soundness to their paper. If the necessity of a banking institution be conceded or shown, that which shall judiciously combine the power of the government with private enterprise, is believed to be most efficacious. The government would thus obtain the benefit of individual sagacity in the general management of the bank; and, by means of its deposits and share in the direction, possess the necessary power for the prevention of abuse.

"It is not intended to assert that the bank of the United States, as at present organized, is perfect, or, that the essential objects of such an institution might not be attained by means of an entirely

clear and satisfactory, that any American who can read can not fail to apprehend the manner in which its funds are appropriated.

Having put our readers in possession of this document, it will be only necessary for us to make some general observations on the principal items in each department of the expenditure. The whole amount of the civil list for the year 1829, including miscellaneous and foreign intercourse, was 3,101,514 dollars; of this sum 1,327,069 only belong properly to the civil list, the remainder belonging to the miscellaneous (1,566,679) and to the diplomatic departments (207,765;) and even then the civil list is charged with disbursements which are not connected with it in other countries, the legislature receiving 467,447, the judiciary 239,447, and the governments of the territories 55,344, besides several other items; leaving for the whole executive department only 530,172 dollars, or little more than 100,000*l.* sterling. The first item in the disbursements is the salary of the president, 25,000 dollars, about 5,000*l.* sterling. The vice-president has only one fifth of that sum; the secretaries of state, of the treasury, of war, of the navy, and the postmaster-general, receive 6,000 dollars annually; the attorney-general 3,500; the chief clerks to each of the secretaries 2,000. In the treasury department the comptroller receives 3,500; and the second comptroller 3,000; five auditors, the treasurer, and registrar, 3,000 each; the solicitor to the treasury 3,500; and the commissioner of the land office 3,000. In the judiciary, the chief justice of the supreme court of the United States receives 5,000 annually; and six associate justices 4,500. In the foreign intercourse, nearly half the amount of the disbursement is for expenses of treaties and other contingencies. The plenipotentiaries at foreign courts receive only 9,000 dollars per annum,

new one, organized upon proper principles, and with salutary limitations. It must be admitted, however, that the good management of the present bank, the accommodation it has given the government, and the practical benefits it has rendered the community—whether it may or may not have accomplished all that was expected from it—and the advantages of its present condition, are circumstances in its favour entitled to great weight, and give it strong claims upon the consideration of congress in any future legislation upon the subject. To these may be added, the knowledge the present bank has acquired of the business and wants of the various portions of this extensive country, which, being the result of time and experience, is an advantage it must necessarily possess over any new institution. It is to be observed, however, that the facilities of capital actually afforded by the present institution to the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing industry of all parts of the union, could not be withdrawn, even by transferring them to another institution, without a severe shock to each of those interests, and to the relations of society generally. To similar considerations, it may be presumed, is to be traced the uniform policy of the several states of the union, to rechartering their local institutions, with such modifications as experience may have dictated, in preference to creating new ones."—Pp. 14—16.

besides 9,000 for an outfit; a charge d'affaires receives a salary of 4,500; and a secretary of legation 2,000. There are employed six plenipotentiaries, with a secretary of legation attached to them, and ten charge d'affaires. We apprehend that our readers on both sides of the Atlantic will concur in the observations of Mr. McLane on the amount of remuneration received by the ministers to foreign courts; and many will probably be inclined to extend the principle to other officers of the republic. "The salaries of the public ministers abroad," observes Mr. M. "must be acknowledged to be utterly inadequate, either to the dignity of the office, or the necessary comforts of their families. At some foreign courts, and those whose relations towards the United States are the most important, the expenses incident to the station are found so burdensome as only to be met by the private resources of the minister. The tendency of this is to throw those high trusts altogether into the hands of the rich, which is certainly not according to the genius of our system. Such a provision for public ministers as would obviate those evils, and enable the minister to perform the common duties of hospitality to his countrymen, and promote social intercourse between the citizens of both nations, would not only elevate the character of his country, but essentially improve its public relations."*

Among the miscellaneous items are the mint establishment, 85,931 dollars; the lighthouse establishment, 289,149; surveys of public lands, 51,289; marine and navy hospitals, 188,562; public buildings at Washington, 74,114; shares in several canal companies, 468,500; and revolutionary claims, 288,446. It is impossible to close this brief account of the civil list of the United States without expressing a sincere admiration of the purposes to which its funds are devoted. Not only is the catalogue of its expenditure free from those corruptions which either are too gross to be clearly expressed, or if stated fill the mind with a just indignation; but it is to us surprising how large a portion of the funds are made directly to bear on the welfare of the people themselves, either in the shape of internal improvement, (which, while it promotes commercial advantage, by facilitating the communications between the sea-ports and the states of the interior, confers scarcely a less benefit in the well remunerated occupation it affords to the labourer,) or of hospitals, or light-houses, or other similar objects; while the amount paid in salaries to a few individuals cannot possibly

be deemed either burdensome to the nation, or corrupting to the possessors of office.

The amount under the head Military Establishment (6,267,626 dollars,) is nearly half the gross sum expended by the government, exclusive of that devoted to the liquidation of the public debt; but a very large proportion of it is applied to purposes, either not at all, or very indirectly, connected with military affairs. The amount for pay, subsistence, clothing, medicines, recruiting, and contingencies, is little more than two millions of dollars. This amount is found sufficient to keep on foot an army of 6,000 men, to which the peace establishment was reduced (from 10,000) in 1821. The force consists of the general staff, 119; comprising, medical department, pay and purchasing departments, a corps of military and a corps of topographical engineers: four regiments of artillery, consisting of 545 officers and men, the supernumeraries amounting to 2,240; and seven regiments of infantry, consisting of 547 officers and privates, amounting to 3,829; total organized force, 6,188.* In the armouries, arsenals, and ordnance, armament of fortifications, and arming and equipping the militia, there were disbursed, in 1830, nearly one million of dollars; and in the construction of fortifications, and in the erection of barracks, were expended about 800,000 dollars. The military academy at West Point, an interesting and important institution, an account of which will appear in a subsequent section of the work, requires nearly 28,000 dollars annually: and this closes the list of expenses strictly military, making the whole, 3,800,000 dollars. The remaining two and a half millions are expended in the erection of breakwaters, and other improvements of harbours; in deepening and improving the navigation of the Mississippi, Ohio, and about thirty other rivers or harbours; and in the construction or repair of the Cumberland, and twelve other lines of road. The pensions for soldiers who devoted their lives and fortunes to the great cause of the revolution, amount to 764,492 dollars; it must therefore be admitted, even by the most bitter opponents of republicanism, that it has improved since the days of the splendid barbarians of Sparta and of Athens, whose ingratitude to their most devoted patriots has ever been a reproach, which the conduct of the modern Greeks has tended to confirm rather than to remove. With the exception of a few miscellaneous items of little importance, the remainder is disbursed in the department of Indian affairs; the annuity to Indians, in the fulfilment of treaties for the payment of lands,

* Finance Report for 1831, p. 18.

+ American National Calendar for 1830.

the title of which has been conveyed by the several tribes to the United States, amounting, for the year 1829, to 245,108 dollars, and various other payments, among which we find one, and one only, for "schools" for an Indian tribe, making the sum total half a million of dollars. Before taking leave of the details of the expenditure in the military department, it may not be improper to suggest to those who may feel desirous to ascertain the present defensive power of the United States, in comparison with that of 1814, that it will amply repay their attention, if they will note on a map the points in fortifying which the government are annually expending a large sum. We are the more induced to make this observation, from a conviction that a compliance with it will tend to promote the growth of that just respect which is the true basis of political friendship between nations, and which some of the leading literary publications of the day have so pertinaciously laboured to prevent or to destroy.

The navy has always been a favourite object in the United States, as in Great Britain; and, from the flourishing state of the revenue, it will probably receive increased support. The amount disbursed annually in the navy establishment is about three and a quarter millions of dollars, of which a considerable portion is devoted to its gradual improvement, by the accumulation of stores, the erection of dry docks, and the building of additional vessels. In 1830, the United States navy consisted of seven sail of the line, all of which were laid up in ordinary; seven frigates of the first class, of which three were in ordinary, and four in commission; three frigates of the second class, of which one was a receiving ship, one in actual service, and one in ordinary; fifteen sloops, of which two were in ordinary, and the remainder on different foreign stations; seven schooners, of which three were in employ as receiving ships, one in ordinary, and two in commission. There were also five ships of the line and seven frigates in such a state of forwardness, that they could be ready for sea in from three to six months. There are seven navy yards maintained by the government in different states of the Union, for an account of which we must refer to the topography of the states in which they are located. Although we are compelled, by the limits of our undertaking, to condense our information as much as possible, there are some passages in the report of the secretary of the navy, recently presented to congress, indicative of the progress of this department, too interesting to be omitted. "The construction of the two dry docks," says the secretary, Mr. Woodbury, "has advanced with great rapidity

during the past year. Both are now mostly completed, except the removal of the coffer dams, and the finishing of some of the gates and steam machinery. They present to the eye specimens of stone masonry seldom rivalled in beauty and solidity. The expenditures on each have been about 500,000 dollars; and by the 4th of next July, it is hoped, that some of the public vessels requiring repairs may be safely docked in these useful, economical, and splendid conveniences for our naval establishment. The buildings for accommodation to the officers of yards reported in the surveys and plans of A. D. 1828, are in progress where most needed, and, in connexion with the storehouses, sheds, wharfs, walls, and shipways, require, annually, such appropriations as can be expended without a neglect of more urgent duties.—An increased estimate, to advance all these improvements, is presented for the ensuing year. Among other contemplated improvements in those plans, were ropewalks at some of our present yards. All observation and experience in the navy show, that in nothing does it suffer more at this time than from bad cordage. The impositions in the quality of the hemp, in the manufacture, and in the tar, are numerous, and difficult of detection, productive of injurious delays when detected, and when not detected, exceedingly hazardous to the safety of both crews and vessels.—The vessels in ordinary have been at most of the yards, covered, so as to shelter them effectually from sunshine and storms, and to render their security from decay much greater than heretofore. It is a gratifying circumstance, that most of those vessels, as well as those upon the stocks, are in a condition highly creditable to the persons who planned and executed the present mode of preserving them; and that, by proper care in future, until put in commission, no probability whatever exists of much further decay in the important portions of their expensive works, or of any decay in those portions composed of the invaluable material of live oak. The whole purchases of timber and stores, under the act for the gradual increase of the navy, and which remain in deposit at the yards, are over a million and a half in value. The amount of purchases, under the act for the gradual improvement of the navy, in deposit, is nearly half a million. The amount of property on hand for repairs is almost a million. The ordnance, provisions, &c. amount to upwards of a million and a half more."—It is most sincerely to be wished, that the vigorous attention which the government of the United States devote to the subject of their naval power, may not only tend to secure and perpetuate their peaceful relations with foreign powers, but to

proportion as in the former bank, taking one fifth, or 7,000,000 dollars of the stock. The direction of the institution was left to the stockholders, as in the old bank, except that the government reserved the right of appointment and removal at pleasure, by the president, of five directors out of the twenty-five, the other twenty being elected by the stockholders. The government also reserved the right to demand a statement of the concerns of the institution by committees of either branch of the legislature. One quarter of the subscriptions to the stock were payable either in gold and silver, or United States stock, at the option of subscribers. The seven millions to be subscribed by the government was payable either in gold and silver or public stock, at an interest of five per cent., at the option of the government. The transactions of the corporation were limited to making loans and trading in the precious metals, and the sale of such goods or proceeds of such lands as should be pledged. Branches may be established in any parts of the United States or their territories. No other similar corporations are to be chartered by the government, except banks in the district of Columbia, with a capital, in the whole, not exceeding 6,000,000 dollars, during the period for which the charter was granted, namely, to the 3d of March, 1836. The bank is prohibited from purchasing any part of the public debt, taking interest above six per cent., or lending to the government more than 500,000 dollars, or to any state more than 50,000: and the debts of the institution are in no case to exceed the amount of deposits by more than 35,000,000 dollars. In case of refusing payment of its notes or deposits in specie, the bank is made liable to pay interest at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum. The bank is also obliged, by its charter, to give the government the necessary facilities for transferring the public funds from place to place within the United States, without charging commissions, or claiming any allowance on account of the difference of exchange, and to transact all the business of commissioners of loans whenever required so to do. The bank is prohibited from issuing bills under the denomination of five dollars.

It is an object proposed by the charter, as appears from some of the provisions already noticed, to make the institution independent of the fortunes, and place it beyond the exigencies, of the government, by limiting the amount of loans that may be made to the government, and prohibiting the purchase of the

public debt. It is not in the power of congress to exonerate the bank from the liability to pay, in specie, its deposits made, or notes put into circulation, previously to the passing of any act for that purpose; so that the depositors and holders of its notes are entirely secure from any interposition of the government between themselves and the bank, in violation of the contract held by them. The institution is thus essentially commercial in its character, being directly auxiliary to the government, and subject to its control, only as a financial engine. It has had an important influence upon the industry and commerce of the country and the credit of the government, and has been of immense utility in the management of its finances. But its greatest and most beneficial influence has been felt in the restoration of the currency to a sound state; for, at the time of its going into operation, many of the state banks had an immense amount of unredeemable paper in circulation, purporting, it is true, to be payable to the bearer in specie, on presentment for that purpose, but which was not, in fact, so paid. Immediately on the bank of the United States going into operation, with its various branches in the principal commercial cities, it became necessary for all the other banks within the circle of its influence to resume specie payments, or discontinue their operations. Those which had not resources to resume specie payments necessarily stopped; and the consequence of the influence of this institution is a complete restoration of the currency to specie, or its equivalent. In fine, whether we consider the extent of the capital of the institution, that of its operation, or its commercial and financial utility and influence, it may justly be considered the second institution of the kind in the world, ranking, in all these respects, next after that of England. The stock was made the subject of speculation soon after its establishment, and rose, at one time, to the enormous advance of fifty-six per cent. upon the original subscription; but the great losses incurred by some of the branches, especially those of the new states, and other causes, subsequently reduced it to ten per cent. discount on its original value. It has since risen to a more steady market-value of from twenty to twenty-five per cent. advance. The amount of the circulation for 1828 was between 12,000,000 and 13,000,000 dollars. The deposits for the same year averaged from 13,000,000 to 14,000,000. The dividends have varied from five to six per cent.* Be-

* The present secretary of the treasury, Mr. M'Lane, in his Finance Report for 1831, judiciously observes,—“The indispensable necessity of such an institution for the fiscal operations of the government, in all its departments, for the regulation and preservation of a sound currency, for the aid of commercial transactions

generally, and even for the safety and utility of the local banks, is not doubted, and, as is believed, has been shown in the past experience of the government, and in the general accommodation and operations of the present bank. The present institution may, indeed, be considered as peculiarly the offspring of that necessity,

debt of more than one hundred and twenty-seven millions, and in a comparatively defenceless state. In this short period it has promptly repealed all the direct and internal taxes which were imposed during the war, relying mainly upon revenue derived from imports and sales of the public domain. From these sources, besides providing for the general expenditure, the frontier has been extensively fortified, the naval and maritime resources strengthened, and part of the debt of gratitude to the survivors of the revolutionary war discharged. We have, moreover, contributed a large share to the general improvement; added to the extent of the union, by the purchase of the valuable territory of Florida; and, finally, acquired the means of extinguishing the heavy debt incurred in sustaining the late war, and all that remains of the debt of the revolution.**

We most cordially congratulate the government and the people of the United States on the happy prospect of being free from the incubus which weighs down the energies of other nations; and most sincerely hope that the novel and extraordinary difficulty which has come upon them, of having to dispose of, or to reduce, a revenue nearly twice the amount of the expenditure, may not be attended with any of the injurious consequences arising from party violence and internal dissensions, that present circumstances appear to indicate. As the subject connects itself directly with a question of the utmost importance to the interests of commerce and of manufactures on both sides of the Atlantic, it will be desirable for our readers to be put in possession of the views of the present administration, although it is by no means certain that they may ultimately prove to be in accordance with those of the legislature. "Whatever room there may be," says the secretary of the treasury, "for diversity of opinion with respect to the expediency of distributing among the several states any surplus revenue that may casually accrue, it is not doubted that any scheme for encouraging a surplus for distribution, or for any purpose which should make it necessary, will be generally discountenanced. There is too much reason to apprehend that a regular, uniform dependence of the state governments upon the revenue of the general government, or an uniform expectation from the same source, would create too great an incentive to high and unequal duties, and not merely disturb the harmony of the union, but ultimately undermine and subvert the purity and independence of the state sovereignties.

"To distribute the duties in such a manner, as far as that may be practicable, as to encourage and protect the labour of the people of the United States from the advantages of superior skill and capital, and the rival preferences of foreign countries,—to cherish and preserve those manufactures which have grown up under our own legislation, which contribute to the national wealth, and are essential to our independence and safety, to the defence of the country, the supply of its necessary wants, and to the general prosperity—is considered to be an indispensable duty. The vast amount of property employed in the northern, western, and middle portion of the union, upon the faith of our own system of laws, and in which the interests of every branch of our industry are involved, could not be immediately abandoned without the most ruinous consequences. The various opinions by which the people of the United States are divided upon this subject, concern the peace and the harmony of the country, and recommend an adjustment on practical principles, rather than with reference to any abstract doctrines of political economy. The objects more particularly requiring the aid of the existing duties, upon the principles of this report, are believed to be wool, woollens, cotton, iron, hemp, and sugar, as comprehending those articles in which the agricultural and manufacturing industry are more particularly interested. Upon these articles, the average duty collected in the years 1829 and 1830, amounted to 8,940,593 dollars. These duties could not be materially changed at present, without the effect already deprecated. No objection is perceived, however, to such gradual reduction of them in future as may with draw the aid thus afforded, as the growth and stability of our manufactures will enable them to dispense with it, to such a degree at least, as will, with the aid of an increase of population, and the means of consumption, still leave a revenue adequate to the expenditures; or until what may be withdrawn from them may be levied on other articles which may be found to admit of it. The additional sum, which, together with the amount of those duties, it may be necessary for congress to provide, in a re-adjustment of the tariff, will depend upon its decision as to confining the expenditures to the present objects, or of enlarging them, as herein suggested. In the former case, the sum of 4,559,607 dollars,—and in the latter, the sum of 6,059,607 dollars, will be required; and, in regard to either estimate, the provision should be upon a scale sufficiently liberal to guard against the chance of a deficiency. In providing for either sum, the duties may be advantageously retained upon ar

* Finance Report for 1831, pp. 9—11.

ticles of luxury, or those which are principally consumed by the wealthier classes, or upon those not abundantly produced in the United States, in preference to others. At the same time, the duties may be removed from such raw materials as will admit of it without detriment to our agriculture; whereby the manufacturers would be enabled to sell cheaper, and also, the sooner to dispense with a part of the duties which may be at present retained for their protection. If the adjustment suggested to congress, by the views hazarded in this report, be in any wise entitled to their respect, it is not unreasonable to hope, that the various topics of national concern, at present engaging the attention of the people, may facilitate rather than embarrass the task.”*

All who desire the welfare of the human race, with which the success of the principle on which the political arrangements of the United States are found-

ed is so essentially connected, will unite in the hope, or at least the desire, that the opinion expressed in the last sentence quoted from Mr. McLane, may prove to be correct. Of this, many, however, entertain serious fears. Might it not be for the general good of the republic, if all the excess of revenue derived from maintaining the protecting duties, were divided among the states who deem themselves injured? If a judicious arrangement of this nature were effected, would not all parties be benefitted? If the accounts given of the injury sustained by South Carolina be correct, and the surplus revenue were proportionably divided, would not Charleston, by its magnificent edifices, and its improved communications with the interior, become one of the wealthiest and proudest cities, not only of the republic, but of the world? Or would her inhabitants still be unhappy, unless the rising towns of the north, the west, and the middle states, were depopulated?

* Finance Report, 1831, pp. 21, 23, 25 30.

FINANCES.—TABLE I.

RECEIPTS OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM MARCH 4, 1789, TO DECEMBER 31, 1829.

Years.	Customs.	Internal Revenue.*	Direct Taxes.†	Postage.	Public Lands.	Loans and Treasury Notes, &c.	Dividends and interest of Bank Stock and Bonds.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.
From March 4, 1789, to December 31, 1791	4,399,473 00	208,942 81	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	5,791,112 56	.. .. .	19,440 10	10,210,025 76
1792	3,413,070 85	337,705 70	.. .. .	11,020 51	.. .. .	5,070,806 46	8,023 00	9,918 65	8,740,766 77
1793	4,255,306 56	374,089 62	.. .. .	29,478 49	.. .. .	1,007,701 14	38,500 00	10,390 37	5,720,624 28
1794	4,801,056 28	337,765 36	.. .. .	22,400 00	.. .. .	4,609,196 78	393,472 00	23,799 48	10,041,101 65
1795	5,688,461 26	475,289 60	.. .. .	72,909 84	.. .. .	3,305,908 00	160,000 00	5,917 97	9,419,802 79
1796	6,697,987 94	576,491 45	.. .. .	64,500 00	4,836 13	3,362,500 00	1,240,000 00	16,706 14	8,740,329 65
1797	7,649,643 65	644,357 05	.. .. .	39,500 00	83,610 60	70,135 41	386,220 00	30,379 29	8,768,916 40
1798	7,106,061 93	779,136 44	.. .. .	41,000 00	11,963 11	507,574 27	79,920 00	18,692 81	8,209,070 07
1799	6,610,439 31	809,396 53	734,223 97	78,000 00	443 75	5,074,646 53	71,040 00	45,187 68	12,021,459 84
1800	9,080,923 73	1,048,033 43	534,343 38	79,500 00	167,726 05	1,692,436 04	10,125 00	74,712 10	12,451,184 14
1801	10,760,778 93	1,048,033 43	534,343 38	79,500 00	167,726 05	1,692,436 04	10,125 00	74,712 10	12,451,184 14
1802	12,438,256 74	1,048,033 43	534,343 38	79,500 00	167,726 05	1,692,436 04	10,125 00	74,712 10	12,451,184 14
1803	10,479,417 61	621,179 89	71,879 20	16,427 26	165,675 89	5,697 36	1,327,560 00	177,905 86	15,001,391 31
1804	11,098,565 33	60,941 59	50,198 44	26,500 00	483,526 79	9,632 64	.. .. .	115,618 18	11,064,097 63
1805	12,936,487 04	21,747 15	21,883 91	21,342 50	540,193 80	128,814 94	.. .. .	112,676 53	11,835,840 02
1806	14,667,698 17	20,101 45	55,763 86	41,117 67	765,245 73	48,887 71	.. .. .	13,609 80	13,689,608 14
1807	15,845,621 61	13,051 40	34,732 56	3,614 73	466,163 27	.. .. .	.. .. .	10,004 19	15,608,823 78
1808	16,363,550 58	8,210 73	19,159 21	.. .. .	442,252 33	1,822 16	.. .. .	34,935 69	16,398,019 26
1809	7,296,020 53	4,044 39	7,617 31	.. .. .	695,648 82	2,769,992 25	.. .. .	23,638 61	7,773,473 12
1810	8,583,309 31	7,430 63	12,448 68	.. .. .	1,040,237 63	8,309 05	.. .. .	84,476 84	12,144,206 53
1811	13,313,222 73	2,295 95	7,666 66	37 70	1,040,237 63	8,309 05	.. .. .	60,068 52	14,431,838 14
1812	8,998,777 63	4,765 04	3,809 52	85,039 70	836,885 14	12,837,900 00	.. .. .	41,125 47	22,639,032 76
1813	13,224,623 25	4,765 04	3,809 52	35,000 00	836,885 14	26,184,435 00	.. .. .	236,571 00	40,634,844 95
1814	5,398,772 08	2,210,497 36	2,210,497 36	46,000 00	1,135,971 09	23,377,911 79	.. .. .	114,399 81	34,553,536 95
1815	7,282,942 22	4,678,059 07	2,162,673 41	136,000 10	1,287,969 98	36,264,320 78	.. .. .	160,282 74	60,361,237 60
1816	36,306,874 88	5,124,708 31	4,253,635 09	149,787 74	1,717,985 03	9,494,436 16	.. .. .	127,994 61	67,171,421 82
1817	26,283,348 49	8,678,100 77	1,834,187 04	20,371 91	1,931,226 08	734,512 59	202,426 30	80,389 17	33,833,692 33
1818	17,176,385 00	955,279 20	261,333 36	20,070 00	2,606,564 77	8,765 62	625,000 00	37,547 71	21,693,936 66
1819	20,983,698 76	229,593 63	83,650 78	71 32	3,274,422 79	2,291 00	875,000 00	57,027 10	24,605,665 37
1820	16,005,612 15	106,360 53	31,586 82	6,465 95	1,635,871 61	3,040,824 13	1,005,000 00	54,872 40	20,881,493 68
1821	13,004,447 16	69,027 63	23,349 05	516 91	1,212,966 46	5,000,324 00	100,000 00	163,072 62	19,573,793 72
1822	17,589,761 94	67,665 71	20,951 56	602 04	1,803,981 64	.. .. .	297,500 00	492,355 15	20,232,427 94
1823	19,088,423 44	34,242 17	10,337 71	110 69	916,523 10	.. .. .	350,000 00	141,019 15	20,540,666 26
1824	17,878,325 71	24,663 37	6,201 96	.. .. .	984,418 15	5,000,000 00	300,000 00	127,603 60	20,381,312 79
1825	20,098,713 45	25,771 35	2,330 85	469 56	1,216,090 66	5,000,000 00	307,500 00	129,982 25	26,840,868 02
1826	23,341,331 77	21,589 93	6,638 76	200 14	1,393,785 09	.. .. .	402,500 00	94,288 62	26,840,868 02
1827	19,712,983 29	19,885 68	2,626 80	101 00	1,495,845 26	.. .. .	420,000 00	1,315,021 53	22,966,363 96
1828	23,205,923 61	17,451 54	2,218 81	20 15	1,018,308 75	.. .. .	455,000 00	65,106 34	24,763,029 23
1829	22,681,366 94	14,404 74	11,321 29	.. .. .	1,457,004 66	.. .. .	490,000 00	112,425 62	24,767,122 22
1830	21,922,391 39	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	2,324,356 14	.. .. .	490,000 00	103,318 98	24,844,116 51
TOTAL	542,210,388 28	22,204,438 03	12,702,697 11	1,090,275 91	34,732,883 94	155,181,678 67	9,903,506 30	4,775,063 15	783,899,781 29

* From the year 1802 to 1813, and subsequently to 1818, there were no internal taxes, the receipts being only arrears from former years.

† From 1803 to 1813, and subsequently to 1817, there were no direct taxes, the receipts being only arrears.

FINANCES.—TABLE II.

EXPENDITURE OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM MARCH 4, 1789, TO DECEMBER 31, 1899.

FINANCES.—TABLE II.												
EXPENDITURE OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM MARCH 4, 1789, TO DECEMBER 31, 1829.												
Year.	Civil List.	Foreign Intercourse.	Miscellaneous.	Public Debt.	Naval Establishment.	MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.				Indian Department.	TOTAL.	Balances in the Treasury at the end of each year.
						Military services, including Fortifications, Ordnance, Ammunition, &c.	Revolutionary Pensions.	Other Pensions.				
From March 4, 1789, to December 31, 1791	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.
1791	757,134 45	14,733 33	311,533 83	5,287,949 50	570 00	632,804 03	.	175,813 88	27,000 00	7,207,537 02	973,905 75	
1792	380,917 58	78,766 67	194,572 32	7,263,665 99	53 02	1,100,702 09	.	109,243 15	13,648 85	9,141,569 67	783,444 51	
1793	358,241 08	89,500 00	24,709 46	5,819,605 29	.	1,130,249 08	.	80,087 81	27,232 83	7,529,575 55	763,661 69	
1794	440,946 58	146,403 51	118,248 30	6,801,578 09	61,408 97	2,639,097 59	.	81,399 94	13,042 46	9,302,124 74	1,151,924 17	
1795	361,633 36	912,685 12	92,718 50	6,084,411 61	410,562 03	2,400,263 84	.	65,673 22	23,475 68	10,435,069 65	1,516,442 61	
1796	447,139 05	184,859 64	150,476 14	5,835,846 44	274,784 04	1,260,263 84	.	100,843 71	113,563 98	8,367,776 84	888,995 42	
1797	483,233 70	669,738 54	103,880 82	5,792,421 82	382,631 89	2,039,402 66	.	92,256 97	62,396 38	8,626,012 78	1,021,899 04	
1798	504,605 17	437,428 74	149,004 15	3,990,294 14	1,381,347 76	2,009,522 30	.	104,845 33	16,470 09	8,613,517 68	617,451 43	
1799	592,905 76	271,374 11	175,111 81	4,596,876 78	2,868,081 84	2,466,946 96	.	95,444 03	20,302 19	11,077,043 50	2,161,867 77	
1800	748,688 45	395,288 18	183,636 59	4,578,369 95	3,443,716 03	2,560,878 77	.	64,130 73	31 22	11,989,739 92	3,298,391 99	
1801	649,288 31	295,676 73	269,803 41	7,291,707 04	2,111,424 04	1,672,944 08	.	78,533 37	94,000 00	12,276,084 67	5,020,697 64	
1802	596,981 11	550,925 93	315,022 36	9,539,001 76	915,661 87	1,179,148 25	.	85,440 38	60,000 00	11,268,983 67	4,825,811 60	
1803	626,583 12	1,110,834 77	205,217 87	7,256,159 43	1,215,230 51	822,055 85	.	80,992 10	116,500 00	12,624,646 36	4,037,005 26	
1804	624,795 63	1,186,655 57	379,558 23	8,171,787 45	1,599,532 75	875,423 93	.	81,854 59	196,500 00	13,727,124 41	3,999,388 99	
1805	585,849 79	2,798,028 77	384,720 19	7,369,889 79	1,697,500 00	712,781 28	.	81,875 53	234,200 00	15,070,093 97	4,538,123 80	
1806	684,230 53	1,760,421 30	445,485 18	8,959,884 61	1,649,641 44	1,224,355 38	.	70,500 00	205,425 00	11,292,292 99	9,643,850 07	
1807	655,824 65	577,826 34	464,546 52	6,307,730 10	1,722,064 47	1,288,685 91	.	82,576 04	213,575 00	16,764,584 20	9,941,809 96	
1808	691,167 80	304,992 83	427,124 98	10,260,245 36	1,884,067 80	2,900,834 40	.	87,833 54	337,503 84	13,867,926 30	3,848,056 78	
1809	712,465 13	166,305 04	337,032 62	6,452,554 16	2,427,758 80	3,345,772 17	.	83,744 16	177,625 00	13,319,986 74	2,672,276 57	
1810	703,994 03	81,367 48	315,783 47	8,008,904 46	1,654,244 20	2,294,323 94	.	75,043 88	151,875 00	13,601,808 91	3,502,305 80	
1811	644,467 27	284,904 47	457,919 66	8,009,204 05	1,965,566 39	2,032,828 19	.	91,402 10	277,845 00	22,279,121 15	3,862,217 41	
1812	826,271 55	347,703 29	509,113 37	4,449,622 45	3,959,365 15	11,817,798 24	.	86,999 91	167,358 28	39,190,520 36	5,196,542 00	
1813	780,545 45	209,941 01	738,949 15	11,108,128 44	6,446,600 10	19,652,013 02	.	90,164 36	167,394 86	38,025,230 32	1,727,848 55	
1814	927,424 23	177,179 97	1,103,425 50	7,900,543 94	7,311,290 60	20,350,806 86	.	69,656 06	530,750 00	39,582,493 35	13,106,592 88	
1815	852,247 16	290,892 04	1,755,731 27	12,628,922 35	8,660,000 25	14,794,294 22	.	188,804 15	274,512 16	48,244,495 51	22,033,519 19	
1816	1,203,125 77	364,620 40	1,416,995 00	24,871,062 93	3,903,278 30	16,012,096 80	300,000 00	590,719 80	505,704 27	35,104,875 40	1,473,526 74	
1817	994,556 17	281,995 97	2,242,384 62	25,423,036 12	2,953,695 00	6,622,715 10	1,847,900 85	598,039 00	463,181 39	24,004,199 73	2,079,992 88	
1818	1,109,559 79	420,429 90	2,305,849 82	21,296,201 62	3,847,640 42	6,506,300 37	2,766,440 00	441,936 31	315,750 01	21,763,024 85	1,995,461 21	
1819	1,142,180 41	284,113 94	1,640,917 06	7,703,926 29	4,387,990 00	2,630,392 31	.	242,817 25	477,005 44	19,090,572 69	1,681,592 24	
1820	1,243,310 05	253,370 01	1,090,341 85	8,628,494 28	3,319,243 06	4,461,291 78	.	305,608 46	575,007 41	17,676,592 63	4,237,427 55	
1821	1,112,292 64	267,110 75	903,718 15	8,367,093 62	2,224,458 98	3,111,981 48	1,642,690 94	331,491 48	380,781 82	15,314,171 00	9,463,922 81	
1822	1,158,131 65	164,879 51	44,995 15	7,848,949 12	2,503,765 83	3,096,924 43	1,449,097 04	231,726 18	499,987 90	31,998,538 47	1,946,597 13	
1823	1,068,911 65	292,118 56	671,063 78	5,530,016 41	2,904,581 66	3,340,939 85	1,267,600 41	1,308,810 57	794,106 44	23,585,804 72	5,201,650 43	
1824	1,336,266 24	5,140,099 83	678,942 74	16,538,393 76	2,049,083 86	3,659,914 18	.	251,399 01	743,447 83	24,103,398 46	6,358,686 18	
1825	1,330,747 24	371,666 25	1,046,131 40	12,095,344 78	4,218,902 45	3,943,194 37	1,305,194 82	180,102 52	700,634 88	22,556,765 04	6,685,286 10	
1826	1,256,745 48	232,719 08	1,110,713 23	11,041,068 39	4,263,877 45	3,938,977 68	796,012 52	127,438 77	705,084 24	26,459,479 52	5,972,435 81	
1827	1,228,141 04	659,211 87	826,123 67	10,003,668 39	3,918,786 44	4,146,544 56	767,492 38	185,344 26	589,159 41	25,071,017 59	6,665,540 44	
1828	1,455,490 58	1,001,193 66	1,219,368 40	12,163,438 07	3,312,931 87	4,730,605 03	.	6,119,172 44	10,520,582 57	753,297,124 34		
1829	1,323,966 86	207,060 35	1,570,656 66	12,383,800 77	3,312,931 87	175,489,957 86	14,174,274 33					
TOTAL	32,400,706 44	23,225,074 49	26,991,517 23	362,719,701 34	101,656,137 64	175,489,957 86	14,174,274 33					

FINANCES.—TABLE III.

A STATEMENT OF THE EXPENDITURES OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE YEAR 1829.

CIVIL, MISCELLANEOUS, AND FOREIGN INTERCOURSE.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT—continued.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.
Legislature	467,447	59	Ordnance	95,551	88
Executive departments	530,172	14	Armament of fortifications	136,767	61
Officers of the Mint	9,600	00	Arming and equipping of militia	219,654	37
Surveyors and their clerks	23,057	44	Repairs and contingencies of fortifications	7,496	30
Commissioner of the public buildings	2,000	00	Fort Monroe	101,500	00
Governments in the territories of the United States	55,344	99	— Calhoun	100,000	00
Judiciary	239,447	20	— Delaware	12,000	00
		1,327,069 36	— Hamilton	100,000	00
Annuities and grants	1,800	00	— Adams	97,277	06
Mint establishment	34,265	00	— Jackson	16,000	00
Extending the Mint establishment	51,666	67	— at Mobile Point	100,000	00
Unclaimed merchandise	716	69	— Macon	57,975	00
Lighthouse establishment	289,149	07	— at Oak Island, North Carolina	66,534	12
Surveys of public lands	51,289	08	Fortifications at Charleston, South Carolina	31,672	00
Registers and receivers of land offices	1,125	00	Ditto at Savannah, Georgia	4,300	00
Preservation of the public archives in Florida	1,077	45	Ditto at Pensacola, Florida	90,000	00
Land claims in Florida territory	3,549	74	Repairs and preservation of Fort Lafayette	22,000	00
Ditto in Michigan territory	2,202	79	Completion of battery at Bienvenue	6,447	80
Ditto in St. Helena land district	600	00	Erection of a tower at Bayou Dupre, Lafayette	16,677	41
Roads within the state of Ohio	3,577	93	Construction of a wharf at Fort Constitution, Portsmouth, New Hampshire	500	00
Roads and canals within the state of Indiana	8,902	11	Construction of a wharf at Fort M'Henry, Baltimore, Maryland	1,500	00
Encouragement of learning within the state of Illinois	1,727	83	Construction of a wharf at Fort Wolcott	31	21
Repayment for lands erroneously sold by the United States	92	50	Barracks at Michilimackinac, Michigan	1,765	40
Marine Hospital establishment	63,562	28	Ditto at Fort Sullivan, Eastport, Maine	2,500	00
Appropriation for the Navy Hospital fund	125,000	00	Ditto Trumbull, New London, Connecticut	5,900	00
Public buildings in Washington	74,114	67	Barracks at Fort Severn, Annapolis, Md.	1,000	00
Penitentiary for the District of Columbia	14,500	00	Ditto Winnebago, N. W. T.	9,000	00
Accommodation of the President's household	14,000	00	Ditto Crawford, Prairie du Chien, N. W. T.	10,000	00
Consular receipts, under the act of April 14, 1792	156	84	Erection of a breakwater at the mouth of Delaware Bay	66,905	00
Bringing votes for President and Vice-President	2,706	60	Building piers, mouth of Oswego River, N. Y.	22,618	34
Payment of balances to officers of old internal revenue	215	57	Ditto ditto . . . Buffalo Creek, N. Y.	9,206	00
Payment of balances to collectors of new internal revenue	248	46	Ditto New Castle, Delaware	17,895	99
Payment of claims for buildings destroyed	1,480	00	Ditto at Allen's Rock, Warren River	3,751	26
Florida claims	1,238	74	Ditto at La Plaisance Bay, Michigan	2,000	00
Stock in the Louisville and Portland Canal Company	143,500	00	Ditto &c. Merrimack River, Conn.	32,100	00
Stock in the Dismal Swamp Canal Company	50,000	00	Ditto &c. Stonington, Connecticut	19,358	14
Ditto Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company	125,000	00	Ditto harbour of Dunkirk, New York	9,812	75
Stock in the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company	150,000	00	Extending piers, harbour of Edgartown, Massachusetts	2,500	00
Building custom-houses and warehouses	9,131	93	Extending piers, harbour of Black Rock, N. Y.	30,000	00
Revolutionary claims, per act of May 15, 1828	288,445	24	Examining piers at Sandy Bay, Massachusetts	150	00
Miscellaneous expenses	51,436	57	Repairing piers at Port Penn and Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania	5,000	00
		1,566,679 66	Repairing piers at Kennebunk River, in Maine	5,000	00
Diplomatic department	122,452	14	Preservation of islands in Boston Harbour	61,203	50
Contingent expenses of foreign intercourse	15,515	16	Completion of sea-wall, George's Island, Boston Harbour	7,310	64
Agency in relation to northeastern boundary	19,280	22	Deepening the harbour of Sackett's Harbour, New York	1,187	00
Relief and protection of American seamen	10,410	67	Deepening the harbour of Mobile, Alabama	2,550	00
Treaties with the Mediterranean powers	11,938	88	Ditto the channel through the Pass au Heron, near Mobile Bay	2,250	00
Claims on Spain	18,537	40	Deepening the channel between St. John's and St. Mary's Harbour	10,000	00
Payment of claims under the ninth article of the treaty with Spain	528	00	Closing the breach made in the Peninsula at Presque Isle Bay, Pennsylvania	7,390	25
Awards under the first article of the treaty of Ghent	9,033	38	Improving the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers	47,200	60
		207,765 85	Improving the navigation of the Ohio River	10,000	00
		3,101,514 87	Ditto ditto of Red River, Arkansas	5,760	00
MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.			Ditto ditto of Mill River, Conn.	3,941	00
Pay of the army, and subsistence of officers	1,134,284	40	Ditto ditto of Genesee River, New York	10,000	00
Subsistence	299,408	63	Improving the navigation of Cape Fear River, North Carolina	6,760	00
Quartermaster's department	341,138	18	Improving the navigation of Conneaut Creek, Ohio	6,590	00
Forage	39,874	97	Improving the navigation of the harbour of Cleveland, Ohio	9,000	00
Clothing or purchasing department	167,366	41	Improving the navigation of the harbour of Hyannis, Massachusetts	1,650	00
Bounties and premiums	25,601	13	Removing obstructions, mouth of Grand River, Ohio	3,135	11
Expenses of recruiting	13,987	84	Removing obstructions, Huron River, Ohio	5,935	00
Medical or hospital department	23,362	14			
Purchase of woollens for 1829 and 1830	20,000	00			
Contingencies	7,987	39			
Military Academy, West Point	27,925	11			
Armories	361,384	44			
Arsenals	107,125	18			
Arsenal at Augusta, Maine	18	40			
Ditto at Mount Vernon, Alabama	23,200	00			

FINANCES.—TABLE III.—CONTINUED.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT—continued.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.	MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT—continued.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.
Removing obstructions, Ashtabula Creek, Ohio	6,000 00		Presents to Indians	11,246 76	
Ditto . . . ditto . . . Cunningham Creek, Ohio	2,956 00		Contingencies of Indian department	97,338 34	
Ditto . . . ditto . . . Berwick branch of Piscataqua River, N. H.	3,170 00		Suppression of Indian aggressions on the frontiers of Georgia and Florida	3,041 04	
Removing obstructions, Black River, Ohio	5,500 00		Choctaw schools	7,599 41	
Ditto . . . ditto . . . Apalachicola River, Flor.	1,500 00		To aid the emigration of the Creek Indians	16,510 45	
Ditto . . . ditto . . . Kennebunk River, Maine	1,720 32		Pay of Illinois and other militia	856 55	
Ditto . . . ditto . . . Ocracoke Inlet, N. C.	22,000 00		Expenses of an exploring delegation of Indians	6,589 50	
Ditto . . . ditto . . . Nantucket Harbour, Massachusetts	19,653 00		To extinguish the claims of Cherokee Indians to lands in Georgia	2,768 00	
Removing obstructions, Big Sodus Bay, New York	12,000 00		Compensation to Indians in Ohio, for depredations committed by white citizens	1,539 25	
Survey of obstructions, Wabash River, Indiana	500 00		Purchase of provisions for Quapaw Indians	1,000 00	
Ditto . . ditto . . the Cocheco branch of Piscataqua River, New Hampshire	59 76		Effecting certain Indian treaties, per act of 20th May, 1826	3,031 91	
Survey of obstructions, Penobscot River, &c., Maine	297 30		Effecting a treaty with the Creek Indians, per act of 22d May, 1826	8,599 39	
Survey of obstructions, North River, Massachusetts	178 94		Effecting certain Indian treaties, per act of 24th May, 1828	7,920 44	
Survey of obstructions, the harbour of Bass River, Massachusetts	149 93		Effecting certain Indian treaties, per act of 2d March, 1829	125,506 49	
Survey of obstructions, the river Thames, Connecticut	150 00		Annuities to Indians	245,108 00	
Survey of obstructions, the harbour of Westbrook, Connecticut	130 00			6,267,626 58	
Survey of obstructions, the harbour of Norwalk, Connecticut	80 00		From which deduct the following repayments:		
Survey of obstructions, the harbour of Stamford, Connecticut	100 00		Road from Pensacola to St. Augustine	\$3,460 20	
Survey of obstructions, the harbour of Sag Harbour, New York	150 00		Opening the Old King's Road, Florida	1,550 00	
Survey of obstructions, of Flat Beach, alias Tucker's Island, New Jersey	100 00		Materials for a fort on the right bank of the Mississippi	192 00	
Survey of obstructions, Deep Creek, Virginia	80 00		Fort Rigolets and Chef Menteur	43 09	
Ditto . . ditto . . Pasquotank River, N. C.	80 00		Survey of the harbour of Nantucket, Massachusetts	63	
Ditto . . ditto . . the passes at the mouth of the Mississippi	500 00		Survey of the harbour of Stonington, Connecticut	6 37	
Survey of obstructions, the water tract between Lake Ponchartrain and Mobile Bay	175 00		Survey of the swash in Pamlico Sound, North Carolina	17 30	
Survey of obstructions, the harbour of St. Augustine, Florida	300 00		Maps, plans, books, &c. for the war department	341 05	
Surveys and estimates of roads and canals	30,044 01		Running boundary line between Georgia and Florida	275 80	
Completion of the Cumberland Road to Zanesville	42,624 82		Purchase of Creek and Cherokee reservations of lands in Georgia	9,183 00	
Preservation and repairs of the Cumberland Road	100,000 00		Expenses of treating with the Choctaws and Chickasaws	1,253 79	
Construction of the Cumberland Road in Ohio, west of Zanesville	50,212 82		Holding a treaty with Cherokee Indians for lands in North Carolina	1,073 07	
Continuation of the Cumberland Road in Indiana	14,600 00			17,396 30	
Road from Detroit to Fort Gratiot	8,150 00			6,250,230 28	
Ditto . . ditto . . to Saganaw	8,188 90				
Ditto . . ditto . . to Chicago	8,250 00				
Ditto . . Mattanawcook to Mars Hill, Maine	29,224 89				
Ditto . . Little Rock to Cantonment Gibson, Arkansas	258 26				
Road from Fort Smith to Fort Towson, Ark.	360 10				
Ditto . . Colerain to Tampa Bay, Florida	2,810 36				
Road between Pensacola, Blakely, and Mobile Point, Florida	2,000 00				
Repairing road between Pensacola and Tallahassee, in Florida	3,000 00				
Repairing road between St. Augustine and Tallahassee, Florida	3,000 00				
Payment of Georgia militia claims	712 40				
Balances due to certain states on account of militia	2,216 85				
Relief of officers and others engaged in the Seminole campaign	356 00				
Relief of a company of rangers under Captain James Bigger	54 50				
Ransom of American captives in the late war	109 00				
Relief of sundry individuals	3,274 85				
Invalid and half-pay pensions	180,865 63				
Pensions to widows and orphans	4,236 46				
Revolutionary pensions	764,492 38				
Arrearages	6,948 84				
Civilization of Indians	4,549 87				
Pay of Indian agents	29,825 00				
Ditto . . . sub-agents	15,100 00				

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT—continued.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.
From which deduct the following repayments:		
Road from Pensacola to St. Augustine	\$3,460 20	
Opening the Old King's Road, Florida	1,550 00	
Materials for a fort on the right bank of the Mississippi	192 00	
Fort Rigolets and Chef Menteur	43 09	
Survey of the harbour of Nantucket, Massachusetts	63	
Survey of the harbour of Stonington, Connecticut	6 37	
Survey of the swash in Pamlico Sound, North Carolina	17 30	
Maps, plans, books, &c. for the war department	341 05	
Running boundary line between Georgia and Florida	275 80	
Purchase of Creek and Cherokee reservations of lands in Georgia	9,183 00	
Expenses of treating with the Choctaws and Chickasaws	1,253 79	
Holding a treaty with Cherokee Indians for lands in North Carolina	1,073 07	
	17,396 30	
	6,250,230 28	

NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT.	Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.
Pay and subsistence of the navy afloat	1,160,068 09	
Ditto . . ditto . . ditto . . shore stations	161,830 26	
Pay of superintendents, artificers, &c.	62,222 56	
Provisions	461,636 83	
Medicines and hospital stores	25,772 60	
Repairs and improvement of navy yards	148,989 09	
Ordnance and ordnance stores	26,262 61	
Gradual improvement of the navy	444,395 98	
Repairs of vessels	470,945 68	
Labourers and fuel for engine	1,660 45	
Survey of the harbours of Savannah, Baltimore, &c.	34 07	
Agency on the coast of Africa	2,766 41	
Reimbursement of the marshal of Florida, for expenses of certain Africans	4,208 32	
Rewarding officers and crew of the ship Wasp, for destroying the Avon and Reindeer	418 50	
Erection of a breakwater at the mouth of Delaware Bay	7,873 00	
Arrearages prior to 1st January, 1827	410 80	
Ditto . . ditto . . 1st January, 1828	2,911 25	
Ditto . . ditto . . 1st January, 1829	3,682 67	
Contingent expenses for 1825	365 88	
Ditto . . ditto . . for 1827	40 88	
Ditto . . ditto . . not enumerated for 1827	136 17	
Ditto . . ditto . . ditto . . for 1828	2,567 47	
Ditto . . ditto . . ditto . . for 1829	250,770 13	

FINANCES.—TABLE III.—CONTINUED.

NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT—continued.		Dollars. Cts. Dollars. Cts.		NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT—continued.		Dollars. Cts. Dollars. Cts.	
Contingent expenses not enumerated for 1829		3,092	32	Contingen expenses for 1824	61	88	
Pay and subsistence of the marine corps . . .		117,329	19	Ditto . . . ditto . . . for 1826	180	82	
Clothing of the marine corps		11,250	61	Ditto . . . ditto . . . for 1828	1,398	81	
Military stores of the marine corps		693	36				97,144 98
Medicines for the marine corps		794	77				3,308,745 47
Barracks for the marine corps		363	98				
Repairing marine barracks at Washington . .		3,499	42				
Fuel for the marine corps		8,504	34				
Contingent expenses of the marine corps . .		13,792	76				
		3,405,890	45				
From which deduct the following repayments:				PUBLIC DEBT.			
Gradual increase of the navy	\$29,795 86			Interest on the funded debt	2,542,843	28	
Building ten sloops of war	19,592 24			Redemption of the 6 per cent. stock of 1814, (loan of ten millions)	6,251,827	59	
Repairing and building sloops of war	9,743 25			Redemption of the 6 per cent. stock of 1814 .	537,895	77	
Navy hospital fund	20,923 99			Ditto . . . ditto . . . of 1815, (loan of \$18,450,800)	3,049,542	93	
Navy pension fund	15,462 77			Principal and interest of Treasury notes . .	1,264	27	
Privateer pension fund	62 06			Reimbursement of Mississippi stock	450	00	
Contingent expenses prior to 1824	23 30			Paying certain parts of the domestic debt . .	43	99	
					12,383,867	79	
				TOTAL	25,044,358	40	

FINANCES.—TABLE IV.

SHOWING THE AMOUNT OF THE PUBLIC DEBT, AT SEVERAL PERIODS, FROM 1791 TO 1832, RECKONED ON THE 1st JANUARY, IN EACH YEAR.

In 1791 \$75,169,974	{ There was some increase of the debt in each of these six years, except 1794, in which there was a reduction of it.	In 1817 \$115,807,805	{ Mr. Monroe's administration. Rapid reduction of the debt since 1816; the receipts from the customs, &c. being large.
1796 81,642,272		1820 91,015,566	
1799 77,399,909		1821 89,987,427	
1801 82,000,167		1822 93,546,676	
1803 74,731,922	{ The debt was increased in consequence of the military preparations against France, before the year 1801, when Mr. Jefferson's administration commenced.	1823 90,375,877	{ The debt increased in consequence of the purchase of Florida, in 1821, for the sum of \$5,300,000; and a diminution in the receipts from the customs, &c. in the years 1820, 1821, &c. Mr. Monroe's administration ended in 1825.
1804 85,353,643		1824 90,269,777	
1809 56,732,379		1825 83,788,432	
		1826 81,054,050	
1810 53,156,532	{ The debt was increased by the purchase of Louisiana, in 1803, for the sum of \$15,000,000. Mr. Jefferson's administration ended March 3d, 1809.	1827 73,987,357	{ Mr. Adams's administration commenced on the 4th of March, 1825, and ended on the 3d of March, 1829.
1812 45,035,123		1828 67,475,622	
1813 55,907,452		1829 58,362,135	
1816 123,016,375		1830 48,565,405	
	{ The debt was at its lowest amount in 1812, in Mr. Madison's administration, and before the war.	1831 39,082,461	{ General Andrew Jackson's administration began on the 4th of March, 1829.
		1832 24,282,879	

FINANCES.—TABLE V.

A STATEMENT OF THE FUNDED DEBT AS IT EXISTED ON THE 1st OF JANUARY, 1831 AND 1832; ALSO THE DATES OF THE ACTS UNDER WHICH THE SEVERAL STOCKS WERE CONSTITUTED, AND THE PERIODS AT WHICH THEY ARE REDEEMABLE.

STOCKS.	Date of the Acts constituting the several Stocks.	WHEN REDEEMABLE.	AMOUNT, 1831.	AMOUNT, 1832
Three per cent. stock, (revolutionary debt)	4 Aug. 1790	At the pleasure of government . .	\$13,296,397 57	\$13,296,626 21
Five per cent stock, (subscription to Bank U. S.) . .	10 Apr. 1816	Ditto ditto	4,000,000 00	.....
Five per cent. stock	15 May, 1820	After the 1st day of Jan. 1832 . .	999,999 13	.....
Five per cent. stock	3 Mar. 1821	After the 1st day of Jan. 1835 . .	4,735,296 30	4,735,296 30
Five per cent. stock, (exchanged)	20 Apr. 1822	{ after the 31st day of Dec. 1830 }		
		{ after the 31st day of Dec. 1831 }	56,704 77	56,704 77
		{ after the 31st day of Dec. 1832 }		
Four and a half per cent. stock	24 May, 1824	After the 1st day of Jan. 1832 . .	5,000,000 00	1,739,524 01
Four and a half per cent. stock	26 May, 1824	After the 31st day of Dec. 1831 . .	5,000,000 00	.....
Four and a half per cent. stock, (exchanged) . . .	26 May, 1824	{ after the 31st day of Dec. 1832 }	4,454,727 95	4,454,727 95
		{ after the 31st day of Dec. 1833 }		
Four and a half per cent. stock, (exchanged) . . .	3 Mar. 1825	{ after the 31st day of Dec. 1829 }	1,539,336 16	.....
		{ after the 31st day of Dec. 1829 }		
			\$39,082,461 88	\$24,282,879 24

FINANCES.—TABLE VI.

SHOWING THE WHOLE QUANTITY OF LAND IN THOSE STATES AND TERRITORIES IN WHICH THE PUBLIC LAND IS SITUATED; THE QUANTITY OF PUBLIC LAND TO WHICH THE INDIAN TITLE HAD BEEN EXTINGUISHED, JUNE 30, 1828; AND THE QUANTITY TO WHICH IT HAD NOT BEEN EXTINGUISHED AT THE SAME DATE.

STATE OR TERRITORY.	Whole quantity of land in each state or territory.	Quantity of land belonging to the United States, to which the Indian title is extinguished.	Quantity of land belonging to the United States, to which the Indian title is not extinguished.
	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>
Tennessee	26,432,000	3,000,000	.....
Mississippi	31,074,234	11,514,517	16,885,760
Indiana	22,459,669	12,308,455	5,335,632
Ohio	24,810,246	4,984,348	409,501
Louisiana	31,463,040	25,364,197	.....
Illinois	35,941,902	23,575,300	6,424,640
Michigan Territory, (peninsular)	24,939,870	16,393,420	7,378,400
Arkansas, (ditto)	28,899,520	26,770,941	.....
Missouri	39,119,019	35,263,541	.....
Florida Territory	35,286,760	29,728,300	4,032,640
Alabama	34,001,226	19,769,679	9,519,066
Territory of Huron, lying west of Lake Michigan, and east of the Mississippi River	334,627,486	205,672,698	49,985,639
Great Western Territory, extending from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean	750,000,000	.....	56,804,834
			750,000,000
Add quantity to which the Indian title is extinguished	1,140,432,330	.....	856,790,473
TOTAL acres belonging to the United States . . . . .	.....	.....	205,672,698
			1,062,463,171

FINANCES.—TABLE VII.

SHOWING THE QUANTITY OF LAND SOLD IN EACH OF THE SEVERAL STATES AND TERRITORIES, FROM THE 1st OF JULY, 1820, TO THE 31st OF DECEMBER, 1829, A PERIOD OF NINE YEARS AND A HALF.

	<i>Acres. hds.</i>		<i>Acres. hds.</i>
Alabama	1,459,054 78	Illinois	667,200 44
Mississippi	544,523 82	Missouri	923,506 32
Louisiana	150,839 35	Florida Territory	336,567 50
Ohio	1,405,267 73	Michigan Territory	443,209 23
Indiana	2,169,149 70	Arkansas Territory	59,899 36
		TOTAL	8,167,218 23

FINANCES.—TABLE VIII.

SHOWING THE QUANTITY OF LAND SOLD IN EACH OF THE FOLLOWING YEARS.

	<i>Acres. hds.</i>		<i>Acres. hds.</i>
In half the year of 1820	303,404 09	In 1825	893,461 69
In 1821	781,213 32	In 1826	848,082 26
In 1822	801,226 18	In 1827	926,727 76
In 1823	653,319 52	In 1828	965,600 36
In 1824	749,323 04	In 1829	1,244,860 01
		TOTAL	8,167,218 23

CHAPTER V.

POPULATION.

WHERE the increase of the human family is looked upon as an evil, society must be poisoned at its very source, and some great change must be both needful and near. The United States are happily circumstanced in this respect, whatever disadvantages they may lie under in others; there, at least, the human infant is not welcomed with less satisfaction than though he were one of the progeny of the stall or the sty; but the rapid increase of the population is esteemed conducive alike to the wealth, the glory, and the happiness of the republic.

It is greatly to be regretted, that the different nations of the civilized world have not kept regular and authentic accounts of the progress of their population, as important moral and political truths might have been elucidated by comparison, if such tables had existed. It appears that the population of France does not double itself in less than 150 years, and that of Great Britain in about half that time; while the population of the United States doubles itself in less than thirty years. The congress early determined to ascertain, at regular intervals, the progress of population; and, according to its enactments, the first census was taken in the year 1790. The number of inhabitants was then nearly 4,000,000, of whom not quite 700,000 were slaves; in 1800, the population had increased to 5,300,000, of whom nearly 900,000 were slaves; in 1810, the numbers were 7,239,000, of whom 1,191,000 were slaves; in 1820, 9,638,000, of whom 1,538,000 were slaves; and, in 1830, the population amounted to 12,856,000, of whom rather more than 2,000,000 were slaves. The precise particulars, including the numbers in each state, will be found in Tables I. and II. annexed to this chapter. It will be perceived, that in the forty years during which the census has been taken, the increase of the population has been steady, though rapid; and that it is, at the close of the period, more than three times the number that it was at the commencement. The increase during the last ten years has been 33.4 per cent., which is quite equal to that of the preceding periods. The increase of the free population has uniformly been the most rapid, and that of the slaves the most retarded: the increase of the slaves will, hereafter, be further checked, as their importation has been some years prohibited. From 1800 to 1810, the ratio of the increase of the free population was lessened, and that of the slaves augmented: the former effect was, probably, owing to the small addition accruing from immigration; and

the latter to the importation of negroes from 1800 to 1808, especially in 1806 and 1807, in anticipation of the prohibition of the inhuman traffic in slaves; the number of the slaves was also increased by the additions of Louisiana, where they constituted nearly the half of the population.

The rapidity of the increase of the population of the United States forms the principal fact on which the Malthusian system has been founded; and it has consequently been a subject of much controversy, whether its ratio is materially affected by immigration. There appears to be no decisive authority by which to determine the actual number of emigrants arriving annually in the United States. Dr. Seybert estimates their amount from 1790 to 1810 at 6,000 per annum. "In 1790," says Dr. Seybert, "the free population of the United States amounted to 3,223,629 persons, and in 1810 it was 6,048,539; the actual increase in the twenty years was 2,824,910, from which deduct 120,000, for the emigrants who arrived during that period, and allow for their increase at the extraordinary rate of 5 per cent. per annum, or 60,000 for the twenty years, making the aggregate from the emigrant stock 180,000, which, when deducted from the total actual increase abovementioned, will leave 2,644,910 persons for the augmentation, independent of any aid from abroad; or the duplication of the free inhabitants, without addition from the emigrants, would only require about four fifths of a year more than it did when they were added."* Messrs. Godwin and Booth, opponents of Mr. Malthus, take another method of ascertaining the amount of immigration, and arrive at a very different result: "When enumerations are taken every ten years, it is obvious, exclusive of immigration, that, in any particular census, the persons living above ten years of age must have all existed in the census immediately preceding. In that of 1810, for instance, all above ten years formed part of the population for 1800, and are in reality the same, except inasmuch as they are diminished by death. Those under ten have all been born in the interval between the censuses. Comparing the American censuses on this principle, we shall find an astonishing extent of immigration. The white population of 1800 was 4,305,971. These in ten years would be diminished by a fourth. It is very improbable that more than 3,200,000 would have been alive in 1810; for, whatever proportion the births of that country may bear to the whole population, the proportion of deaths is certainly greater than in Europe. These 3,200,000, then, should have

* Statistical Annals, p. 30.

constituted the number of those above ten years of age in the census of 1810, had there been no importation from other countries. But the actual census above ten years of age was 3,845,389, giving a surplus of 645,389, which can be accounted for in no other way than by immigration.

To account for the difference between the censuses of 1800 and 1810, the immigration must have been, therefore, on the principles adopted by Godwin and Booth, at least 35,000 per annum, being nearly six times the number calculated by Dr. Seybert. This would appear to be utterly inconsistent with facts, and as far above the truth as Dr. Seybert's estimate is below it. The solution of this difficulty must be sought in the incorrect estimate of the ratio of deaths which has been adopted—that of one fourth in ten years. The *Edinburgh Review* runs to the other extreme, and estimates the proportion of deaths at only one eighth. "If we had American tables," says the writer, supposed to be Mr. Malthus himself, "formed like those of Dr. Price for Sweden, we should expect that, on account of the peculiar structure of the American population, arising from the great excess of births above deaths, it would turn out that the proportion which a given population, without any fresh accession of births, would lose in ten years, instead of being rather more than one seventh, would not be more than one eighth; in which case, the amount of immigration annually would, by Mr. Booth's own rule, be only between seven and eight thousand, and the period of doubling would come near to the calculation of Dr. Seybert."* Mr. Booth has occupied a considerable portion of his reply in proving this statement of the *Edinburgh* reviewer to be incorrect. The details of the controversy, owing to the absence of any direct and general authentic data, are by far too intricate and extended to introduce into our work; we shall therefore satisfy ourselves with stating, that, after investigating the subject, we are convinced that the truth lies, as in many other cases, between the two extremes, the result of Mr. Booth's estimate of the deaths being quite irreconcilable with the annual rate of immigration upon the most liberal scale; and that of the *Edinburgh* reviewer, making every allowance for the different condition and circumstances of the United States, being inconsistent with the ratio of deaths in other countries. From the result of these statements, in themselves contradictory, but constituting, in fact, checks upon each other, we think it may be conclu-

ded, with some tolerable degree of satisfaction, that the ratio of deaths is about one sixth in every ten years,† which, allowing a procreative increase from immigration at the rate of ten per cent. per annum instead of five per cent., as calculated by Dr. Seybert, would require the number of immigrants to have been, from 1800 to 1810, at least 10,000 annually.

A much more masterly performance than the labours either of Mr. Godwin or Mr. Booth has recently appeared in opposition to the Malthusian system, from the pen of Mr. Sadler; indeed, however our opinions may differ from some of his deductions, the "Law of Population" is equally creditable to the soundness of the author's principles as a moralist, and to his indefatigable industry as a political economist. "The theory," says Mr. Sadler, "that mankind would double, at the very slowest rate of increase, by procreation only, in five-and-twenty years, is founded upon the supposed increase of various colonies of America, and, finally, upon the growth of the entire population of the United States, which, it is asserted, have doubled, on the lowest calculation, in that term, and many much more rapidly, independently of foreign emigration. In refutation of this position, it has been shown, that none of the states instanced have ever so doubled in any part of their history; that the population of New England in particular, as well as that of the remaining colonies, at the period whence these doublings are dated, has been grossly understated, and that there are not, in reality, half the number of white inhabitants now in the United States that the theory demands, had not a single emigrant proceeded to that country; that, on the contrary, a vast and incessant afflux of emigrants has proceeded to America, first from England, but, very early afterwards, from the remaining parts of the British empire, and from every country of Europe; that, so far from this emigration having been immaterial in its effects, it has influenced, in every possible way, the manners, customs, habits, religion, and even language, of the various states; has shown its presence by every species of statistical evidence, excepting that of direct enumeration; that, more satisfactorily even than by such a mode, it has manifested its extent, by altering the natural proportion of the sexes, and the classifications of society throughout; has varied the established proportions of nature, as it respects the ages of the living in the censuses, and of the dead in the registers of mortality: and, finally, to epitomize the argument no further, it has

* *Edinburgh Review*, No. LXX. pp. 365, 366.

† The assertion of Mr. Booth, that, "however the births in the United States may exceed those of Europe, the deaths can not be

less numerous," is obviously unsatisfactory, as there are many circumstances in a newly-settled country which tend to diminish the ratio of deaths, although there are some of an opposite character.

been proved, from the very admissions of those who are anxious to demonstrate to the contrary, that emigration has been the main cause of that rapid increase in the population of America, on which alone they build their entire system." Nearly one half of the two thick octavo volumes, of which Mr. Sadler's work is composed, is devoted to the consideration of the rate of increase of the population of the United States, and abounds with calculations which must be the result of a high degree of mental exertion; but we can obtain no specific result from his pages, unless it be that the population of the United States is wholly (the Indians excepted) derived from emigration from Europe,* a fact sufficiently manifest to persons at all acquainted with American history. We cannot perceive where Mr. Sadler draws any line: all the inhabitants of the United States are the descendants of emigrants undoubtedly; but the first point at issue is, stating the population of the United States at nine and a half millions in 1820, and at twelve and a half in 1830, how many of the persons composing the difference between these two amounts were immigrants from foreign countries? The second point to ascertain would be, how many persons were living in 1830, born within the term of the last census, of parents one or both of whom were not natives of the United States? These would be two plain and simple statements, and would be the utmost that could be interesting to the national statistics of America; indeed, we doubt whether the latter is at all necessary, as the natives of a country can in no practical sense be considered immigrants. To what further extent the estimate of the influence of emigration must be carried to overthrow the system of Malthus we do not perceive, unless it be to the "pilgrim fathers," which would be equally subversive of all systems.

It is much to be regretted that authentic records of the immigrants arriving in the United States are not regularly kept and annually published by the government of the United States: such information of this

character as exists we shall now lay before our readers. "The subject of emigration to this country," says the editor of the *North American Review*, "is not, however, one involved in such utter darkness, but that we can do something towards enabling our readers to form a tolerably correct estimate of the actual number of foreigners who arrive here; and the first document which we offer is nothing more nor less than an official transcript of all the lists of passengers who arrived in the United States from the 1st October, 1819, to September 30th, 1820, inclusive:—total arrived, 7,001; of these there are 1,959 females and 5,042 males.† Now it is to be observed, that this list embraces not only the foreigners coming here with the intention of remaining, but those who came here only on a visit, and our own citizens, who returned from visits to foreign countries. For these reasons we should deduct nearly all of the following classes, viz.: ambassadors, clergymen, consuls, judges, lawyers, merchants, mariners, physicians, supercargoes, gentlemen, and ladies, and probably the planters, amounting in the whole to 1,579, which leaves but 5,422. But as our deductions are merely conjectural, we will estimate the number of emigrants for that year at 6,000. A second report for the year ending 30th September, 1821, was presented to congress at their last session; but, owing to some strange oversight, no order was passed for its being printed. The particulars, therefore, we are not acquainted with; but we have ascertained that the whole number of passengers was 10,722, of which 2,415 were from the United States, leaving 8,307 foreigners. Besides this, we have a newspaper before us, which professes to give an abstract of official returns ordered to be printed by the house of commons of Great Britain. From these it appears, that from the year 1812 to the year 1821, both years included, there emigrated to the United States—from Ireland, 30,653; from England, 33,608; from Scotland, 4,727: the whole amount of emigrations to the United States, 68,988. During the same period, there embarked for

* "Mr. Malthus has, indeed, only commenced his calculation, relative to this annual emigration, with the year 1782; but I think it will be quite as difficult for him to persuade the historian that emigration first began at that period, as to convince the arithmetician, that even if calculated only thence, such an addition, increasing as he admits, can have been 'immaterial,' whoever may attempt demonstrations to the contrary."—*Sadler on Population*, vol. ii. p. 79.

† Taking the scale of emigration at 10,000, the calculation of Mr. Sadler, founded on the proportion of marriages which would arise from this relative proportion of males and females among the immigrants, (a calculation evidently exaggerated in favour of his own position, as he makes no adequate deduction from the number of males for travellers on pleasure or business,) very little exceeds our estimate of the addition which immigration occasions,

(one fifth,) and, if connected in correspondence with the intimation just made, would probably accord with an accuracy somewhat surprising.—See "*Law of Population*," vol. i. pp. 50 and 58. It is true that we calculate an immigration of 20,000 per annum to be necessary to produce the same result; but that is on the supposition that if the unmarried immigrants marry American females, the procreative result was not wholly to be carried to the account of the immigrants, but to be divided; and still less that the results of the intermarriages of the children of the immigrants with native Americans should be placed also to the same account. Upon this principle, the ratio of increase of the population of England must be most materially diminished, by deducting the procreative result of a certain immigration of Normans, which took place some few hundred years since.

the British dominions in North America—from Ireland, 47,223; from England, 23,783; from Scotland, 19,971. Total of emigration to the British dominions, 90,977. Total of the emigrations from the United Kingdom, 159,965. This gives us an annual average of 6,898 emigrants to the United States; and this we take to be not far from the true average; for, if the above period embraces the years of the war, when there were no emigrations to this country, it likewise embraces the extraordinary years 1817 and 1818, when the emigrations were double or treble what they ever were before, or have been since. We should add about one ninth to the above amount for emigrants from other countries than Great Britain; for we take it that about nine tenths of all the foreigners who come to this country come from the United Kingdom, and we shall have an average of little more than 7,500 emigrants per annum. And whilst we thus find the documents of the British government and of our own coinciding so nearly, it is impossible to think that both are very far from the truth. The number of passengers arriving at the principal ports of the United States during the year 1817, as obtained from the records of the several custom-houses, was 22,240. If we make a proper deduction for the number of Americans who must have been among these passengers, we shall conclude that the number of emigrants for that year was about 18,000. The amount of emigration in the common years, we are of opinion, varies from six to eight thousand. If any thing be wanting to confirm the above statement, we may find it in the last census. The number of foreigners not naturalized is there given, and amounts only to 53,655. No foreigner can be naturalized until he has resided within the United States at least five years; and consequently we have the whole number which could have arrived during the five years preceding the census, even if we suppose that all who arrived before that period were naturalized as soon as the law would permit. But we know that a great many delay obtaining naturalization for several years after they are entitled to it; and not a few are never naturalized at all.”*

It will be observed that the North American Review allows no addition to the number of immigrants from those who emigrated to Canada, although on other occasions American writers do not hesitate to affirm, that the greater part of those who leave Great Britain professedly for the Canadas, ultimately settle in the United States; and we are inclined to think it very probable, that, whatever may be the case under

the present arrangements, one third of the persons emigrating to Canada between 1810 and 1820, settled in some of the states of the republic. This would raise the number who arrived in the United States from Great Britain alone to 12,000 per annum; and it is by no means impossible, that from other countries, or from sources not adequately ascertained, the total annual number of emigrants might have amounted to 20,000; but we cannot conceive it could much exceed that number. We are the more confirmed in this opinion, as it is sustained by the enumeration of the census of 1820, admitting the ratio of deaths to be one sixth in ten years. The total *free* population of the United States in 1810 was 6,049,539: had there been no deaths or immigrations, this number would, of course, have been the number of free persons above the age of ten years in 1820; deducting, however, according to our estimate, one sixth for deaths in ten years, or 1,008,256, it will leave 5,041,283, as the number of persons who would be above ten years old in 1820. The census of 1820, however, gives a total of free persons above ten years of age of 5,380,644, which indicates an addition of 339,361 by immigration alone, as between 1810 and 1820 there was no accession of territory, that of Louisiana having accrued before 1810, and Florida after 1820. Estimating the increase of the immigrant population at ten per cent. per annum, it would require more than 20,000 persons to have arrived annually in the United States from 1810 to 1820, a period which, though it includes some years in which the number probably exceeded that estimate considerably, yet it includes also the period of the war, during which little or no immigration could take place. We apprehend, therefore, that when we admit the immigration of 20,000 persons annually, it reaches the utmost limit of truth, allowing for those who may pass through Canada or the West Indies. The increase of free persons from 1810 to 1820 was 1,686,000: allowing, therefore, 340,000 for immigrants and their descendants, it would diminish the ratio of increase, as nearly as possible, one fifth, and would extend the period of duplication of the population by procreation alone, five years instead of four fifths of a year, as stated by Dr. Seybert; or, in other words, the period in which the population of the United States would naturally double itself, is reduced by immigration from thirty to twenty-five years. Mr. Sadler appears to think that population will not duplicate from procreation only, in the most favourable circumstances, in less than from forty-five to fifty years; and that the “law of population” is, that its ratio of increase diminishes as its number to the square mile increases; but

* North American Review, vol. xv. p. 301—305

the ratio of increase in the United States from 1820 to 1830 being greater than that from 1810 to 1820, appears to be irreconcilable with that position.

We have entered into this discussion not from any peculiar interest we feel in the Malthusian controversy, but because we deemed a consideration of it as essentially connected with the subject of American population. We are quite willing to admit, that in favourable circumstances population may double itself in thirty, or possibly in twenty-five years; but the fact is not to us a matter of regret, but of congratulation: the world is yet a wide waste, in comparison with the population it is capable of sustaining; and it is the disgrace of humanity, not the order of Providence, that men should have been continually engaged in destroying themselves by vice, or each other by war, instead of bringing into cultivation the beautiful plains with which the world abounds. We can not for one moment believe, that He who formed the earth, and hath "given it to the children of men," has established laws of human procreation incompatible with the dimensions and capabilities of the physical world; and entertaining no doubt that the earth is calculated to maintain a vastly greater population than has ever yet existed upon it, we can, with the utmost confidence, leave the ultimate result to the disposal of Almighty power and infinite wisdom, without attempting to contravene the laws of nature by the impotent arm of human legislation.*

In the census for 1830, a new and much more satisfactory division of the free white persons was adopted, than in any previous census, each sex being distributed into quinquennial divisions under twenty years, and into decennial classes from twenty to one hundred; but a different method was followed with respect to the free coloured persons and the slaves, each sex of these two classes being formed into six divisions. The number of white persons, and also the number of coloured persons who were deaf and dumb, were also stated, and each divided, according to age, into three classes; and the numbers of persons blind is also exhibited. This census, however, though the returns are now completed, has not yet been published, and the total number of each class throughout the United States is not yet made known;

* Mr. A. H. Everett, in his "New Ideas on Population," has most satisfactorily confuted the doctrine of population pressing on subsistence otherwise than from imperfect social institutions; and

we shall, therefore, present the details of the census of 1820, which supply many interesting particulars:

1.	Free white males under 10 years of age	1,345,220
2.	— of 10 and under 16	612,535
3.	— of 16 and under 26	776,150
4.	— of 26 and under 45	766,083
5.	— of 45 and upwards	495,065
6.	Free white females under 10 years	1,280,550
7.	— of 10 and under 16	605,348
8.	— of 16 and under 26	781,371
9.	— of 26 and under 45	736,600
10.	— of 45 and upwards	462,788
11.	males under 14 years	343,852
12.	— of 14 and under 26	203,088
13.	— of 26 and under 45	163,723
14.	— of 45 and upwards	77,365
15.	Slaves females under 14 years	324,344
16.	— of 14 and under 26	202,436
17.	— of 26 and under 45	152,693
18.	— of 45 and upwards	70,627
19.	males under 14 years	47,659
20.	— of 14 and under 26	24,048
21.	— of 26 and under 45	23,450
22.	— of 45 and upwards	17,613
23.	Free coloured persons females under 14 years	45,898
24.	— of 14 and under 26	28,800
25.	— of 26 and under 45	27,181
26.	— of 45 and upwards	18,881
27.	All other persons, except Indians, not taxed	4,631
Total		9,637,999
28.	Free white males between 16 and 18	182,205
29.	Foreigners not naturalized	53,667
30.	Number of persons engaged in agriculture	2,070,646
31.	— in commerce	72,493
32.	— in manufactures	349,506

The third table, annexed to this chapter, exhibits the number of persons, upwards of one hundred years old, distinguishing the whites, slaves, and free blacks. The whole number appears very large; but the great proportion of blacks, being four to one, will strike many with surprise: it is, however, to be observed that the ages of the blacks are not generally so accurately ascertained as those of the whites, and the proportion can not therefore be fully relied on.

Additional particulars, respecting the population of each state, will be given in the section of the work which treats of the states separately; and, in closing the department of statistics, it may be proper to remind our readers, that much important statistical information respecting manufactures and other subjects, will be found in connexion with individual states, which, as no collective statement exists, could not with propriety be introduced in this portion of the work.

Mr. Sadler has most ably and unanswerably demonstrated, that the "preventive check" recommended by Mr. Malthus is "unnatural, unlawful, and wicked."

POPULATION.—TABLE I.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

ACCORDING TO FIVE OFFICIAL ENUMERATIONS.

STATES and TERRITORIES.	1st Census. Pop. 1790.	2d Census. Pop. 1800.	3d Census. Pop. 1810.	4th Census. Pop. 1820.	5th Census. Pop. 1830.	Per Cent. 10 years.
Maine	96,540	151,719	228,705	298,335	399,462	33.9
New Hampshire	141,885	183,853	214,460	244,161	269,533	10.4
Vermont	85,539	154,465	217,895	235,764	280,679	19.0
Massachusetts	378,787	422,845	472,040	523,287	610,014	16.6
Rhode Island	68,825	69,122	76,931	83,059	97,210	17.0
Connecticut	237,946	251,002	261,942	275,248	297,711	8.2
New York	340,120	586,050	959,049	1,372,812	1,913,508	39.4
New Jersey	184,139	211,149	245,562	277,575	320,779	15.6
Pennsylvania	434,373	602,545	810,091	1,049,313	1,347,672	28.4
Delaware	59,096	64,273	72,674	72,749	76,739	5.5
Maryland	319,728	345,824	380,546	407,350	446,913	9.7
Virginia	747,610	880,200	979,622	1,065,366	1,211,272	13.7
North Carolina	393,951	478,103	555,500	638,829	738,470	15.6
South Carolina	249,073	345,591	415,115	502,741	581,458	15.7
Georgia	82,548	162,686	252,433	340,989	516,567	51.5
Alabama . . . . .	.....	8,850	40,352	127,901	308,997	141.6
Mississippi . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	75,448	136,806	80.1
Louisiana . . . . .	.....	.....	76,556	153,407	215,575	40.7
Tennessee . . . . .	.....	105,602	261,727	420,813	684,822	62.7
Kentucky	73,677	220,959	406,511	564,317	688,844	22.1
Ohio . . . . .	.....	45,365	230,760	581,434	937,679	61.2
Indiana . . . . .	.....	4,661	24,520	147,178	341,582	132.1
Illinois . . . . .	.....	215	12,282	55,211	157,575	185.4
Missouri . . . . .	.....	.....	19,783	66,586	140,074	110.4
Dis. of Columbia . . . . .	.....	15,093	24,023	33,039	39,858	20.1
Michigan Ter. . . . .	.....	551	4,762	8,896	31,260	250.1
Arkansas Ter. . . . .	.....	.....	1,062	14,273	30,383	113.3
Florida Ter. . . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	34,729	....
Total	3,929,328	5,309,768	7,239,003	9,638,166	12,856,171	33.4

POPULATION.—TABLE II.

SLAVES IN THE UNITED STATES.

ACCORDING TO FIVE OFFICIAL ENUMERATIONS.

STATES and TERRITORIES.	Slaves. 1790.	Slaves. 1800.	Slaves. 1810.	Slaves. 1820.	Slaves. 1830.
Maine . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire	158	8	.....	.....	.....
Vermont	16	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Rhode Island	948	380	108	48	14
Connecticut	2,764	951	310	97	23
New York	21,324	20,613	15,017	10,088	46
New Jersey	11,423	12,422	10,851	7,557	2,246
Pennsylvania	3,737	1,706	795	211	386
Delaware	8,887	6,153	4,177	4,509	3,305
Maryland	103,036	108,554	111,502	107,398	102,878
Virginia	292,627	346,968	392,518	425,153	469,724
North Carolina	100,572	133,296	168,824	205,017	246,462
South Carolina	107,094	146,151	196,365	258,476	315,665
Georgia	29,264	59,699	105,218	149,656	217,470
Alabama . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	41,879	117,294
Mississippi . . . . .	.....	3,489	17,088	32,814	65,659
Louisiana . . . . .	.....	.....	34,660	69,064	109,631
Tennessee . . . . .	.....	13,584	44,535	80,107	142,382
Kentucky	12,430	40,343	80,561	126,732	165,350
Ohio	3,417	.....	.....	.....	.....
Indiana . . . . .	.....	135	237	190	.....
Illinois . . . . .	.....	.....	168	917	746
Missouri . . . . .	.....	.....	3,011	10,222	24,990
Dis. of Columbia . . . . .	.....	.....	5,395	6,377	6,050
Michigan Ter. . . . .	.....	.....	24	.....	27
Arkansas Ter. . . . .	.....	.....	.....	1,617	4,578
Florida Ter. . . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	15,510
Total	697,697	896,849	1,191,364	1,638,061	2,010,436

POPULATION.—TABLE III.

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS, OF THE SEVERAL CLASSES, WHO WERE ONE HUNDRED YEARS OLD AND UPWARDS, ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1830.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	White		SLAVES.		FREE BLACKS.		TOTAL.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
Maine	1	3	.....	.....	1	.....	5
New Hampshire	3	.....	.....	.....	1	5	15
Vermont	3	5	.....	.....	2	4	14
Massachusetts	1	2	.....	.....	5	4	12
Rhode Island . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3	6
Connecticut	4	3	.....	.....	2	11	20
New York	35	18	2	2	22	51	130
New Jersey	1	2	.....	.....	4	5	14
Pennsylvania	37	20	1	0	30	33	130
Delaware . . . . .	.....	1	3	3	13	18	38
Maryland	7	17	50	53	49	86	262
Virginia	23	26	122	143	143	22	479
North Carolina	23	26	92	114	22	27	304
South Carolina	14	19	98	84	19	6	240
Georgia	13	22	106	78	11	6	236
Alabama	15	10	30	25	1	6	87
Mississippi . . . . .	.....	2	23	21	1	.....	47
Louisiana	9	1	37	39	11	28	125
Tennessee	39	27	59	34	7	6	172
Kentucky	27	11	45	49	17	17	166
Ohio	21	8	.....	.....	8	5	42
Indiana	10	2	.....	.....	2	5	19
Illinois	4	1	2	3	1	1	12
Missouri	2	2	41	2	2	2	51
District of Columbia	2	.....	3	2	3	8	18
Florida Territory	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2
Michigan Territory	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Arkansas Territory	1	3	1	1	1	.....	7
Total	297	234	717	662	382	359	2,654

BOOK IV.

STATE OF SOCIETY.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

IN former portions of this work, it has been attempted to exhibit clearly the bold and conscientious origin, the subsequent noble struggles, and the present prosperous condition, of the people of the United States of North America. The spirit of liberty has been shown to have been their unwearied attendant in all their changes; and, during a steady progress through difficulties which would have appalled any but the stoutest hearts, they have earned well the blessings of freedom, by duly estimating its cheering influence. A few pages only can be given to a notice, much too brief for the subject, of the constitutional and legal institutions of the country, which, under Providence, have made more than ten millions of men prosperous, by the rational freedom of their character.

The government in the United States is either that which is formed from the whole people, or those which are formed from the people of particular states. The general government, and those of the particular states, possess distinct constitutions; and each state, of course, possesses a constitution distinct from the others. No subject perhaps is more generally misunderstood, even in well-educated European society, than the nature of the general and state governments of the United States, and their relation to each other: the fact can not be stated too strongly, that the general government is answerable only for the exercise of those powers which have been delegated to it by the people of the respective states, and that only to the extent and within the limits prescribed by the terms of the compact. The most correct view of the constitution of the United States appears to us to

be that of a confederation of independent republics, who have thought proper, in addition to the usual character of confederations, to establish a general government, and to delegate to it such powers as render the several states, in their external policy, one nation; while, in the internal economy, the general government has only certain prescribed and limited powers, the several republics retaining to themselves all those powers, the delegation of which was not deemed necessary for the good of every state. It is, therefore, for instance, as unjust to reproach the northern and western states, which repudiate the system of slavery, with being accessory to its existence in the southern states, as it would be to impute the superstitions of Spain to the influence of England; the power to abolish slavery being one, the delegation of which, from the separate states to the general government, it has not been possible to procure, either at the formation of the original confederation, at the adoption of the present constitution, or at any subsequent period. The old colonies, indeed, were integral parts of one nation, composing the British empire; but that connexion being lost in 1776, a new and far less absolute union arose from the influence of those common interests and ancient feelings which survived the separation of the states from Great Britain.

The three great principles which now characterize the constitution of the general government, are, first, "the people of the United States,"* being the independent and equal source of all its powers;—secondly, the people at large, or the separate states, retaining all the powers which they have not conferred on the general government;—thirdly, the special powers thus conferred being set forth in instruments and articles, submitted to state conventions before being

* *Title to the Constitution of 1787*, p. 311. Whilst adopting the principle of the unity of the inhabitants of all the states as one people, a principle which appears to be justified by the original instruments of the confederation of even an earlier date, it is proper to mention, that an important party have maintained with great

force, that it was assuming a foundation of power necessarily subversive of public freedom, as well as of the just extent of the state sovereignties. See especially Mr. Henry's speech in 1787, in the *Debates of the Virginia Convention*, p. 36 and *Wirt's Life of Henry*, p. 265. *Pitkin*, vol. ii. p. 270.

ordained, and sanctioned by the direct consent of the people. The constitutions of the separate states are derived even more directly from the people, as the declared source of all authority, limited powers only being intrusted either to the general or to the state governments. Whilst also the vast majority* of the men, at the age of twenty-one, are consulted, in order to settle the limits of those powers, such as are not intrusted to the general or to the state governments remain unimpaired for individual and popular enjoyment.

Independently of these deep and firm foundations of the North American commonwealth, it possesses guarantees of happiness and stability, not easy to be enumerated.† Some of them are new, others are common to the Americans with many of their neighbours in both hemispheres; but the greater part are only the development of rights and power‡ well understood in England, and the more worthy of our careful examination and entire respect, as being the rights for which British patriots have long zealously contended. What, however, Englishmen claim often by obscure inferences and antiquarian research, has been in America cleared of all doubt, and set forth in express declarations. But the vigour and healthy character of the branch are unquestionable proofs of the intrinsic virtue of the parent stem, which, in reverence to our forefathers and in justice to our children, we are bound to train up to its true destination.

* From these colonies have, as it were, sprung a new race of men,—freemen,—who never saw a king, nor acknowledged an hereditary chief among them. If we cannot be called the cradle of nations, we have produced the seedlings and germs of the great changes in the world. Nurtured in the wilds, we were impatient of restraint; free among ourselves, we could not brook foreign encroachments of tyranny; and, with a spontaneous burst of resentment, the American people rushed to arms before they had calculated their strength, or examined the foundation of their hopes. Inured to hardships, and patient of labour, we have gone onward, from one degree of success to another, to our present high standing.

But little more than half a century ago, we had but a few institutions of learning in the country; now, they abound on the seaboard, and are growing up in the back country. In our time, where the Indians roamed, followed only by the straggling hunter from the abodes of the white man, you may now find extensive libraries, rich with the classics of ancient days and of modern times. The best authors of the times of Elizabeth and Anne are not unfrequently found, for the accommodation of travellers, in the hotels and steam-boats. Almost every flourishing town has its lyceum, associate library, literary club, and often its able and eloquent lecturer. These institutions claim no high literary or scientific honors,—shower down no degrees, such as are often given to dunces, as well as to intelligent and industrious students, in colleges; but they diffuse no small proportion of information throughout the land. They were founded precisely in the right time.

Within the last century, the different branches of science and literature have been arranged under well-defined heads, enabling the teacher to present his observations distinctly to his audience. Within that time, the science of chemistry, so useful to all, has been brought

The old guarantees are, amongst others, the general supremacy of law over all discretion;—the right to personal liberty;—freedom of speech, and kindred right of free printing;—the right of calling for special amendments of the law when defective, and that of seeking general amendments in the forms of the constitution when not adapted to their end—the public good;—the right to know the details of whatever concerns the people, and of assembling together to discuss these details; the power of resisting and correcting evil rulers, by indictment, by impeachment, and otherwise;—the right of having arms;—of sending representatives to consent to taxes and laws when needed;—and the direct responsibility of every man for his own acts, with the impossibility of a superior's instructions being admitted in bar of that responsibility. Such are the main objects common to both the English and the United States constitutions, however differently guarded in each.

The new guarantees of the public welfare peculiar to the United States are, such as a separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial authorities, more complete than in England; the degree of control possessed by the people, by frequent elections, either directly or indirectly, over all those authorities and public functionaries; rotation in office; the prohibition of orders of nobility; the substitution of a temporary president with narrow powers, for an hereditary king with limited authority; the abolition of the right of primogeniture; the absence generally of

from chaos to marvellous light, and is now rapidly advancing with numberless beautiful creations. The study of chemistry has been as common as that of simple arithmetic. It enlightens the parlour, and from it the light is reflected to the kitchen, and every day comes home to us as a household divinity.—AM. EDITOR.

The second classes excluded are (to take Massachusetts for an example) Jews, and all other persons not being Christians. Before 1821, all but Protestants were excluded. In this year, Roman Catholics and other Christians were admitted; and a powerful party urged the propriety of removing all limitations of the same nature. It has been urged on this head, that any tests are repugnant to the constitution; and in North Carolina the legislature has so determined.—Governor Worthington's Speech on the Maryland Test Act. Baltimore, 1824.

The third classes are paupers, and persons under guardianship, together with convicts. Upon the propriety of exclusion of these classes, no difference of opinion seems to exist.

† It has not been attempted to enumerate all the rights which the American citizens claim; and it is believed that no full catalogue of them is any where to be found. The early patriots seem to have been apprehensive that a professed enumeration of all might be injurious in regard to such as, by insufficient care, should be omitted. In Virginia a minute list was prepared in 1788; and, like some of the state constitutions, contains most of what is essential to good government. See St. George Tucker's Blackstone, vol. i. p. 1; Appendix, p. 161, 1803; and Jackson's Constitutions, *passim*.

‡ Franchises, and corporate rights of an exclusive character, to a certain extent, are far from being unknown in the United States. A remarkable instance upon this head occurred lately in Connecticut. Two collegiate bodies had long supplied the wants of the

exclusive privileges; the absence of a national church and tithes; the establishment of the equality of all denominations of Christians; the admission of its being a public duty to educate the whole community; and the frequent reference of great affairs to the people in convention.

The constitution of the United States, formed in the way already stated, is a comparatively brief instrument, and too important to be offered in an abridged form; it is therefore given entire:—

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America:—

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.—All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

SECTION II.—1. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states; and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand; but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

district, when at length a third seemed desirable to many of the people. The old colleges were prone to think their long undisturbed priority had endowed them with exclusive rights; and they actually resisted the reasonable claim of a younger establishment, not without temporary success. Calm and vigorous discussions, however, convinced the state legislature that the new body was entitled to receive capacities similar to those which the others would fain have called privileges; and the third college now flourishes in all respects like its fellows, which it doubtless improves by the stimulus of its example. Had the case occurred when the state was only an English colony, the claim would probably have been refused. By the sixth article of the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights, it is settled, that no "corporation, or association of men, have any other title to obtain advantages, or particular and exclusive privileges, distinct from those of the community, than what arises from the consideration of services ren-

5. The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.—1. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year; so that one third may be chosen every second year: and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

4. The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

6. The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments: when sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment, in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.—1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. The congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.—1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum, to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question, shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

dered to the public."—*Jackson's Constitutions of the States of America*, p. 41. In the convention of Massachusetts, of 1820, it was urged, that a clause for limiting the power of the legislature to incorporate only towns of 10,000 inhabitants, and upwards, was a breach of the foregoing article of the original Declaration of Rights. The limiting clause was, however, adopted, which, with other details too long for this place, prove that the principle of freedom, on the point of privilege, is not yet thoroughly acted upon in America. In the debate it was stated, in support of the clause alluded to, that the application of "a little clump of Indians" for city privileges, in addition to numerous applications of others for the like powers, caused the legislature of Connecticut to cease granting them, as being inconvenient. Such arguments led 223 members of the convention to make the law exclusive.—*Journal of Proceedings in the Convention to revise the Constitution of Massachusetts* 1820, p. 99.

4. Neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, or to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.—1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.—1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of the United States: if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary, (except on a question of adjournment,) shall be presented to the president of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him; or, being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.—The congress shall have power,

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States:

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States:

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures:

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads:

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court:

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

12. To raise and support armies; but no appropriations of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years:

13. To provide and maintain a navy:

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions:

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by congress:

17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of the government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings:—and,

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.—1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the *census* or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION X.—1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

2. No state shall, without the consent of the congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the congress.

3. No state shall, without the consent of the congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.—1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:—

2. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be enti-

ded in the congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.*

3. The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4. No person, except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5. In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president; and the congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

6. The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States.

SECTION II.—1. The president shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.—He shall, from time to time, give to the congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.—The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanours.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.—The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The

* A long clause, regulating the proceedings at the election of president and vice-president, was here introduced; but as it is su-

perseed by Article XII. of the Amendments, it is unnecessary to insert it.

SECTION II.—1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more states;—between a state and citizens of another state;—between citizens of different states;—between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.—1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

2. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

3. The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attained.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.—Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings, shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.—1. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

2. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

SECTION III.—1. New states may be admitted by the congress into this union: but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the congress.

2. The congress shall have power to dispose of and make needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SECTION IV.—The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive, (when the legislature can not be convened,) against domestic violence.

perseed by Article XII. of the Amendments, it is unnecessary to insert it.

ARTICLE V.

The congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress; provided that no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States, under this constitution, as under the confederation.

2. This constitution, and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

AMENDMENTS*

TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, RATIFIED ACCORDING TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE FOREGOING CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.—A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.—No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.—The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.—No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment

of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.—In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.—In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.—Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.—The enumeration in the constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.—The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.—The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.—The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as president; and, in distinct ballots, the person voted for as vice-president; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted;—the person having the greatest number of votes for president shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the house of representatives shall not choose a president, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president. The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president, shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the senate shall choose the vice-president; a quorum for the purpose shall consist

* Congress, at their first session under the constitution, held in the city of New York, in 1789, proposed to the legislatures of the several states twelve amendments, ten of which only were adopted. They are the first ten of the amendments in the text; and they were ratified by three fourths, the constitutional number of the states, on the 15th of December, 1791. The eleventh amendment was proposed at the first session of the third congress, and was de-

clared in a message from the president of the United States to both houses of congress, dated the 8th of January, 1798, to have been adopted by the constitutional number of states. The twelfth amendment, which was proposed at the first session of the eighth congress, was adopted by the constitutional number of states in the year 1804, according to a public notice by the secretary of state, dated the 25th of September, 1804.

of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. - But no person

* In the first volume of this History will be found copies of the other instruments, which may be considered the foundations of the present constitution; in page 216 is the Declaration of Rights and Grievances of 1774; in page 242 is the Declaration of Independence of 1776; and in page 270 is a summary of the Articles of Confederation of 1777; but the constitution set forth in the text is now that of the union. Those of the separate states may be understood generally by the examples of Virginia and Mississippi.

VIRGINIA.

The constitution of this state, which has hitherto, since its first adoption, been in operation, was formed in 1776; but on the first Monday in October, 1829, a convention met at Richmond, "to consider, discuss, and propose a new constitution, or alterations and amendments to the existing constitution;" and on the 14th of January, 1830, the convention adopted an amended constitution, by a vote of fifty-five to forty. The amended constitution, on being submitted to the legal voters of the state, was ratified by a majority of 10,492 votes, as appears by the following statement:—

	For.	Against.
Votes in Trans-Alleghany district	2,123	11,289
Valley district	3,842	2,097
Middle district	12,417	1,086
Tide-water district	7,673	1,091
	26,055	15,563

By this constitution the legislative power is vested in a senate and a house of delegates, which are together styled "The General Assembly of Virginia." The house of delegates consists of 134 members, chosen annually; thirty-one from the twenty-six counties west of the Alleghany Mountains; twenty-five from the fourteen counties between the Alleghany Mountains and the Blue Ridge; forty-two from the twenty-nine counties east of the Blue Ridge and above Tide-water; and thirty-six from the counties, cities, towns, and boroughs, lying upon Tide-water. The senate consists of thirty-two members, thirteen from the counties west of the Blue Ridge, and nineteen from the counties, cities, towns, and boroughs, east thereof. The senators are elected for four years; and the seats of one fourth of them are vacated every year. In all elections to any office or place of trust, honour, or profit, the votes are given openly, or *via voce*, and not by ballot. A reapportionment for representation in both houses is to take place every ten years, commencing in 1841, until which time there is to be no change in the number of delegates and senators from the several divisions; and after 1841 the number of delegates is never to exceed 150; nor that of the senators 36.

"The executive power is vested in a governor elected by the joint vote of the two houses of the general assembly. He holds his office three years, commencing on the 1st of January next succeeding his election, or on such other day as may be, from time to time, prescribed by law; and he is ineligible for the three years next after the expiration of his term of office. There is a council of state, consisting of three members, elected for three years by the joint vote of the two houses; the seat of one being vacated annually. The senior counsellor is lieutenant-governor. The judges of the supreme court of appeals, and of the superior courts, are elected by a joint vote of both houses of the general assembly, and hold their offices during good behaviour, or until removed by a concurrent vote of both houses; but two thirds of the members present must concur in such vote, and the cause of removal be entered on the journals of each house.

"The right of suffrage is extended to every white male citizen of the commonwealth resident therein, aged twenty-one years and upwards, who is qualified to exercise the right of suffrage according to the former constitution and laws; or who owns a freehold of the value of twenty-five dollars; or who has a joint interest to the amount of twenty-five dollars in a freehold; or who has a life estate in, or reversionary title to, land of the value of fifty dollars, having

constitutionally ineligible to the office of president, shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.*

been so possessed for six months; or who shall own and be in the actual occupation of a leasehold estate, having the title recorded two months before he shall offer to vote, of a term originally not less than five years; and of the annual value or rent of 200 dollars; or who, for twelve months before offering to vote, has been a house-keeper and head of a family, and shall have been assessed with a part of the revenue of the commonwealth within the preceding year, and actually paid the same.

"Executive government.—Governor, salary, 3,333 1-3 dollars per annum; lieutenant-governor and president of the council, and seven counsellors, 8,000 dollars; clerk of the council and keeper of the public seal, 1,320 dollars; assistant clerk of the council, 1,000 dollars; attorney-general, 1,000 dollars; treasurer of state, 2,000 dollars; auditor, 2,000 dollars; second auditor, 1,800 dollars; register of the land office, 1,500 dollars; keeper of the penitentiary, 2,000 dollars; penitentiary store-keeper, 1,500 dollars; adjutant-general, 500 dollars.

"The number of members of the existing senate is twenty-four; and of the house of delegates two hundred and fourteen, two from each of the one hundred and five counties, and one from each of the two cities and two boroughs. The senators and delegates receive four dollars a day, and twenty cents a mile for travel; the speaker of each house, eight dollars a day.

"Judiciary.—The offices of all the following judges of the supreme court of appeals, of the general court, and of the superior courts of chancery, will expire at the termination of the session of the first legislature under the new constitution. Supreme court of appeals,—five judges, 2,500 dollars each. Superior courts of chancery,—four judges, 1,667 dollars each. Fifteen judges of the general court, who are also judges of the superior courts of law held in each county: these judges receive each a salary of 1,500 dollars, and three dollars for every twenty miles travel on the circuit."

MISSISSIPPI.

The constitution of this state was formed at the town of Washington, in August, 1817. "The legislative power is vested in a senate and a house of representatives, which are together styled 'The General Assembly of the State of Mississippi.' The representatives are elected annually on the first Monday in August, in the ratio of one to every 3,000 white inhabitants. Each county, however, is entitled to one; and the present whole number is thirty-three. According to the constitution, when the number of white inhabitants exceeds 80,000, the number of representatives can not be less than thirty-six, nor more than one hundred. The members of the senate are elected for three years, one third being chosen annually. Their number can not be less than one fourth, nor more than one third of the whole number of representatives.

"The executive power is vested in a governor, who is elected by the people for two years, on the first Monday in August. At every election of a governor, a lieutenant-governor is also chosen, who is president of the senate, and on whom the executive duties devolve in case of the death, resignation, or absence, of the governor.

"The general assembly meets at Jackson, annually, on the first Monday in November.

"The right of suffrage is granted to every free white male citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years or upwards, who has resided within this state one year next preceding an election, and the last six months within the county, city, or town, in which he offers to vote, and is enrolled in the militia thereof, unless exempted by law from military service; or, having the aforesaid qualifications of citizenship and residence, has paid a state or county tax.

"The judicial power is vested in a supreme court, and such superior and inferior courts of law and equity, as the legislature may from time to time establish. The judges of the several courts are elected by the general assembly, and hold their offices during good behaviour, until the age of sixty-five years.

"Executive government.—Governor's salary, 2,500 dollars; lieu-

The originators of the Constitution are the people, by direct votes given upon resolutions prepared by their delegates in convention; a term with which the reader of this history is familiar; but of which the precise import upon the present occasion deserves further remark. Conventions, then, in this sense, are the supreme and primary assemblies of the people in the several states, which have for their rule only the public will, and for their objects justice and the public good. Like the merely voluntary meeting of the people—the *conventus publicos propria autoritate* of England of the twelfth century—they originate in the old common law; but they are much more regular in form, although not more legal or important, than voluntary meetings of the people for less momentous purposes. When experience suggests that the constitution wants amendment, the subject is referred to conventions. The legislature (we speak of Massachusetts, in 1820, by way of example) pass a law, that inhabitants qualified to vote for the senators and representatives shall assemble in regular town meetings on a certain day, and give their votes by ballot on this question—"Is it expedient that delegates should be chosen to meet in convention for

tenant-governor's pay, six dollars a day during the session of the legislature; secretary of state's salary, 1,200; state treasurer, 1,000 dollars; auditor of public accounts, 1,000 dollars; attorney-general, 1,000 dollars.

"*Judiciary*.—Court of chancery: chancellor's salary, 2,000 dollars. Supreme court: chief justice, and four associate justices, 2,000 dollars each. Circuit courts: the state is divided into five districts, in which the judges of the supreme court severally hold circuit courts. These courts have original jurisdiction in all cases where the sum in dispute exceeds fifty dollars; and appellate jurisdiction from the courts of the justices of the peace, when the sum exceeds twenty dollars. They are also invested with criminal jurisdiction, except in the county of Adams, which has a court exclusively of criminal jurisdiction: judge's salary, 800 dollars. Probate and county courts: there are, in every county, a probate court and a county court, the judges of which have no salary, but are paid by fees, and by an allowance of three dollars a day. The county court is composed of three judges, of which the probate judge is the presiding justice. The court has jurisdiction over all offences committed by slaves; and for such trials it is invested with the powers which usually belong to courts of oyer and terminer. It has appellate jurisdiction from the courts of the justices of the peace, when the sum involved does not exceed twenty dollars."

DEPENDANT TERRITORIES.

With respect to the vast territories belonging to the United States,—territories not formed into states, and which are not yet distinct societies, known to the constitution as separate states,—congress has assumed to exercise supreme sovereignty over them, until the means of internal organization as states exist there. In the Arkansas territory, for example, the governor and judges are appointed by the president and senate, but they are removable at the pleasure of the president; and the judges, subject to such removal, hold office for four, and the governor for three years. A legislative body, composed of nine counsellors appointed by the president and senate of the United States, to continue in office for five years; and of a house of representatives, to be chosen by the inhabitants every two years, was provided by congress in 1820. The superior court of justice has exclusive cognizance of all capi-

tal offences, and trial by jury is secured, together with many of the other great fundamental principles of civil liberty. The local legislatures of these territories are prohibited from interfering with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States, or from taxing lands belonging to the United States, or the lands of absentees, higher than those of residents, or from interrupting the navigable waters flowing into the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. It is held that congress has supreme power in the government of these territories, depending on the exercise of its sound discretion; and if the government of the United States should carry into execution the project of colonizing the great valley of the Oregon to the west of the Rocky Mountains, the civil and political destiny of this country will afford a subject of grave consideration.—*Chancellor Kent's Commentaries*.

The adoption of foreign states, upon equal and constitutional terms, into the old union, is an interesting and novel illustration of the success of the American polity, which was applied with great advantage upon the acquisition of Louisiana. When that country was purchased, a great problem presented itself, which it was necessary for the government and the people of the United States, and the inhabitants of Louisiana, to meet. Although France sold the country, it is plain that, on American principles, the United States could acquire no rights, under the purchase, except against France and other powers, admitting the right of a mother country to transfer the jurisdiction of a colony. It was the opinion of Mr. Jefferson and his cabinet, that it was necessary for the people of Louisiana to do some act expressive of their willingness to join the American people: this was, however, superseded by the obvious good will and predisposition of the population; and the momentous result of transferring all Louisiana, an empire in itself, from one jurisdiction to another, was unattended by the slightest violence, and has been succeeded by daily increasing satisfaction.

Had the comprehensive character of our work permitted it, we should have presented a sketch of the constitution of each state, and have exhibited the points in which they differ. Any of our readers who may wish to ascertain minutely the constitutions of the other states, can refer to the tables in the *Encyclopædia Americana*, vol. iii. art. *CONSTITUTIONS*, or to the *Companion to the British Almanac for 1832*.

were rejected. The debates of the convention were published, and distributed from day to day with great care throughout the state; and the whole business occupied about six months.*

The earliest convention of which we read in the history of North America was formed directly upon the model of that of England in 1689. When the intelligence of the Revolution reached Boston, the people rose in mass, and imprisoned an unpopular governor. A small body of the principal inhabitants took upon themselves the government, under the title of "A Council for the Safety of the People and Conservation of the Peace;" and, in imitation of the convention called by the Prince of Orange, recommended to the several towns in the colony to meet and depute persons to form an assembly. Of this event, the governor of Connecticut says, in a contemporary letter, "The true grounds of the precedence of the colony in assuming the government was, *salus populi est suprema lex*." The king soon signified the royal approbation of what had been done, recognizing, in his letters to the council, the convention of the representation of the people of the colony. In this case, at the privy council, Sir John Somers, then the counsel for the people upon a petition, said, "The country, oppressed by an arbitrary government, did there as we did here—rose as one man." One of the council remarked in this case, "I perceive the revolution was there as it was here—by the unanimous agreement of the people."†

* Debates and Proceedings in the Massachusetts Convention of 1820. 8vo. Boston, 1821.

† Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, vol. i. pp. 373—394.

‡ The due limits of constructive powers have been the occasion of anxious discussion. It has been strongly contended, that no implied powers were given to the federal government; for which position, the following solemn declaration by members of the convention of 1787, are relied upon:—"In the convention of Massachusetts, at which were present the two members from that state who signed the constitution, the first amendment proposed, in order to remove the fears of many, and more effectually guard against an undue administration of the federal government, is in these terms:—That it be explicitly declared, that all powers not expressly delegated by the aforesaid constitution, are reserved to the several states, to be by them exercised." (*Debates of the Convention of Massachusetts, Boston, 1788, p. 211.*) In the legislature of South Carolina, to which the constitution was sent, in order to be referred to a convention of the people, one of her delegates in the general convention, in explaining the views of the convention, and the objects of the constitution, uses these expressions:—"The distinction often taken between the nature of a federal and state government appeared to be conclusive; that in the former, no powers could be executed or assumed but such as were expressly delegated." (*Debates in the House of Representatives of South Carolina, Charleston, 1788, p. 7.*) General Pinckney, also a member of the general convention, thus expresses himself:—"It is admitted on all hands, that the general government has no powers but those which are expressly granted by the constitution; and that all rights not expressed, were reserved by the several states." (*Ibid. p. 25.*) And again, when replying to some one who had remark-

The constituency who choose the delegates for a convention is almost always the same constituency who choose the members of the state legislature; but it seems to be open to discretion to make this occasional constituency even more extensive. A great peculiarity, however, of the character of conventions, is, that the delegates may be individuals from any class, including the ministers of religion, the governor, and other public functionaries, and the judges. In this point the reader will be struck with the resemblance it bears to the English county meetings, where peers, and commoners, and clergy, and all other men, assemble to deliberate on any public concerns. Both institutions, indeed, are traceable to a common Saxon stock. The experience of the Americans, however, is fast giving a new and fixed character to these important organs of the popular will. Frequent resort to the true source of national power has rendered that resort regular and easy; and by bringing the real sovereign, the people, into view and activity without confusion, promises to advance the public interests on a scale hitherto unknown, and scarcely anticipated by the most sanguine lovers of good government.

The constitution being so settled, the general government cannot exercise any powers not given either expressly, or by the implication‡ necessary to the execution of the express powers. The powers vested in the state governments by their respective constitutions, or remaining with the people of the several

ed that the liberty of the press had not been secured, he adds,— "The general government has no powers but what are expressly granted to it; it therefore has no power to take away the liberty of the press; that invaluable blessing is secured by all our state constitutions; and to have mentioned it in our general constitution, would, perhaps, furnish an argument hereafter, that the general government had a right to exercise powers not expressly delegated to it. For the same reason, we had no bill of rights inserted in our constitution; for as we might perhaps have omitted the enumeration of some of our rights, it might hereafter be said, we had delegated to the general government a power to take away such of our rights as we had not enumerated; but by delegating express powers, we certainly reserve to ourselves every power and right not mentioned in the constitution." (*Ibid. p. 44.*)—*Southern Review, on the Constitution of the United States, for May, 1828.*

Upon this precise point it was prophetically said by the able and eloquent Virginian, Patrick Henry, against granting powers by implication, "If they (the federal government) can use implication for us, they can also use implication against us. We are giving power, they are getting power; judge then on which side the implication will be used. When we once put it in their power to assume constructive power, danger will follow. Implication is dangerous, because it is unbounded; if it be admitted at all, and no limits be preserved, it admits of the utmost extension. They say that every thing not given is retained; the reverse of the proposition is true by implication."—*Ibid. p. 315.*

And it is well said by Mr. Webster, in justification of limiting the power of legislation, that "The people have most wisely chosen to take the risk of occasional inconveniences from the want of power, in order that there might be a settled limit to its exercise, and a permanent security against its abuse. They have imposed

states, prior to the establishment of the United States, continue unaltered, except so far as they are granted to the United States. The true construction of the particular declarations in the constitution, and the extent of the authority still remaining to the several states, are to be ascertained by the practice of the respective governments, where there is no collision. In all other cases, where the question is, of a judicial nature, doubts are determined by the supreme court of the United States. The people, as we have seen, have declared the constitution to be the supreme law; and every act of congress, every act of the state legislatures, and every part of every state constitution, which is repugnant to the constitution of the United States, is void. The determination of the supreme court must be final, because the constitution gives to that tribunal the power to decide, and gives no appeal from its decisions. But it is the familiar practice of the people to discuss those decisions with the most unlimited freedom; and the judges who pronounce them are subject to impeachment at the bar of congress for malversation in their posts.

The date of the constitution, and of American law generally, as contradistinguished from the old colonial constitutions and laws, is perhaps subject to some doubts. It has been shewn how gradually the national independence grew out of resistance to particular measures in 1774, extending itself to the abrogation of British authority and British courts of justice in 1775, until, in 1776, regular war broke out; and independence was first resolved upon in April, and then declared on the celebrated 4th of July of the last mentioned year. These various circumstances seem to render the point difficult to be determined when British law ceased to operate in the States. For New York, the date is said to be the 19th of April, 1775; but, generally, the 4th of July, 1776, upon which day the declaration of independence was signed, may be termed the earliest legal origin of American law. There was then also adopted and continued much of the old colonial law, or that which had grown up from what had accompanied the first emigrants, or had afterwards been adopted from England, or enacted at home, and by the colonial legislatures. Many difficulties attended the framing of the constitution: and it was not until November, 1777, that the congress could so far reconcile the discordant interests and prejudices, of thirteen distinct commu-

nities as to fix upon the articles of confederation: nor was it until March, 1781, that all the several states accepted those articles which had been successively submitted to them for approval.

The powers of the federal government thus created were found too dependent upon the acquiescence of the separate states; and, in 1786, the old congress yielded to a call from certain delegates of a large majority of the states, to recommend the people to form a general convention of delegates from all the states, to "revise, amend, and alter," the articles of confederation. This recommendation was made accordingly; and such general convention (excepting Rhode Island, which did not send delegates) was assembled at Philadelphia, in May, 1787. After several months' deliberation, the present constitution, except the last articles, was agreed to. It was directed to be submitted to delegates, to be chosen by the people at large in each state, for their assent; the grand question turning upon the extent of the powers with which the several governments should be invested. Nearly a year elapsed before nine states had adopted this constitution; it then received a political existence; but it did not obtain the unanimous ratification of all the members of the original confederacy until June, 1790. The intervening discussions were, however, unattended by the loss of a single life; nor were the doubts of the objecting parties of a nature to lead to any differences more serious than those of opinion, or than the somewhat bitter party feelings, now understood to be daily softening, or seeking scope in new channels. But if the particular parties into which political society was divided during the last forty years have lost much of their noxious character, to her difficulties respecting the constitution, not essentially different from the old ones, have occurred; and they are difficulties of a kind to require the exercise of all the wisdom of this people, in order that they may find a good issue. In the construction, too, of the constitution, great diversities of opinion have arisen, traceable, perhaps, to the same source of proper jealousy of the encroachments of the central government, as much as to the intrinsic difficulty of framing important documents clearly. Of these diversities of opinion, an able writer in the United States has lately said, that they "threaten to become intermingled with sectional feelings and sectional interests, and if not terminated by some new compromise in the spirit of our ancient friendship, they

prohibitions and restraints; and they have not rendered these altogether vain by conferring the power of dispensation. No legislature in this country is able, and may the time never come when it shall be able, to apply to itself the memorable expression of a

Roman pontiff: *Licet hoc, de jure non possumus, volumus tamen de plenitudine potestatis.*"—*Speeches and Forensic Arguments, by Daniel Webster, Boston, 1830, p. 136.*

may endanger the peace and permanence of the union.* These questions will be noticed briefly as we proceed.

The legislative powers are vested in congress, and in the legislatures of the separate states, according to principles settled by the constitution. The limits of these authorities have given rise to various questions, the nature of which may be estimated by the points mentioned in the notes below.†

The question how far state governments have concurrent power, in the legislative or judicial, over cases within the jurisdiction of the government of the United States, has been much discussed. The correct principle is, that whenever the terms in which a particular power has been granted to congress, or the nature of that power, require it to be exercised exclusively by congress, the subject is as absolutely

* Southern Review, May, 1828, p. 274.

† The power to regulate commerce, Con. Act i., s. 8. chap. iii. is vested in congress, exclusively of each of the states.—Gibbons v. Ogden, 9 Wheaton, 186, &c. Under this power, congress may lay an embargo.—2 Hall's Law Journal, 255; Acts of Dec. 22, 1807.

Congress may provide for the punishment of foreign pirates.—3 Wheaton, 630.

Const. Art. I. s. 8. chap. 18.—“Necessary.” The word “necessary” in this article means needful, requisite, essential, conducive to, and gives to congress the choice of the means best calculated to exercise the powers they possess. (4 Wheaton, 413; 2 Cranch, 358, 396; 3 Wheaton, 304.) Hence congress have power to inflict punishment in cases not specified by the constitution; such power being implied as necessary to the sanction of the laws and the exercise of the delegated powers. (4 Cranch, 146; 3 Wheaton, 336;) and to exact an oath of office, (4 Wheaton, 415;) and to punish larceny of letters from the post-office, or robbery of the mail, (*ibid.* 417;) and to create a corporate bank, if necessary, for carrying into effect the powers vested in the government of the United States, (*ibid.*; 9 Cranch, 374;) and to secure to the United States a priority of payment from the effects of an insolvent debtor. (2 Cranch, 159; 9 Cranch, 374.)

The prohibition to pass *ex post facto* laws applies exclusively to criminal or penal cases. 3 Dallas, 386; and see on this article, 1 Cranch, 109; 4 Dallas, 14.

The president's instructions are no justification to illegal acts.—Little v. Bareme, 2 Cranch, 170.

Public works. The exercise of authority by congress over great public works, commonly spoken of under the terms, “internal improvements,” as roads and canals, and the like, is an occasion of much controversy in the United States, which seems to tend towards limiting the extent hitherto assumed by the federal government. See Webster's Speeches, pp. 393, 398; President Madison's Letter; and the Southern Review for May, 1828, pp. 286, 290.

The regulations of the houses of congress resemble, in many particulars, those of the houses of parliament; in other respects they have made original rules.

The house of representatives choose their own speaker, but the vice-president of the United States is *ex-officio* president of the senate, and gives the casting vote when they are equally divided.

The proceedings and discussions in the two houses are public; but less careful provisions seems to have been yet made for reporting the debates and proceedings than, as we shall hereafter find, have been made in regard to the courts of justice.

The constitution of the United States requires no evidence of property in the representative, nor any declaration of religious belief; but he must not hold any office under the United States.

A member of congress may be expelled for a high misdemeanor.—The cases of W. Blount, 1797; and J. Smith, 1807.

taken from the state legislature, as if they had been forbidden to act. When the laws of particular states and the laws of the union are in direct and manifest collision, those of the union being the supreme law of the land, are of paramount authority; and the state law, so far only as such incompatibility exists, must yield. If a particular state and the union impose taxes on the same article, it has been questioned whether the union would have the priority of payment. But the United States have declared by law that they are entitled to such priority in respect to debts. The concurrent power of legislature in the states seems, indeed, to be not an independent, but a subordinate power, liable, in many cases, to be extinguished, and in all cases to be postponed to the supreme law of the union, whenever the federal and the state regulations interfere with each other.‡

No member of congress shall hold any contract to be made in behalf of the United States.—Act, April 21, 1808.

By the act of 7th March, 1822, the representatives are apportioned according to a ratio of one for every forty thousand persons, making two hundred and thirteen members, the present number of the house; besides delegates from three of the territories belonging to the United States, who have a right to debate, but not to vote.

The elections are held at stated seasons established by law. The people vote by ballot, in small districts, and public officers preside over the elections, receive the votes, and maintain order and fairness. Though the competition between candidates is generally active, the elections are everywhere conducted with tranquillity. A very few exceptions occur to voting by ballot, as in Kentucky and Virginia; and in 1821, when the constitution of Massachusetts was amended, it became a question, whether the votes of the people upon the proposed clauses of amendment should be taken, in the towns of 4,000 inhabitants and under, by ballot or not. Upon a division in the convention, a majority of 185 to 69 was against the ballot being *necessarily* the way of taking the votes upon that occasion, which was left to the selectmen.—*Massachusetts Convention Debates*, p. 272.

The electors of president, or vice-president of the union, under section I. of the second article of the constitution, have been appointed hitherto, either upon the plan of balloting by what is termed “general tickets;” or upon the plan of balloting “by districts.” On the former plan, each voter in the state puts into the balloting-box a list of all the individuals whom he chooses for the whole state. On the latter plan, the voters of separate districts in the state put into the box the name, or names, of the elector or electors for their districts; and separate majorities determine the choice of the individuals, who are afterwards united, in order to become the electors for that whole state.

Voters are, for the most part, all the resident *white* men of twenty-one years of age. The qualification of 200 dollars in property was abolished in Massachusetts in 1821; and that of being a freeholder was abolished in Virginia in 1830, and in other states in earlier years. Indians, if taxed, vote in Maine; and in New York a man of colour may vote, if possessed of a freehold worth 250 dollars; generally, men of colour are expressly excluded. In some cases, in Connecticut, “good moral character” is necessary to the voter. In Vermont, he must be “of quiet and peaceable behaviour.” In almost all cases, residence of three, six, or twelve months, in their particular state, before voting, is required. Sometimes the qualification for voting for senators differs from that of voting for members of the house of representatives.

‡ For this doctrine, and indeed for a large portion of this chapter, we are indebted to Chancellor Kent's Commentaries on American Law, a work that does not require the humble tribute of our praise,

It is an illustration of the success which has attended the efforts of the Americans to strengthen the guarantees of good government, and make "the fiend, Discretion," with all its vices, give place to the many virtues of "sovereign law," that the statutes of the country mark out their duties even to the great officers of government.* To listen to the advocates of despotic authority in Europe, and even to those who are guided only by the English public service of the last half century, it would be supposed that abject submission to a superior's command is an inevitable adjunct to vigorous official service; and that to pause till convinced of the legality of an order, would be incurring the great evil of a feeble administration of affairs. The modern Americans wisely think otherwise; and are, therefore, realizing the excellent system of official responsibility, combined with sufficient and safe despatch, which the old English constitution, with its forgotten oaths of office, and neglected statutes, equally aimed at, and which modern English reformers must revise and improve.

A grave exception to the rule, that law governs every thing in the United States, is to be found in the want of legal redress for claimants upon the funds or justice of the government. The United States cannot be sued; and no other remedy exists for a creditor who is refused payment at the treasury, or elsewhere, than an application to congress. There is even no lien against the government for advances made to its use. This is one of the principles imported from the old governments of Europe, which arm the strong against the weak, and, like the priority given to the United States as creditors, ought to be removed from an enlightened system of legislation.

The theory of even the parent English constitution is adverse to this rule. There, as well as in the United States, every wrong is presumed to have its remedy, and every claim its redress; but it is abundantly clear that, without peremptory access to a fixed judicial tribunal, invested with the ordinary duty to dispense right to every complainant, redress

will often be sought in vain. Legislative justice, or justice to be granted only on the grace of a sovereign to a petition, implies the exercise of a discretion which is but too apt to be swayed by personal considerations, or by the feelings of the times. Long experience in England has proved how great is the evil of this principle there; and already have some very serious inconveniences to individuals arisen from it in America, where it is peculiarly discordant with the almost universally good guarantees established by the republic in defence of rational freedom. There are many cases requiring redress, which the ordinary courts do not receive, the parties being left to the elemosynary remedy of petitions to congress. The dependence of congress upon popular elections checks the evil prevalent in other countries on the point; but the complaining party finds *interest* needful, a thing always fatal to peace, and often to justice. How precarious a petitioner may find his situation in such a state of things, is pleasantly to be learned from the passage in the note below.†

The executive power vested in the president by the foregoing written constitution, and the influence to be obtained from the nomination to public offices, have often been commented upon severely as great defects; and the proposed remedy to be found in disqualifying the president from a second election has recently been urged upon congress and the people with renewed earnestness. In some of the states, as in Louisiana, checks have been devised against the appointment of unfit persons to public posts; and throughout the Union, unquestionably, the president, or any governor who should make such unfit appointments, as in England any minister who should advise them, would be punishable;—the English minister under the old common law, which prescribes, that the best men shall be placed in offices of trust; and the American president, or governor, under the portion of the common law originally carried from home upon this important subject. The power of the president, however, to remove all executive officers at his will or pleasure has been settled, not in-

* 6 Wheaton, 411; 3 Hall's Law Journal, 130.

† "Mr. Gallatin came to Virginia when a very young man; he was obscure and unknown, and being engaged in some agency which made it necessary to present a petition to the assembly, he endeavoured to interest the leading members in its fate, by attempting to explain, out of doors, its merits and justice. He spoke English so badly, that they could not understand him well enough to feel any interest either for him or his petition. In this hopeless condition, he waited on Mr. Henry, and soon felt that he was in different hands. Mr. Henry, on his part, was so delighted with the interview, that he spoke of Mr. Gallatin every where in raptures; he declared him, without hesitation or doubt, to be the most sensible and best informed man he had ever conversed with; 'he is to be sure,' said he, 'a most astonishing man.' The reader

well knows how eminently Mr. Gallatin has justified Mr. Henry's sagacity."—*Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry*, p. 410.

This case was one of harmless exertion of interest; but it suggests the importance of a rule, that all who have claims to prefer to the consideration of public assemblies, or to sovereigns, should be entitled to be heard as of course, and with attention, upon a *statement of their claims*. Petitions are forms only fit to be addressed to the Deity.

The foregoing defect in the American constitution has long been regretted; (St. George Tucker's *Blackstone*, vol. i. part i. Appendix, p. 117. 1803;) and in the speech of the president to congress, in 1831, it is intimated that an amendment of the law is strongly desired.

deed judicially, but by the declared sense of the legislature, and the uniform acquiescence and practice of the government.

The appointment and the removal of public functionaries, however, have not failed to attract much consideration in the United States. If any doubt exists, whether the ancient statute of Richard the Second, that public offices shall be given only to the "best" men, applied to the old colonies, unquestionably the still more ancient common law of the like tenour, on which that statute was founded, was carried by the first settlers to America, and was retained at the revolution. Popular election is the grand check on favouritism and on the mischievous principle of patronage; but attempts, as above stated, have been made in this matter, to impose rules upon the exercise of irregular discretion; and traces may be found, even in periods of strong popular excitement, of just preferences prevailing in favour of fit public officers, whose fair claims were endangered by the violence of party spirit. Occasions sometimes occur when sound views upon this subject are of great importance. Changes take place among leaders; and their power is often sought to be strengthened by a change of the subordinate functionaries. In 1801, circumstances of this kind happened; and the correspondence of President Jefferson for that year furnishes admirable comments upon the duty of government in such conjunctures. Certain merchants of New England had remonstrated with the president for appointing a particular individual to one post, and for removing another individual from another post. In reply, Mr. Jefferson admits fully the right and the usefulness of such remonstrances; and adds,—“Of the various executive duties, no one excites more anxious concern than that of placing the interests of our fellow-citizens in the hands of honest men, with understandings sufficient for their stations. No duty, at the same time, is more difficult to fulfil. The knowledge of character possessed by a single individual is, of necessity, limited. To seek out the best through the whole union, we must resort to other information, which, from the best of men, acting disinterestedly and with the purest motives, is sometimes incorrect.” The grounds of the appointment are then stated, concluding with these words:—“The remonstrance, indeed, does not allege that the office has been ill conducted; but only apprehended that it will be so. Should this happen in event, be assured I will do in it what shall be just and necessary for the public service. In the mean time, the person

appointed should be tried without being prejudged.” In reply to a case of removal complained of, the president says, “When it is considered that, during the late administration, those who were not of a particular party in politics were excluded from all office; when, by a steady pursuit of this measure, nearly the whole offices of the United States were monopolized by that party; when the public sentiment at length declared itself, and burst open the doors of honour and confidence to those whose opinions they more approved, was it to be imagined that this monopoly of office was still to be continued in the hands of the minority? Does it violate their equal rights to assert some rights in the majority also? Is it political intolerance to claim a proportionate share in the direction of public affairs? If the will of the nation, manifested by their various elections, calls for an administration of the government according with the opinions of those elected; if a due participation of office is matter of right, how are vacancies to be obtained? Those by death are few; by resignation none. Can any other mode than that of removal be proposed? This is a painful office; but it is made my duty, and I meet it as such; I proceed in the operation with inquiry and deliberation, that it may injure the best men least, and effect the purposes of justice and public utility with the least private distress; that it may be thrown, as much as possible, on delinquency, on oppression, on intolerance, on anti-revolutionary adherence to our enemies. The remonstrance laments that a change in the administration must produce a change in the subordinate officers; in other words, that it should be deemed necessary for all officers to think with their principal; but on whom does this imputation bear? On those who have excluded from office every shade of opinion which was not theirs; or on those who have been so excluded? I lament sincerely that unessential differences of opinion should ever have been deemed sufficient to interdict half the society from the rights and the blessings of self-government—to proscribe them as unworthy of every trust. It would have been to me a circumstance of great relief, had I found a moderate participation of office in the hands of the majority. I would gladly have left it to time and accident to raise them to their just share; but, their total exclusion calls for prompter correction. I shall correct the procedure; but, that done, return with joy to that state of things, when the only questions concerning a candidate shall be—Is he honest? is he capable? is he faithful to the constitution?”*

* The course actually taken was somewhat opposed to the eagerness of the majority; but the republican administration of Mr. Jefferson persevered in it, and, in 1802, he again describes it in the following terms: “I still think our original idea as to office is the

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What has already been said of executive government relates, in a great measure, to the union. That of the separate states is not less important. Its character may be collected from the constitution of the two states, and from various details already presented to the reader. In those states, the governors and other functionaries derive their powers from the constitution and statutes of the states respectively. But in the territories not yet admitted as states into the union, special acts of congress determine these points independently of the inhabitants of these territories. The appointment, succession, correction, and removal of such governors and functionaries, are determined often directly, and in all other cases indirectly, by the votes of the people. The people, too, transact many public affairs in their own persons in townships, of which Massachusetts has for nearly two centuries exhibited examples not be surpassed in excellence in any nation in the world. The constitution of 1780, for example, declares, as the old laws directed, that education shall be duly provided for by public schools and grammar schools in the towns; and the duty of making this provision in imperative on the township corporations elected by the people; the breach of which duty may be punished by indictment, preferred by any inhabitant. Again, the same constitution declares, as the ancient law sanctioned, that the people have a right, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble to consult upon the common good, and, by way of addresses, petitions, or remonstrances, to seek redress

best; that is, to depend for obtaining a just participation on deaths, resignations, and delinquencies. This will least affect the tranquillity of the people, and prevent their giving in to the suggestion of our enemies, that ours has been a contest for office, not for principle. To these means of obtaining a just share in the transaction of public business, shall be added one other; to wit, removal for electioneering activity, or open and industrious opposition to the principles of the present government, legislative and executive. Every officer may vote at elections according to his conscience; but we should betray the cause committed to our care were we to permit the influence of official patronage to be used to overthrow that cause."

In the spirit of these principles, Mr. Jefferson, in old age, expressed strong satisfaction at his own course on this head—a course which affords a noble contrast to the wretched nepotism practised in other countries:—"In the trusts I have exercised through life, with powers of appointment," says he, "I can say, with truth, and with unspeakable comfort, that I never did appoint a relation to office; and that merely because I never saw the case in which some one did not offer or occur better qualified." And in a still more important passage on this subject, he also said, "I have never removed a man merely because he was a federalist; I have never wished them to give a vote at an election but according to their own wishes: but as no government could discharge its duties to the best advantage of its citizens, if its agents were in a regular course of thwarting, instead of executing, all its measures, and were employing the patronage and influence of their offices against the government and its measures, I have only requested they would be quiet, and they should be safe; that if their conscience urges them to take an active and zealous part in opposition, it ought also to urge them to retire from posts which they

of grievances of the legislative body. Such rights as these are for the most part exercised through the townships, where the selectmen would be subject to punishment in the courts of law, if they obstructed the holding of public meetings on such subjects.

The expenditure of money for local purposes, as the building of court-houses and the like—the assembling of militia—election of officers—and the appointment of constables for the preservation of the peace, are vested in the same local divisions, whose disinterested, wise, and vigorous exertions in the great contest for independence, have been justly eulogized by one of the most eminent American statesmen of the present day,* and which were thought models for good internal government by the ablest of his predecessors.†

The judicial establishments of the United States are the supreme court, the circuit courts, and the district courts; besides which, each state has its own judiciary, connected, by appeals and otherwise, with that of the union.

The supreme court consists of a chief justice and six associate justices, any four of whom are a full court; and any one can make orders in suits preparatory to the hearing or trial. It holds one term annually, which begins in January; it has exclusive jurisdiction in all causes of ambassadors and the like, and also in all civil causes in which a state is a party, except in suits by a state against one or

could not conscientiously conduct with fidelity to their trusts; and, on failure to retire, I have removed those who maintained an active and zealous opposition to the government."—*Jefferson's Correspondence*, vol. iii. pp. 474—508; vol. iv. pp. 397, and 101. (A. D. 1824.)

* "We have not always," says Mr. Webster, "done justice to the merits and to the sufferings of those who sustained, on their property, and on their means of subsistence, the great burden of the revolutionary war. Any one who has had occasion to be acquainted with the records of the New England towns, knows well how to estimate these merits and these sufferings. Nobler records of patriotism exist nowhere; nowhere can there be found higher proofs of a spirit that was ready to hazard all, to pledge all, to sacrifice all, in the cause of the country. The voice of Otis and of Adams, in Faneuil Hall, found its full and true echo in the little councils of the interior towns; and if, within the continental congress, patriotism shone more conspicuously, it did not there exist more truly, nor burn more fervently; it nowhere made the day more anxious, nor the night more sleepless; it sent up no more ardent prayer to God for succour; and it put forth, in no greater degree, the fulness of its effort, and the energy of the whole soul and spirit in the common cause, than it did in the small assemblies of the towns."—*Mr. Webster's Speech in the Convention of Massachusetts, in 1820, on the Apportionment of the Senate*, p. 245. *White's Digest of the Laws of Massachusetts*, 1809.

† In describing what he thought the best organization of government, Mr. Jefferson says,—"The townships of New England are the vital principles of their governments, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation."—*Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 297.

more of its citizens, or against citizens of other states, or aliens. In these excepted causes it has original, but not exclusive jurisdiction. It also receives appeals from the circuit courts, and in admiralty cases, where the matter in dispute exceeds 2,000 dollars; and a judgment or decree in the highest state court may be brought up, on error in point of law, to the supreme court of the United States, provided the validity of a treaty, or statute of, or authority exercised under, the United States, was questioned in the state court, and the decision was against that validity; or provided the validity of any state authority was questioned as repugnant to the constitution, the treaties, or laws of the United States, and the decision was in favour of that validity; or provided the construction of any clause of the constitution, or of a treaty, or statute of a commission, held under the United States, was questioned, and the decision was against the title, right, privilege, or exemption, claimed under the authority of the union. By a rule worthy of adoption in the superior courts of all countries, the supreme court of the United States may receive and determine a single point of law upon which the judges in the inferior court are opposed in opinion.* The principle of stating specific cases for the decision of the upper courts is not altogether new, and it obviously admits of very advantageous application to all jurisdictions, but especially to every country, where, as in English colonies, distant dependencies have to seek the correction of errors, or the check of abuses, almost invited by the remoteness of place, and the inferiority of the primary tribunals. The supreme court can issue prohibitions to the district courts when proceeding as courts of admiralty;—writs of mandamus to any courts appointed by officers of the United States;—writs of *ne exeat* on a suit commenced;—and injunctions, on reasonable notice to the adverse party, but not to stay proceedings in any state court;—and also writs of habeas corpus.

The circuit courts are seven in number, and held in separate districts, extending over eighteen out of the twenty-four states, by one judge of the supreme court of the United States, and the local judge of the district. In special cases, two of the supreme court judges attend; and where the district judge

shall be absent, or is interested, one may sit alone. The circuit courts have original cognizance, concurrent with the courts of the several states, of all suits where the matter of dispute exceeds 500 dollars, and the United States are plaintiffs, or an alien is a party, or the suit is between a citizen of the state where the suit is brought and a citizen of another state, and in all suits under any law of the United States on copyright and patent rights. They receive also appeals from all decrees and judgments in the district courts, where the matter in dispute exceeds fifty dollars; and certain cases of the value of 500 dollars may be removed by the defendant from a state court to the next circuit court. In criminal trials they have, with a few exceptions, exclusive jurisdiction of all offences cognizable under the authority of the United States, exceeding misdemeanours; and in misdemeanours they have concurrent jurisdiction with the district courts. After much discussion, it seems to be now settled, that one of the judges at the circuit courts shall be taken from the sitting members of the supreme court at Washington, who thus carries periodically into distant states the uniformity and learning of the capital, and at the same time acquires much knowledge whilst actually engaged in local affairs.

The districts generally extend over an entire state; but in six states there are more districts than one. A court is established in each district, consisting of one judge, who holds annually four stated terms, and also special courts in his discretion. They have exclusive original cognizance of all civil admiralty causes; of seizures under impost, navigation, or trade laws of the United States, when the seizures are made on the high sea, or on waters navigable from the sea by vessels of ten or more tons' burthen; and of all other seizures made, and suits for penalties, under the laws of the United States. They have also concurrent jurisdiction with the circuit and state courts in certain suits by aliens; and of all suits at common law, of 100 dollars' value and upwards, in which the United States are plaintiffs; and over all captures made within the waters of the United States, or within a marine league of its coasts; and they have jurisdiction of proceedings to repeal patents obtained surreptitiously, or on false suggestions. In

* Act of congress, April 29, 1802.

† It is, however, even now considered by many persons a great question, whether, by the terms of the constitution, and in accordance with sound policy, the supreme court ought not to be confined, with all its members, to the session at Washington, solely as a court of appeal, except in a few cases of original jurisdiction. From 1789 the judges have made circuits over part of the states, the more remote parts of the union being too distant for their visitation. If a sufficient number be added for new states of the

union, not now visited by any circuit, the collected members at Washington will, it is thought, partake too much of the character of a popular assembly; and the objection is alleged to be still stronger, if the great duty of the court in appeals is to be impeded by some of its members being the parties appealed from. Upon these grounds it is urged that the circuits from the supreme courts should be abolished. The president's speech to congress, in December, 1831, brought the question under notice.

bankruptcy, a summary jurisdiction, without appeal, has been claimed for the district judges: but the opinions of able lawers are adverse to the claim; and in the new bankrupt system expected to be established in the United States, no such objectionable authority is likely to be vested in these courts. In criminal trials they have exclusive jurisdiction over offences cognizable under the authority of the United States, committed within their respective districts, or upon the high seas, and punishable by a fine of 100 six months, or by corporal punishment, not exceeding dollars at the utmost, by imprisonment, not exceeding thirty stripes. When the parties have not reasonable time to apply to the circuit court, the judges of the district courts may issue injunctions to continue until the next circuit court; and when the judge of the supreme court cannot conveniently come, the powers of a circuit court are superadded to the ordinary powers of the district court. The district judges of the United States are required to reside within their respective jurisdictions.

In appeals to the circuit court, if the circuit judge and district judge associated with him differ, the judgment is according to the opinion of the circuit judge. In original causes, points in difference may be certified to the supreme court for its decision; but in no case shall imprisonment be allowed, or punishment inflicted, where the judges of the circuit court are divided in opinion.

The judicial power of the general government in the supreme court, in the circuit and district courts, is limited to objects more expressly defined by written law than the judicial powers of the state courts; and between the two classes of courts, distinctions deserving of careful notice by the student of the American institutions, have been made by good authority:—1. The cognizance of every crime and misdemeanour whatsoever, committed within the body of any state, belongs to the courts of that state in which the offence is committed, exclusively, unless it can be shown that power over the subject has been expressly granted to the United States by the federal constitution. 2. The federal courts possess no jurisdiction over any crime or misdemeanour which is an offence by the common law, and not declared to be such by the constitution, or some statute of the United States. 3. Although a certain class of offences may, by the constitution of the United States, be declared to be within the jurisdiction of the federal courts, yet these courts cannot proceed to take cognizance thereof, unless they be first defined

by the constitution, or by statute, nor to punish them, unless the punishment be likewise prescribed by a statute of the United States.*

The vast field of the law of property, the very extensive head of equity jurisdiction, and the principal rights and duties which flow from civil and domestic relations, fall within the control, and we might also say the exclusive cognizance, of the state governments. The elementary principles of the common law are the same in every state, except Louisiana and Florida, where French and Spanish laws have prevailed.†

The state courts are invested with the cognizance of cases arising under the laws of the United States, in certain suits for taxes, and in certain prosecutions for fines and forfeitures under the revenue laws.

In judicial matters, the concurrent jurisdiction of the state tribunals with the tribunals of the union depends upon the judgment of congress, and may be revoked and extinguished whenever it thinks fit, in every case in which the subject matter can constitutionally be made cognizable in tribunals of the union; and, without any express provision to the contrary, the state courts will retain a concurrent jurisdiction in all cases where they had jurisdiction originally over the subject matter.

Both in the courts of the federal government, and in those of the particular states, the important advantage is enjoyed of a very considerable separation of the judicial from the executive and legislative authorities. It is, however, a curious fact, that so late as the year 1820, it was a subject of debate in Massachusetts, whether the judges of that state should continue to be advisers of the executive government, upon questions propounded to them by the governor. During about a century, the old practice in England, that the judges of Westminster Hall should give opinion upon cases from the crown, has fallen into disuse; but its offspring very long survived it in America.‡ The independence of judges is variously secured: those of the United States can only be removed by impeachment, and not by address of the house of representatives; they must consequently be accused of specific offences, and be heard before condemnation.‡ This is the general rule of the separate states; but in Virginia they are liable to removal upon the address of the legislature. In Vermont and Rhode Island they are reappointed every year. Other states appoint them for seven, five, three, two, and six years; and able men still differ on what is

* St. George Tucker's Blackstone, vol. iv. Appendix, p. 110.

† Chancellor Kent's Commentaries, p. 418.

‡ Journal of the Debates of the Massachusetts Convention, of 1820, p. 213.

the right basis, in this respect, of a true judicial independence.*

In some of the states, the ages of sixty, sixty-five, and seventy, are limited for the holding of the judicial office. No judge of the United States can practice as a counsellor; nor in the supreme court can any counsellor practise as an attorney, nor an attorney as a counsellor. In all the other courts the rule is otherwise; and in this counsellors may be admitted as attorneys. The salary of the chief justice of the United States is 5,000 dollars; each of the associate justices receives 4,500 dollars; and the attorney-general 3,500. The salaries of the judges of the district courts vary from 1,000 to 3,500 dollars; each of the attorneys-general, and the marshals, or sheriffs of the district courts, receives 200 dollars, with fees; nor does any considerable attention appear to have been yet directed to the very important subject of administering justice without allowing fees to the subordinate officers.

The courts of the several states have long been held by judges bred to the law as a profession; and many of them are eminently learned men. Their yearly salaries vary from 550 to 3,500 dollars. They are appointed by the legislature in fourteen states; by the governor and senate in seven states; by the governors alone in two states; and in the state of Indiana, those of the supreme court are appointed by the governor and senate; the presidents of the circuit courts by the legislature; and the associate judges by the people.

Justices of the peace have to decide many civil causes, to a limited amount in value, besides the criminal and police business within their cognizance; and they are severally liable to removal upon the address of the legislature, and upon condemnation of certain offences, and upon impeachment. In some of the states they are appointed justices by other authorities, and sometimes they are elected by the people; but they are not restrained from seats in the legislature, a circumstance which has been the occasion of much regret to Americans of the highest authority.†

It belongs to the judicial power chiefly to declare every act of the legislature made in violation of the constitution, or of any provision of it, null and void. Accordingly, in 1791, the judges of a circuit court in New York declared an act of congress, assigning ministerial duties to them, to be unconstitutional, and not obligatory; and in two other states the circuit judges declined to act under the law in any capacity.‡ In 1792, the supreme court of South

Carolina set aside an act of the state legislature as being against common right and the principles of magna charta. In 1795, a judge at Philadelphia declared an act of Pennsylvania to be unconstitutional, and not binding. The same doctrine was maintained afterwards in South Carolina, where the judges claimed to be only the administrators of the public will, and declared the law void, not because they had any control over the legislature, but because the will of the people expressed in the constitution was paramount to that of their representatives expressed in the law. Much later the subject was brought before the supreme court of the United States, when the power and duty of the judiciary to disregard an unconstitutional act of congress, or of any state legislature, was declared as an argument approaching, says Chancellor Kent, "to the precision and certainty of a mathematical demonstration." Until 1823, the judges in the state of New York constituted what was called the council of revision, by which every law was examined before it became a valid statute. The absolute separation of the judicial from the other powers of state is too important to justify a regret that the judges should be withdrawn from this duty; but the testimony of the learned chancellor, to whom we have been so much indebted in compiling this summary upon the constitution of the United States, in favour of the labours of the New York council, suggests the importance of attaching to all legislatures a ministerial body of constitutional lawyers, whose reports might merit Mr. Kent's eulogium, "that they would show that many a bill heedlessly passed the legislature was objected to and defeated on constitutional grounds—reports replete with salutary and sound principles of public law and policy, and monuments of the wisdom, firmness, and integrity of the council." The power of the judges to check the legislative and the executive government, is a power obviously liable to abuse by the courts themselves, and to undue jealousy on the part of those upon whom they are checks. Accordingly, the exercise of this power will be found one of the most interesting subjects to the inquirer into the constitution of the United States. The principal checks upon the judges in their turn are, first, public opinion;—secondly, the indirect elective control of the people over the president and others who appoint the superior judges, and the direct popular control over those inferior judges who are elected by the people;—and thirdly, the liability of the judges to impeachment before the elective senate.

* St. George Tucker's Blackstone, vol. i. b. 1. Appendix, p. 116.

† Jefferson's Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 296, &c.

‡ St. George Tucker's Blackstone, vol. i. Appendix.

The laws administered in the courts is, with a just pride, termed by the writers of the United States, "American law." Its sources are, 1st, the law of England, wide as that title is, and modified by the great English principle, that colonists take abroad with them only so much of the law of the mother-country as is suitable to their new circumstances; 2dly, in particular states, as Louisiana and the Floridas, so much of other foreign law as affects those places; 3dly, the law of nations and nature; and lastly, but principally, the constitutions and statutes of the United States, and the several domestic legislatures, and the treaties with foreign powers, with the rules and decisions of the court of law.

It has been a subject of much discussion, whether the courts of the United States have a common law jurisdiction, and if any, to what extent. It seems to be settled, that although the federal government has not adopted the common law as a source of jurisdiction, nevertheless that the courts of justice must resort to it largely as the instrument for exercising the jurisdiction conferred by the constitution, and the means of interpreting constitutional language.* Therefore the study of common law is recommended by Chancellor Kent as part of the jurisprudence of the United States. "In its improved condition in England," says this eminent judge, "and especially in its improved and varied condition in America, under the benign influence of an expanded commerce, of enlightened justice, of republican principles, and of sound philosophy, the common law has become a code of matured ethics and enlarged civil wisdom, admirably adapted to promote and secure the freedom and happiness of social life. It has proved to be a system replete with vigorous and healthy principles, eminently conducive to the growth of civil liberty; and it is in no instance disgraced by such a slavish political maxim as that with which the Institutes of Justinian are introduced. It is the common juris-

prudence of the people of the United States, and was brought with them as colonists from England, and established in America, so far as it was adapted to our institutions and circumstances. It was claimed by the congress of the united colonies, in 1774, as a branch of those 'indubitable rights and liberties to which the respective colonies are entitled.' It fills up every interstice, and occupies every wide space, which the statute law cannot occupy."† The learned Du Ponceau correctly observes,‡ "We live in the midst of the common law: we inhale it at every breath, imbibe it at every pore; we meet with it when we walk, and when we lie down to sleep; when we travel abroad, and when we stay at home; it is interwoven with every idiom of our tongue; and we cannot learn another system of laws without learning at the same time another language." Upon this somewhat rhetorical claim of a participation of the old common law, as carried from England, the Americans have also erected the further very important doctrine, that usages peculiar to the United States have been ingrafted upon it, so as that there is now produced an American common-law jurisprudence, different in many respects from that of their forefathers, and in harmony with their own more republican institutions.

Equity has been less universally introduced than the other branches of the common law. In Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and some other states, there are no courts of equity; but equity processes are given to the courts on some points; and public opinion seems to be favourable to the extension thither of that system of chancery law, which, through the eminent judicial labours of Chancellor Kent, has been brought to a very improved condition in New York. The topic, however, is open to interesting questions, and is much discussed. In Virginia, and perhaps in other states, a principle of equity has been transferred to the common-law courts, where the

* Mr. Justice Story, who has occupied an eminent rank amongst the judges of the United States these twenty years, places the true doctrine in a very clear light. "I admit," says he, "that the courts of the United States are courts of limited jurisdiction, and can not exercise any authorities not confided to them by the constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof. But I do contend, that when once an authority is lawfully given, the nature and extent of that authority, and the mode in which it shall be exercised, must be regulated by the rules of the common law. Whether the common law of England, in its broadest sense, including equity and admiralty, as well as legal doctrines, be the common law of the United States or not, it can hardly be doubted that the constitution and laws of the United States are predicated upon the existence of the common law. The constitution, for instance, provides that 'the trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury.' I suppose that no person can doubt that, for the explanation of these terms, and for the mode of conducting trials by jury, recourse must be had to the common law. So the clause, that 'the judicial power shall extend to all cases in law

and in equity arising under the constitution,' &c. is inexplicable, without reference to the common law; and the extent of this power must be measured by the powers of courts of law and equity, as exercised and established by that system. Innumerable instances of a like nature may be adduced. I will mention but one more, which is in the clause providing that the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it. What is the writ of habeas corpus? What is the privilege which it grants? The common law alone furnishes the true answer. The existence, therefore, of the common law, is not only supposed by the constitution, but is appealed to for the construction and interpretation of its powers." *The United States v. Coolidge.*—1 *Gallison's Reports*, p. 488. 1813.

† Chancellor Kent's *Commentaries*, vol. i. p. 322.

‡ Du Ponceau on *Jurisdiction*, p. 91. On this subject, however, other adverse authorities should be consulted by the student, as *St. George Tucker's Blackstone*, vol. iv. p. 9.

parties, in civil actions, may examine their adversaries upon interrogatories, and without prejudice to a bill of discovery in chancery.*

The laws regulating property, and intercourse between man and man, are, in many respects, similar to the laws of England on the same subject matter. In numerous points, however, great changes have been made;† but the difficult and subtle questions arising out of the contingencies created by the free disposal of property, by conflicting claims, and by doubtful construction, are necessarily numerous in all the courts of the union. The forms of proceeding and practice in the courts have been extensively simplified, although on this head much remains to be improved.‡ The reduction of the court officers to a clerk and the common crier, indicates how large a portion of the old and useless machinery has been dispensed with. The writ of habeas corpus has not only been secured, as in England, but its remedy has been extended, by the power given to the judges of investigating the real merits of each case without

* Laws of Virginia for 1830, sect. 68.

† "The nature and extent of the improvement will be placed in a strong light by the following enumeration of the changes made in one or more of the states:—1. Abolition of feudal tenures, including copyholds. 2. Abolition of tithes. 3. Making both the real and personal property of intestates descend to the same person. 4. Enabling parents to become heirs to their children. 5. Abolition of primogeniture and of preference of males in descents. 6. Making all estates descend in the same course, whether acquired by purchase, or by descent from paternal or maternal relations. 7. Abolishing the preference of male stocks in descents. 8. Enabling half-blood relations to inherit. 9. Making husband and wife heir to each other in case of failure of blood relations. 10. Making seisin of land pass by the mere delivery of the deed. 11. The general registration of deeds. 12. Making a fee-simple pass without the word 'heirs,' or any equivalent, when a less estate is not expressed. 13. Enabling tenants in tail to convey estates in fee simple, without a fine or recovery. 14. Enabling married women to convey their estates and bar their dower without a fine. 15. Change of joint tenancies into tenancies in common. 16. Removing the disabilities of alienage with regard to real property. 17. Abolition of the doctrine of tacking in mortgages. 18. Placing lands mortgaged, as well as the debt, at the disposal of the mortgagee's executor. 19. Making real estates liable to execution and sale for debt. 20. Rendering real estate assets to pay debts without any preference. 21. Shortening the time of limitation."—*The American Jurist*, No. 1. p. 99.

‡ Upon the subject of pleading, Mr. Dane, the author of the Digest, says, "In modern, and especially in American practice, a great degree of liberality has been admitted, in giving matters formerly pleaded in evidence under the general issue. It is a very general practice in the United States to agree to cases, signed by the parties, for the opinions and decisions of the courts. Pleas in abatement are almost disused. Broad and very liberal statutes of amendments in the pleadings have been enacted in the United States, in addition to the statutes of this sort adopted from England; still the art of pleading is one which the Americans are seeking to simplify."—*Digest of American Law*, vol. v.—Title, "Pleading."

In Louisiana, the forms of pleading by the civil law prevail, of which an able judge says, "I can not help paying my humble homage to the excellence of this code, which, adapting its remedies to the exigency of the case, gives complete relief without trammelling itself with prescribed forms, which often perplex, and

confining themselves to the face of the return. Imprisonment for debt has been abolished in some of the states; and in almost all, females are exempt; and there is an increasing disposition to abolish it throughout the union, both under mesne process and in execution.‡

In the study and practice of mercantile law,|| the American lawyers have made very great advances; and in these branches they have perhaps as far surpassed the English lawyers as they are excelled by the latter upon questions respecting titles to lands and real property, which are discussed much more frequently in England than the simplicity of that branch of the law requires in America. The deep learning and subtle argument displayed upon other legal topics, which might be thought peculiar to our own country, evince the great legal powers of the advocates of the American Bar.

In admiralty causes, there is understood to be the greatest similarity between the systems of America and Great Britain. The reputation of Lord Stowell

sometimes defeat, the ends of justice."—*American Jurist*, No. i. p. 17. This testimony is given to the civil law forms, compared with those derived from English pleadings.

"In England," says a learned writer in the *Southern Review*, for August, 1831, "the mere subtleties of pleading, such as go not to the merits, but to immaterial allegations, are too much encouraged. The record being paid for, and most extravagantly paid for, according to its extent, is the excuse for this, (Burton v. Wright; Douglas and Cowper;) but it were better that no necessity for such an excuse existed, as now exists here, where (to borrow a phrase of our own courts) 'the law mechanic' is paid a lumping price for the job. It would be well for England if she would copy after most of our judicial reforms, so far as they may not be inconsistent with the frame and policy of her constitution; and it is, no doubt, a very great compliment to the wisdom of our predecessors, that there is a marvellous coincidence between the reforms projected in that country, by her ablest men, and those which have been so generally adopted among us."—P. 393.

§ In Kentucky and Ohio imprisonment for debt is abolished; and the managers of the Boston Prison Discipline Society add, in their Report for 1830, "A similar law in the northern and middle states would have saved from imprisonment during the last year, as nearly as we can ascertain, about fifty thousand persons. The number of persons discharged by the creditor or his attorney is more than three times as large as the number of those who pay the debt."—Pp. 369, 370. Imprisonment for debt was also abolished in New York, in 1832.

By the constitution of Pennsylvania it is provided, that "the person of a debtor, where there is not a strong presumption of fraud, shall not be continued in prison after delivering up his estate for the benefit of his creditors." By the laws of the same state, however, and by those of most parts of the union, all personal estate, whether in funds or otherwise, and all real estate, whether legal or equitable, are liable to execution. Great facilities are afforded to creditors to obtain payment of debts from any property belonging to the debtor, but personal liberty is exposed to few restraints, even in the case of insolvency; and no inconveniences are believed to arise from this state of the law.—*House of Commons' Papers for 1831*, No. 92, p. 214:—"Evidence of Richard Biddle, Esq. before the common-law commissioners."

|| See particularly the arguments of Mr. Webster, on collegiate endowments, and on the impeachment of a judge of probate.—*Webster's Speeches*, pp. 110 and 138.

is very high in the former country, and, with some exceptions, attributed to particular circumstances, the differences between his decisions upon prize* law, and those promulgated by the supreme court of the United States, are so few, it is said, as to be almost evanescent. After the most powerful arguments, and under the highest political excitements, there has been but a single principle adopted by him which has been deliberately overruled by the supreme court; and on that occasion there was a serious difference of opinion among the judges.† It deserves, however, to be remarked, that the judge who is the most eminent for his early and continued success in the study of the mercantile and shipping-laws, Judge Story, is also earnest in his expressions of respect towards Lord Mansfield and other English judges who have improved these branches of jurisprudence.‡

The criminal laws are remarkable for their mildness; although, in other respects, as in their distinction between felonies and misdemeanours, and in some of the consequences of that distinction, they resemble the English criminal law. Although trial by jury is perfectly understood in the United States, and generally used, yet justices of the peace decide upon some felonies, as petty thefts, without a jury, unless the accused claims a jury trial; and in slaves' cases juries are very far indeed from being universal. Treason is confined, by the express terms of the constitution, to narrow limits. The only capital offences in any of the states are treason, murder, burglary, robbery from the person, and rape; and all these offences, except murder in the first degree of atrocity, are, in most of the states, usually followed by secondary punishment; and in some of the states they are liable to secondary punishment only. In Pennsylvania, no crime is punishable with death, but

murder perpetrated by means of poison, or by lying in wait, or by some other kind of wilful, deliberative, and premeditated killing, or perpetrated in the commission of certain crimes which were formerly capital;§ and great exertions are making in that state, and elsewhere in North America, not only to mitigate all severity in the criminal law, but especially to abolish all capital punishment.|| It is said,¶ nevertheless, that the recent legislation of the federal government in congress is more severe than that of the separate states, either before or since the revolution of 1776. Prosecutions for all capital offences, except for wilful murder and forgery, are limited to three years after the offence was committed; and for offences less than capital to two years, unless the person flees from justice. Imprisonment under game and vagrant laws are unknown. Colonies of convicts have not yet been established,** with all the horrors attendant upon communities of unrestrained men, necessarily disproportioned in number to females, and of dishonest people, neither corrected nor discountenanced by an ordinary proportion of individuals of good principles.

The system of the best American penitentiaries has at length, after many disappointments and much controversy, reached the great excellencies of restoring many of the inmates to society in an improved condition, both as to character and morals; and also of defraying the charges of the prisons by the reformatory labour of the prisoners. The history of this system is one of the most interesting examples of the perseverance and good feeling of the people of the United States; and it is with regret that we can do little more than allude to it. William Penn early instituted in Philadelphia solitary confinement and labour for the punishment of death, with the best

* It deserves to be recorded, to the honour of the United States, that the practice of privateering has been abandoned by the Americans in a treaty with one European power; and that they have earnestly sought to impose further restraints upon this barbarous practice by similar treaties with other powers.

† North American Review for January, 1825, p. 66.

‡ Judge Story's Address to the Suffolk Bar. American Jurist, No. 1. p. 15; and see the passages in the last note to this chapter.

§ First and Second Reports of the Inspectors of the Eastern State Penitentiary of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1831, p. 11.

|| Remarks on the Expediency of Abolishing the Punishment of Death. By Mr. Livingston. 1822, and reprinted in Philadelphia, 1831.

¶ The skilfully drawn statute of 1825, commonly called Mr. Webster's Crimes' Act, awards death to those who set fire to dwelling-houses in dock yards, or to government vessels, although no life be lost by either crime; but those who commit arson in other circumstances, or who forge on the public, or who plunder ships, or use dangerous weapons, with intent to murder, but no death ensues, are by this statute made liable to limited fines and imprisonment only.

** It has, however, been proposed to form a convict colony under

the most dangerous circumstance of permitting the convicts to govern themselves, uncontrolled, after transportation. The commissioners on the penal code of Pennsylvania, in 1828, reported upon this proposal in the following terms:—"We should have little to remark upon this method of punishment, were it not that it has recently been pressed upon the legislature and the public by some of our active and well-intentioned citizens. It has been suggested that the objects and ends of punishment might be attained, were the government of the United States to take possession of some uninhabited island, such as the Island of Tristan da Cunha, in the Atlantic Ocean, where the states might leave their convicts, with a stock of food and tools, to their own exertions." The commissioners justly conclude, that the objections to the scheme which they set forth will prevent its adoption.—*Pennsylvania House of Representatives' Report, 4th June, 1828, p. 9.* A like proposal was half adopted by the English government fifty years since, and stopped by proceedings in the house of commons.—*Commons' Journals, vol. xl.*

In regard to the New South Wales transportation system, the Americans seem to appreciate its evils both in point of expense, and in point of incapacity to reform offenders.—*Report of the Commissioners, p. 11.*

effects. His views were disapproved in England, and the common law was restored to supersede his innovations, when time increased. In 1786, labour alone, upon the public works, was inflicted upon capital criminals; and the decrease of offences was not rapid. But after 1790, the rule of solitary confinement, along with labour, was revived, when, from that year until 1793, out of 200 convicts who underwent this discipline and were pardoned, four only were recommitted, and crime generally decreased, although the population daily increased. After 1793, this prison became crowded, and the separation of the prisoners from each other could not be accomplished. The consequence was an increase generally of criminals. "This double result," says Mr. Livingston, to whom we are indebted for these facts, "of a rapid and before unheard-of decrease whilst the convicts were both separated and employed, and an increase when they were suffered to associate, seems to solve the great problem of penal jurisprudence, and points to seclusion and labour as effectual remedies for the prevention of crime; for these effects were produced without any change in the state of society at the two periods that could be favourable to such results." "In all the other states," he continues, "a similar result has been observed. During the first year, when there was room for classification, the most sanguine hopes of humanity were surpassed by the effect. But, with the promiscuous intercourse of the convicts, offences increased both in number and in atrocity." He therefore insists upon the necessity of classifying the various denominations of prisoners; and also of employing them profitably to themselves as well as to the state, in labour of the hands, of the heart, and of the mind; and completes his benevolent and statesman-like design in the following terms: "To avoid a relapse, an asylum is provided in the house of refuge and industry. Here the discharged convict may find occupation and subsistence, and receive such wages as will enable him to remove from the scenes of his past crimes, place him above temptation, confirm him in his newly acquired habits of industry, and cause him safely to pass the dangerous period

between the acquisition of his liberty and restoration to the confidence of society. Independently of this resource, the industrious convict receives at his discharge a proper proportion of his surplus earnings, he receives friendly advice as to his future pursuits, and a certificate, if merited, of such conduct as will entitle him to confidence. The consequences of his reconviction are solemnly represented to him, and his conduct, if he remain in the neighbourhood of the prison, is carefully watched, so that, if he return to habits of idleness and intemperance, his career to crime may be stopped by commitment to the house of industry as a vagrant."†

Upon similar views, to a certain extent, with those of Mr. Livingston, many penitentiaries have been built with the best effects.‡ If their projectors are favourably circumstanced in regard to the value of labour, the cheapness of which in England is a great difficulty in prison discipline, in an economical light, they deserve our unqualified respect for persevering through many intrinsic difficulties in the nature of bad habits and crime, so as unquestionably to have proved that men of the most desperate character may be reformed by steady care, and liberal and just coercion. The grand proof of this rests upon the fact of the inmates of the American penitentiaries becoming again offenders in a proportion incomparably less than those who are not, either in America or other countries, subjected to reformatory penitentiary discipline. Whipping is abolished in New York, and in other states earnest endeavours have been made for its abolition. On the subject of whipping, Mr. Livingston's argument deserves the deepest attention on the part of all European governments. In the comparative view of the punishments annexed to crime in the United States and in England, by Mr. Sydney Taylor of the Middle Temple, which has been published by the Society for Diffusing Information on Capital Punishments, it is well remarked, that "although the legislators of the United States deserve credit for the improvement which they have introduced in their criminal laws, perhaps it would have been better to have repealed the old English laws, and to have commenced a new structure on a

* Livingston's Introductory Report, folio, p. 5.

† Ibid., p. 51.

‡ The great model penitentiaries in the United States are at Sing Sing, Auburn, and Wethersfield; but many others are rapidly springing up in all parts of the union. The best approved system is briefly this:—to employ the prisoners in quietness and silence, in various labours, part of the profits of which is given to them on being discharged with good character; to separate them completely from each other at night, and much during the day; to instruct them in trades, in letters, and in religion; to treat them with gentleness, but firmly; and to promote their re-establishment

in society after being released. The results at Auburn may be taken as an example of the success of this system: there, out of 600, only 17 have committed new offences during a considerable time after being released; and out of 206 of those who have undergone punishment in this prison, 146 well authenticated cases of reform have been recorded, which results have been justly held forth to the consideration of the British public, in the Eighth Report of the Prison Discipline Society; whilst the system is at length brought under discussion in a committee of the house of commons on secondary punishments.

more civilized system; as Mr. Livingston's code for Louisiana, which has departed from the old system altogether, approaches nearer to excellence than any of the most improved editions of the original model. The criminal laws of the United States are not entirely free from the imputation of confounding offences of distinct characters; but they have, at least, partially achieved what the English parliament has wholly neglected—the establishing a gradation of punishment according to the degrees of guilt."

This discipline is not yet probably adopted upon a sufficiently extensive scale throughout the union, to occasion the general low state of crime there. The fact, that in several of the states criminals are only in the very small proportion of 1 to 5,000 and 1 to 3,000 of the population, is, doubtless, chiefly attributable to the abundance of employment at the command of the poorest, and to the anxious care bestowed by the public upon the instruction of the most destitute and ignorant. It would therefore be too much to attribute the paucity of criminals in the United States to the mildness of the law. But the fact of that paucity is certainly honourable to the character of the law, as well as to many other circumstances in the condition of the people. Although the whole number of crimes and misdemeanours committed yearly cannot perhaps be exactly ascertained, the amount may be safely conjectured from the following facts: In July, 1826, out of a population of 946,133, in all the counties except seven in Pennsylvania, the number of persons, tried and untried, in prison, was 284, of whom, as near as could be fixed, 221 were males and 45 were females. The number of them born in Pennsylvania was 131; of those from other states of the union 82; and 35 were foreigners. The whites were 183 in number; the people of colour and blacks were 83. This is one to above 3,600, tried and untried; a proportion scarcely to be paralleled in the records of any other people.

In one of the states, and perhaps in others, there is the very important institution of what is designated an examining-court, which takes cognizance of criminal cases in an earlier stage than can be convenient to an ordinary court, and which is more solemn than the authority of a committing justice of the peace. The committing justice summons a bench of other justices, within ten days of the first disposal of the case, for the examination of the facts. This court considers whether the prisoners may be discharged from further prosecution, may be tried in the county court, or must be tried in the district courts. It is plain that this preparatory tribunal must add greatly

to the just and merciful administration of criminal law, an end also promoted in Virginia, the state in which it prevails, by power being given to two judges to bail any prisoner according to their discretion.

It is a point further deserving of notice, that recent laws have been made in some of the states, to enable juries to apportion punishment as well as to pronounce verdicts of guilty or not guilty.

In some of the states, laws have been applied to acts, which, in modern times, have either been left elsewhere to moral influence, or which have evaded the care of legislators in Europe. For example, in Pennsylvania, an habitual drunkard, found so by the verdict of a jury, loses the control of his children, whom the wife may, in his stead, bind apprentices. Several states have also passed laws to repress duelling, by disqualifying from public office all the parties to any duels, and by requiring persons entering on office to take an oath that they have not been, and will not be, concerned in a duel.*

The law officers are, an attorney-general for the general government, who receives 3,500 dollars salary, and 1,000 dollars for the salary of his clerk, and also attorneys for each of the districts and states, who are paid small salaries, and settled fees for the business done by them. These law officers are efficient and zealous prosecutors in all cases of felony whatever, and in all misdemeanours that concern the public. Voluntary societies also take upon themselves the task of aiding the public prosecutors in repressing offenders, and the parties injured may likewise prosecute them. In some of the states no ex-officio informations can be exhibited to subject any person to imprisonment, or to ignominious punishment. The duties of law officers, however, seem to stand in the same undefined situation with those of the attorney-general in England and in the English colonies;† but the expense of criminal prosecutions is borne chiefly by the public.

The police consists of ordinary constables and justices of peace; the latter having the power, upon emergencies, of summoning the posse comitatus to act as special constables. All the power of the constables, and most of that of the justices, resembles that with which the common and old statute law respecting public tranquillity invests the same authorities in England. For various local arrangements considerable authority is also given to selectmen; and the justices have civil jurisdiction, without a

* Virginia Laws for 1830, sect. 3.

† Journals of the Massachusetts Convention of 1820, pp. 211, 213, 258.

jury or strict forms of pleading, in cases under twenty dollars, with criminal jurisdiction in some of the states, also without a jury, in small thefts, and over light offences by young persons, who, however, are then only punishable by imprisonment for short periods of time. The people control all these functionaries, either directly by annual elections; or indirectly by electing the higher functionaries who appoint them.

The military power is vested in the government of the union, not in the separate states, the president being commander-in-chief; but the right to have arms is not taken away from individuals; and each state bears the expense of many military equipments. The regular army is subject to laws passed by congress; and all free, able-bodied, white male citizens, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, are bound to have a musket, or rifle, and proper accoutrements ready for service in the militia, of which the privates elect their captains and subalterns, and the latter their field-officers. In the militia there must be a proportionate number of horse and artillery. The time of service is limited to three months in the year; and to a due rotation of the individuals enrolled. The president of the United States may call them out at his discretion, in cases of invasion, or of imminent danger of invasion; and at the discretion of the legislature, or executive councils of the separate states, in cases of insurrection. Whenever, also, the laws are opposed or obstructed by combination too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceeding, or by the powers vested in the marshals, (the sheriffs,) the president may call out the militia; but he must, by proclamation, command the insurgents to retire peaceably to their homes, within a limited time; and the militia are not to be kept embodied in this case more than thirty days after congress shall meet. The soldier in the United States, as in England, is bound to obey only lawful commands; and he acts there, as here, on his own responsibility, not exclusively on that of his officer. The rash interference of soldiers in riots is more expressly guarded against in America than in England.

The subject of codes of law has obtained deep consideration in the United States. Although Mr. Bentham's views* have not been adopted there, they have not failed to make a great impression: but the difficulty of it has prevented much more being accomplished than the accumulation of materials for the use of another generation. One individual, of well-deserved and high reputation, Mr. Edward Liv-

ingston, has done great things for Louisiana on this head, in regard to the criminal law; and in civil jurisprudence the Code Napoleon has been adopted in that state with comparatively few alterations.† By a law of 1829, the legislature of Louisiana appropriated "4,500 dollars to Mr. Livingston, for services in compiling the criminal code and code of evidence, leaving the subject of further compensation open for future consideration."‡ The early views of the leading statesmen in America on this subject are recorded by president Jefferson as follows:—"Whether we should undertake to reduce the common law, our own, and so much of the English statutes as we have adopted, to a text, is a question of transcendent difficulty. It was discussed at the first meeting of the committee of the revised code, in 1776, and decided in the negative.§ . . . We met in January, 1777, to settle the plan of operation, and to distribute the work. The common law, and statutes to the 4th James I., when our separate legislature was established, were assigned to me; the British statutes, from that period to the present day, to Mr. Wythe; and the Virginia laws to Mr. Pendleton. . . . We were employed in this work to February, 1779, when we met and examined critically the several parts, sentence by sentence, scrutinizing and amending, until we had agreed on the whole. We had brought so much of the common law as it was thought necessary to alter, all the British statutes, and all the statutes of Virginia, which we thought should be retained, within the compass of 126 bills, making a printed folio of ninety pages. Some bills were passed, but the main body was not entered on by the legislature until after the general peace in 1785, when, by the unwearied exertions of Mr. Madison, in opposition to the endless quibbles, chicaneries, perversions, vexations, and delays of lawyers and demi-lawyers, most of the bills were passed by the legislature with little alteration."¶ Of later years much more has been accomplished. In New York and in other states, many debates have been had, and valuable volumes have been published by authority, in order to simplify the law. In Pennsylvania, in 1830, three commissioners were appointed to collect into one act the different acts requiring consolidation; to divest such acts of all redundant phrases; to distribute the acts systematically; to omit all that were repealed, or repeated, or expired; to suggest to the legislature imperfections, with the means of correcting them: and the same commissioners were to report whether it would be expedient

* Mr. Bentham's work on legislation has, however been translated from the French by an American.

† American Jurist, No. I. p. 32.

‡ American Jurist, No. III. p. 188.

§ Jefferson's Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 183.

¶ Ibid. vol. i. p. 37.

to introduce any, and if any, what change, in the forms or mode of proceeding in the administration of the laws.

It will be a proper conclusion to the foregoing views of American laws, intimately allied as they are to those of England, to notice the manner in which the ablest writers, and the greatest lawyers amongst these kindred* foreigners, have expressed their respect for the first of English judges and jurists. The most important accounts of Sir Edward Coke and Lord Bacon will be found written by Americans;† the great legal fathers also of modern liberty, Lord Somers, Sir John Holt, and Lord Camden, have met with more practical and devoted homage in America than at home; and the just legal fame of Lord Eldon, Lord Stowell, and Lord Mansfield, incomparably the first of modern names in the law, has been nowhere more fairly estimated, or more eloquently acknowledged, than by the greatest American lawyers;—lawyers, however, who, as citizens, were at the same time

* This is not a mere figure of speech, as an American naturalized by act of parliament might perhaps acquire greater English capacities than any other foreigner.—*Sir Orlando Bridgman's Reports*, p. 633.

† North American Review.

‡ Speech upon American Taxation.

§ Tudor's Life of Otis, p. 10.

|| The spirit of the best of their fathers has not been lost on modern American lawyers. In remarking upon the independence of the judges, Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, with just discrimination, observes, "I know not whether a greater improvement has been made in sound government, than to separate the judiciary from the executive and legislative branches, and to provide for the decision of private rights in a manner wholly uninfluenced by reasons of state, or considerations of party or policy. It is the glory of the British constitution to have led in the establishment of this most important principle. It did not exist in England before the revolution of 1688, and its introduction has seemed to give a new character to the tribunals. In matters of mere property, in causes of no political or public bearing, the judges, before this event, might perhaps be safely trusted; but in great questions concerning public liberty, or the rights of the subject, they were, in too many cases, not fit to be trusted at all. Who would now quote Scroggs, or Saunders, or Jeffries, on a question concerning the rights of the habeas corpus, or the right of suffrage, or the liberty of the press, or any other subject closely connected with political freedom? Yet, on all these subjects, the sentiments of the English judges since the revolution,—of Somers, and Holt, and Jekyl, and others,—are, in general, favourable to civil liberty, and deserve and receive great attention whenever referred to."—*Debates in the Massachusetts Convention of 1820*, p. 217.

Another testimony from an older tongue is more important. It has been attempted to pay a just tribute of applause to the important improvements made in the state of commercial laws by Mr. Justice Story, of the supreme court of Washington, in his editions of Lord Tenterden's "Law of Shipping." Models for a better eulogy upon him, may be found in the approbation which that very learned judge has bestowed upon English lawyers. After making an original sketch of the earlier progress of our jurisprudence, he proceeds in the following words:—"It was reserved for Lord Hardwick, by his deep learning, his extensive researches, and his powerful genius, to combine the scattered fragments of equity into a scientific system; to define with a broader line the boundaries between common law and chancery; and to give vigour and certainty to the principles as well as to the jurisdiction of the lat-

willing to put their lives at hazard in a noble opposition to the unfortunate views of Lord Mansfield, Lord Stowell, and Lord Eldon, on questions of civil policy. The leading principles of English law, and the great names in our jurisprudence, are familiar in America as "household words." The observations of Mr. Burke upon this subject are well known;‡ and American biography since his time has produced a curious confirmation of the justice of Mr. Burke's testimony to the eagerness with which Americans, before the revolution, hailed the Commentaries of Sir William Blackstone. The author of the Life of Otis§ states, that this able and patriotic lawyer, in conversing with his brother on the subject of the study of the law, and speaking of the books written upon the science, and its modern improvements, said, that "Blackstone's Commentaries would have saved him seven years' labour poring over and delving in black letter."||

It is indeed, a highly gratifying circumstance, that

ter. Henceforth, equity began to acquire the same exactness as the common law; and at this moment, there is scarcely a branch of its jurisprudence that is not reduced to method, and that does not, in the harmony of its parts, rival the best examples of the common law. Our own age has witnessed, in the labours of Lord Eldon, through a series of more than twenty-five volumes of reports, a diligence, sagacity, caution, and force of judgment, which has seldom been equalled, and can scarcely be surpassed; which have given dignity as well as finish to that curious moral machinery which, dealing in an artificial system, yet contrives to administer the most perfect of human inventions, the doctrines of conscience, *ex aequo et bono*."

Again,—“How few have read with becoming reverence and zeal, the decisions of that splendid jurist, the ornament, I will not say of his own age or country, but of all ages and of all countries; the intrepid supporter equally of neutral and belligerent rights; the pure and spotless magistrate of nations, who has administered the dictates of universal jurisprudence with so much dignity and discretion in the prize courts of England! Need I pronounce the name of Sir William Scott?”

“There is another great name respecting whom it is difficult to speak in terms of moderate praise, and still more difficult to preserve silence. England and America, and the whole civilized world, lie under the deepest obligations to him: wherever commerce shall extend its social influences,—wherever justice shall be administered by enlightened and liberal rulers,—wherever contracts shall be expounded upon the eternal principles of right and wrong,—wherever moral delicacy and juridical refinement shall be infused into the municipal code, and at once to persuade men to be honest, and to keep them so,—wherever the intercourse of mankind shall aim at something more elevated than that grovelling spirit of barter, in which meanness and avarice and fraud strive for the mastery over ignorance, credulity, and folly,—the name of Lord Mansfield will be held in reverence by the good and the wise, by the honest merchant, the enlightened lawyer, the just statesman, and the conscientious judge. The maxims of maritime jurisprudence which he engrafted into the stock of the common law, are not the exclusive property of a single age or nation, but the common property of all times and all countries. They are built upon the most comprehensive principles, and the most enlightened experience of mankind. He designed them to be of universal application, considering, as he himself has declared, the maritime law to be not the law of a particular country, but the general law of nations. And such, under his administration, it became, as his prophetic spirit, in citing a passage from the most

The lawyers of the United States cherish a disposition to extend the bounds of the science beyond domestic learning, and to improve their own jurisprudence by the study of that of other nations, ancient and modern. The effects of this excellent spirit cannot fail to be to relieve society more and more from the scourge of uncertainty to which all laws have hitherto been exposed; and hereafter to enable a well-informed people to collect a comparatively simple system from the multitude of entangled rules and statutes now every where prevalent. Although law reform is still in its infancy throughout the union, materials are in the course of accumulation which must lead to great results. The repository of the judgments of the numerous local courts daily improves the judges and the people; and the visibly increasing excellence of the American reports, although, like the independent states, but of recent creation, shows that legal learning is spreading every where in a degree perfectly new to mankind. The reports are the more valuable, as they contain the *written* decisions which it is the very general practice of the judges to deliver on important occasions. The establishment, also, of official reporters, such as Lord Bacon recommended in vain for Westminster Hall, is favourable to the greater exactness of the reports; and the freedom and activity of the law press, as well as of the press generally, which was wanting in Lord Bacon's time, will

eloquent and polished orator of antiquity, seems gently to insinuate: *Non erit alia lex Roma, alia Athenis; alia nunc, alia posthac; sed, et apud omnes gentes et omni tempore, una eademque lex obtinebit.* Lord Mansfield was ambitious of this noble fame, and studied deeply, and diligently, and honestly, to acquire it. He surveyed the commercial law of the continent, drawing thence what was most just, useful, and rational; and left to the world, as the fruit of his researches, a collection of general principles, unexampled in extent, and unequalled in excellence. The law of insurance was almost created by him; and it would be difficult to find a single leading principle in the beautiful system that surrounds and protects the commerce of our times, which may not be traced to the judgment of this surprising man. Of him it can not be said, '*Stal magni nominis umbra.*' His character as a statesman and an orator, as the rival and equal of Chatham and Camden, would immortalize him. But the proudest monument of his fame is in the volumes of Burrows and Cowper and Douglas, which, we may fondly hope, will endure as long as the language in which they are written shall continue to instruct mankind."—An address delivered before the members of the Suffolk bar, at their anniversary, on the 4th of September, 1821, at Boston, by the Honourable Mr. Justice Story.—*American Jurist*, No. I. p. 8.

A more recent tribute to England is perhaps even worthier of being recorded, as it boldly unites the best names of both countries: "Let us imitate the example of illustrious predecessors, (says the writer;) of Coke, in his industry, who thanked God that he never gave his body to physic, his heart to cruelty, nor his hand to corruption; of Hale, the proudest, because the purest name in English history, 'of unblemished integrity and uprightness in every character in life, of generous frankness and open sincerity in conversation, of unalterable adherence in all stations to the principles of civil and religious liberty, accompanied with a serious regard to true piety;' and, in the words of Baxter, 'that unwearied student, that solid philosopher, that famous lawyer, that pillar and basis of

tend to check indolence, and to add to the efficiency of these reporters.

The increase of litigation is often urged as a consequence of the cheapness of law, and of the multiplicity of tribunals scattered over the United States. The existence of the fact may be doubted: the doing of justice is greatly increased, but not litigation. It is not easy to form an accurate and comparative estimate of the amount of business done in the courts, and out of the courts, by lawyers and judges in any two countries; but if the judges are more numerous in America than in England, it is a most important point in the comparison, that the practitioners of the law are fewer in number; and, by the union of the different branches of the practice in the same individuals, they are generally a more learned and more respectable class of men. In a work of good repute, the result of careful calculations is, that whilst in England and Wales there is one lawyer (barrister, conveyancer, special pleader, solicitor, attorney, advocate, or notary,) to every thousand persons, in the United States, the average is one to every seventeen hundred persons. It is probable that the good old practice of uniting the two branches of attorney and barrister in one person elevates the general character of lawyers, and lessens litigation.

Students generally attend at the offices of established practitioners, but law schools are increasing;

justice, who would not have done an unjust act for any worldly price or motive,—the ornament of His Majesty's government, and honour of England, the highest faculty of Westminster Hall, and pattern to all the reverend and honourable judges,—that godly, serious, and practical Christian, the lover of goodness and all good men, a lamenter of the clergy's selfishness and unfaithfulness and discord." Let us imitate the example of Selden, Clarendon, Holt, Hardwick, Nottingham, Mansfield, Thurlow, Sir William Jones, and the host of worthies, the lights of Westminster Hall; and of our distinguished men in the profession, who have done so much for themselves and the country; and dwell upon the recollections of the gifted jurists who aided in the cause of our revolution, and in the establishment of our frame of government,—of Hawley, Otis, Adams, Quincy, Ellsworth, Hamilton, Jay, Wythe, Jefferson, Lee, Randolph, Henry, Parsons, Gore, Ames, Dexter, King: it was the men of this cast who in stormy periods girded on the armour, and subdued might to the empire of justice. They were of that popular cast, answering the description of James, who, when the twelve judges were brought before him, in the case of the Commendams, declared, 'that ever since his coming to the crown, the popular sort of lawyers had been the men that most affrontedly had trodden upon his prerogative.'—*Mr. Willard's Address to the Worcester Bar, Massachusetts, 1829.*

* The following rapid sketch of the tuition of an American lawyer, "Edward Jackson Lowell, a member of the Suffolk bar," in Massachusetts, is contained in an interesting notice of one who was lost too early to his country and friends. "Five years and a half spent in the college and law school of Harvard University; a winter attendance upon the lectures and private instruction of (the retired) Chancellor Kent; a year in a counsellor's office in Boston; two years spent in study and travel in Europe; and two years of professional seclusion and study, excepting the interruptions of sickness, fill out the short and simple outlines of his life. While in France, he took an instructor in the civil and French

"and," said Dr. Du Ponceau, in 1824, "the most exalted characters do not disdain to fill the professors' chairs. Until lately, the only institutions of this kind were two in Massachusetts, one in Connecticut, and one in Philadelphia: there are now established two in Kentucky. In the university of New York, the Hon. James Kent, during many years the distinguished chancellor of that state, and whose name and talents will long be venerated, fills the chair of jurisprudence. At Baltimore, Professor Hoffman, and at Northampton, Judge Home, and Mr. Mills; a member of congress, lecture with success to considerable numbers of students.* Since the publication of Dr. Du Ponceau's Book, law schools and law professorships have been established at various other places; of these, one professorship, founded by a distinguished lawyer, and filled by a distinguished judge, requires especial notice: Mr. Dane, one of the fathers of the Revolution, has dedicated the profits of his valuable Digest to a chair of jurisprudence at the university of Cambridge, in Massachusetts; and he has had the good fortune to be able to appoint Mr. Justice Story as his first professor. The professor's eulogy of his founder is singularly happy, in the application of Lord Hale's character of Rolle, the learned chief-justice of the English Commonwealth:—"He argued frequently and pertinently; his arguments were fitted to prove and evince, not for ostentation; plain, yet learned; short, if the nature of the business permitted, yet perspicuous; his words few, yet significant and weighty; his skill, judgment, and advice in points of law and pleading, were sound and excellent. In short, he was a person of great learning and experience in the common law, of profound judgment, singular prudence, great moderation, justice, and integrity."† Mr. Story himself, after securing the respect of one generation as a judge, like Chancellor Kent, will earn the gratitude of another as their teacher. The character of what the American youth are learning by such means will be best understood by a special notice of this eminent professor's inaugural address. After expatiating, in the manner of Blackstone, upon the great importance of legal knowledge to the citizens at large, the discourse is solemnly addressed to those who study the law as a profession, and holds forth the highest motives to arduous application, with large and comprehensive views of the

law; and, both in France and in England, he attended the courts and legislative assemblies, and paid great attention to the history, the theory, and the operations, of their political and legal institutions. He died at the age of twenty-five years, and almost at the very hour when he was to have performed his first act of professional duty, and after having lived a life, which, though undistinguished by public exertion, made it privately known exactly how

science, reminding the student that it is insufficient to be "the sharp and cunning pettifogger, a retailer of lawsuits, 'a canter about forms, and a caviller upon words,' described by Cicero. God forbid that any man, standing in the temple and presence of the law, should imagine that her ministers were called to such unworthy offices." The all-pervading and all-controlling influence of the administration of the laws upon the welfare of communities, and, most of all, of republics, is then dwelt upon with great power; and the members of the profession are reminded that they are the guardians and sentinels of the purity and integrity of its administration, in defence of which, against the popular attacks of the moment, they are bound to sacrifice, if needful, their own popularity, and should glory in the sacrifice. The advocate is also called upon to vindicate the laws from the attacks of the government itself. The discouragements and the long-enduring labours through which the path to eminence lies, are then portrayed to students; and they are cautioned against indulging "the belief, that fluency of speech, a kindling imagination, ready wit, graceful action, and steady self-confidence, will carry them through the struggles of the law."‡ In the wise spirit of Judge Story's address, Otis had a century before urged the necessity of various and deep learning to the American lawyer;§ and, in 1760, the eloquent Patrick Henry, although an unlearned student, obtained admission to the bar of Virginia, upon proof of his extensive knowledge of the laws of nature and of nations, of the feudal system, and of general history.|| Eminent writers in the United States have fairly vindicated their countrymen from all reproach of neglecting the study or improvement of jurisprudence: by no people has so much been done in so short a time; and a long catalogue of their elementary writers, of their reporters, and of their laws, might be quoted to their great honour.

To these sources of legal and constitutional knowledge must be added the two remarkable facts, that about fifty millions of copies of newspapers are issued in the United States in the year, in which constitutional and legal reports and papers are published without limit. The local legislatures afford scope for discussion and deliberation to more than 3,500 members on the most important topics; and at least

he would have performed that duty."—*Jurisprudent*, No. 9. Boston, 1828.

* Dr. Du Ponceau on Jurisdiction, Philadelphia, 1824, preface p. 19.

† The American Jurist, No. 4. 1829, p. 407.

‡ Tudor's Life of Otis, p. 10.

§ Ibid. p. 253.

|| Wirt's Life of Henry, p. 17.

30,000 verdicts of juries are said to be returned yearly in the civil and criminal courts—circumstances which show the extent to which the minds and passions of men must be exercised in the United States, where, as well as in the legislative assemblies, all transactions are conducted with great publicity. It was one of the fruits of the revolution of 1776 to open all the legislative assemblies to the public as hearers; previously, the sittings had been for the most part close. But so early as 1776, the house of assembly of Massachusetts, at the beginning of the great struggle, opened “a gallery for such as wished to hear the debates.”* Law reporting is also more and more provided for by the state governments. In 1831, the legislature of Illinois directed 150 copies of the reports of their supreme court to be bought by the public. In 1830, Alabama voted 800 dollars a year to the reporter of the supreme court; and the like occurs in most parts of the union, in the best spirit of Lord Bacon’s advice in England two centuries ago.

In America, as elsewhere, valuable law manuscripts exist, the careful publication of which would give certainty upon many points not likely otherwise to be rescued from the influence of doubt, and, worse—discretion. Such materials must abound in the United States, upon a particular class of cases, as interesting to them historically as to Great Britain legally. Until the revolution in 1776, frequent appeals were made from the colonies, on various subjects, by petition to the king. These petitions were heard regularly at the Cockpit; and, for the most part, the leading lawyers of England were the advocates employed in these causes. The judicious course of Lord Somers in such a case, from Boston, has been noticed; and Lord Mansfield is known to have had great practice there. The subjects being rarely interesting to the English bar, a very few reports of the arguments are published in our law books; but it is clear that the agents of the transatlantic parties sent home large details of every thing that passed; and, in desultory notices of Privy Council causes in American books, there is proof that some of these details are preserved, as in Belknap’s and Hutchinson’s Histories of Massachusetts, and in the collection of the Boston Historical Society; to which society there were lately sent the printed briefs and petitions in the very curious Privy Council appeal of “The Last of the Mohicans,” an appeal which, in the fact of its having been seventy years before the English tribunal, furnishes a sufficiently clear illustration of

one cause of the ruin of the native tribes. These Privy Council proceedings are important in the United States as matter of constitutional and legal history; but to the existing English colonies the precedents which some of them would furnish of wise decisions, and the warnings which might be derived from the manifest errors exhibited in others, would be of the highest value.

In New England there are extant also manuscript law cases, taken before the Revolution, by such a man as Josiah Quincy, whose short report, written from London, in 1775, of a speech of Lord Chatham, is one of the most precious remains we possess of that great man’s oratory.

The manuscripts in England affecting America are numerous. One of Sir Matthew Hale’s, on the law of colonies, contains the following very curious passage:—“Concerning the plantations of Virginia, New England, Bermuda, and other islands and continents towards the West Indies, and, also, our plantations in Africa and the East Indies, the course of their acquisition was, that the King issued a commission to seize them; thus Virginia and New England were seized in 4 Jac. I.; Greenland and the northern plantations in 1 Phil. and Mar. pat. 3; the Carribee islands by Warner; and so divers others Presently upon the acquiescence the English laws are not settled there, or at least only temporary, till a settlement is made; and therefore, we see there administration of justice and law much differing from the English laws; but the people carry with them those English liberties which are incident to their persons.”†

Another, respecting civil matters, is perhaps more curious, by containing one of the earliest suggestions for the settlement of the old colonies, as a means of humbling Spain, and of avenging the cause of the Elector Palatine, son-in-law to James I. This manuscript is from the first Lord Fairfax, a well-known name in Virginia. It urges by way of incentive to North American colonization, in the seventeenth century, that “in the glorious and happy days of Queen Elizabeth, frequent were the navigations of our worthy countrymen; every brave spirit was taken up with some action that deserves esteem;” concluding with the just boast,—“Let the same occasion be that was, and there will be found English blood in English veins still! The same that we received from our fathers, the same we will leave to our sons;”—a boast which those sons have, indeed, nobly vindicated.

* Tudor’s Life of Otis.

† Lord Hale’s Prerogative Regis.—British Museum:—Hargrave MSS. No. 81, p. 64.

To the foregoing very incomplete sketch of the constitution and jurisprudence of the United States, two concluding remarks remain to be added. The first is, that the essentially popular character of the constitution has led a greater number of disinterested men, than under any other form of government, to direct their faculties calmly to the consideration of the best means of acting upon, of improving, and preserving it:—the second, that in consequence of the steady and widely extended watchfulness of the people over all that concerns them, popular affections and direct popular intervention have become safe influences in public affairs; and a degree of certainty, at little cost, is thereby secured to the public peace, heretofore unknown to human institutions. So deeply do we feel that these great results are attributable in a high degree to the character of the government under which they are found, that it is most unwillingly we abstain from selecting, out of its legal history, many additional excellencies of the constitution of the American Union.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGION.

As the state of human society in regard to religion is unquestionably the most important aspect in which it can be viewed, so the state and progress of religion can be nowhere contemplated with more interest, or to greater advantage, than in the North American republic. We have not here to trace its influence upon savages, but upon civilized man; not upon uninformed and wandering tribes, the natives of the wild, but upon the population of enlightened states suddenly transplanted to its soil. We find this population, however, in a condition entirely new. Bringing with them the knowledge and the arts of civilized life, together with the principles of the civil, political, and religious economy of long-established kingdoms, they entered, not only upon the soil, but into the wild independence and unrestrained liberty of the savage. Released on the one hand from every thing which could have any tendency to render them either really or apparently religious, except the permanent force of truth and (under their circumstances) the diminishing power of habit, they may be considered as presenting a fair example of what habit and truth can effect, when separated from the artificial helps of legislative enactments, of an ennobled and wealthy priesthood, and of an imposing public ritual: released on the other hand from all which

might tend to fetter the free exercise of the understanding, and permitted, not only to choose for themselves in the first instance, but to make whatever alterations their experience might suggest, they may be regarded as having, for the first time, put to the test of common sense and practical utility, the forms both of religious sentiment and religious worship so long established—and because established revered—by the parent nations. The issue to which the question of a national church establishment has thus been brought is of great importance; and not less so is the aspect which the progress of religion has assumed, in the multiplication and extension of what has for some time been well known under the name of a revival.

It will, of course, be recollected by the reader, that the religious aspect of the United States is very far from being uniform. Different portions of the republic are characterized, not merely by less or greater degrees of religion, but by the prevalence of different religious sects. This has arisen principally from the manner in which the colonies, which are now cemented under the general title of the United States, were formed. Little or no progress was made in cultivating the transatlantic wilderness, until it became a refuge from persecution. It was natural that the first parties who went over on this ground should consist of persons of similar religious sentiments—of those, namely, which at that particular period exposed the holders of them to suffering; and when persons of a different creed became the victims of similar bigotry, in its capricious waywardness, they, in similar bodies, sought an asylum, not in the arms of those already banished, (where, indeed, it must be confessed, it would not then have been found,) but in some distant and unoccupied portion of the far-spreading shore. In this manner the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont, together forming what is familiarly known as New England, were colonized by the persecuted Puritans, and their religious condition bears the powerful impress of their origin to this day. Maryland was settled by Roman Catholics; Pennsylvania by the Quakers, (or Friends;) while episcopacy prevailed in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Another circumstance contributing to diversify the religious aspect of the United States is, that several of the colonies comprehended in the republic were not of English origin. New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, were originally colonized by the Swedes and the Dutch; while Louisiana was long a possession of the French; and Florida is but recently acquired from Spain. The religious condition of

these states bears distinct traces of their origin, in the existence, in the former, of Dutch and Lutheran churches, and in the prevalence of popery, superstition, and infidelity, in the latter. A further cause of want of uniformity in the religious aspect of the republic, is the rapidity with which the settlement of new lands is perpetually going forward. Every year the immigrant population is pressing onwards in the western wilderness, and at a much swifter pace than the means of religious instruction. As you retire from the more populous towns and the longer-settled districts, these means become more and more scanty, until the border settlers are withdrawn from every thing external by which a sense of religion might be maintained, and abandoned, until lately, almost without an effort, to the prevalence of irreligion and vice.

Although our limits preclude us from attempting any thing like a history of religion in the United States, and equally from giving an extended account of particular sects, we have selected a few brief notices, which will give to our readers, we trust, a sufficient view of the existing religious bodies.

Not wishing to exhibit our own partialities, we begin with the Roman Catholics. A Jesuit priest accompanied the emigrants to Maryland in 1632; and from that date till the period of the revolution, the American Catholics in Maryland and Virginia were constantly served by Jesuit missionaries, successively sent from England. The Rev. Dr. John Carrol having been elected by the clergy the first bishop, through a special indulgence granted them by the pope, Pius VI., a see was constituted, and the bishop elect consecrated in England, August 15, 1790. In 1810, the increase of the Romish communion had become so great in the United States, that it was judged best at Rome to erect the episcopate of Baltimore into a metropolitan or archiepiscopal see, and to establish four new suffragan dioceses; namely, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown in Kentucky. New Orleans, Charleston, Richmond, and Cincinnati, are now to be added to this list.* It appears that the court of Rome cherishes the hope of acquiring large accessions to its spiritual dominion in the United States, more especially from the western territory. Regular missions are established over the whole country, and the following language is held re-

specting them: "The missions of America are of high importance to the church. The superabundant population of ancient Europe is flowing towards the United States. Each one arrives, not with his religion, but with his indifference. The greater part are disposed to embrace the doctrine, whatever it be, which is first preached to them. We must make haste; the moments are precious. America may one day become the centre of civilization; and shall truth or error establish there its empire? If the Protestant sects are beforehand with us, it will be difficult to destroy their influence."† To these missions there was remitted from Europe in the year 1828, out of the funds of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, nearly 5,000*l*. The methods adopted by the Catholics comprehend particularly establishments for education, from which they evidently expect much,‡ the formation of religious houses of a benevolent character, and the building of churches, "whose pomp and splendour form so striking a contrast with the barrenness and nudity of Protestant worship."§ These efforts of the Romanists have been attended with a degree of success, which, though by no means extraordinary, has greatly encouraged the papal court, and has of late been regarded with anxiety, by the more public-spirited part of other communions in the United States. The number of persons who have embraced Romanism does not appear to have been ascertained; but "*the population belonging to this church,*" (a phrase of great latitude and vagueness,) at the highest of the various estimates which have been formed of it, has been computed at half a million.¶ We see nothing in this more than commensurate with the well-designed efforts and the devoted zeal which have been applied to the work, especially when combined with the extreme neglect with which the population of the western territory has been treated by other religionists, and the skilful adaptation of the papal system to the corrupt heart and proud imaginations of mankind. When American evangelical writers talk of contemplating the extension of popery with grief, we are ready to ask them, why they did not view with equal grief the indifference and irreligion which were long before prevalent, and which were in themselves equally afflictive; and when they speak of it as a matter of humiliation that such a system should be

* The entire number of Catholic bishops throughout the states is fifteen.

† *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*. Paris, 1829.

‡ "These establishments do wonderful good: Catholics and Protestants are admitted indiscriminately; the latter, after having finished their education, return to the bosom of their families, full of esteem and veneration for their instructresses. They are ever

ready to refute the calumnies which the jealousy of heretics loves to spread against the religious communities; and often, when they have no longer the opposition of their relations to fear, they embrace the Catholic religion."—*Ibid*.

§ *Ibid*.

¶ *Quarterly Journal of the American Education Society*, vol. ii. p. 199.

capable of diffusing itself in such a country as theirs, we may suggest, as a still more proper topic of abasement, the supineness of those who, having light in their dwellings, have been pitiless of them that sat in darkness and the shadow of death. There is reason to believe, however, that the depth of this sleep is past; and we shall have occasion to notice, before we close this article, some recent exertions of great energy and promise in this direction.

The number of Episcopalians among the settlers in the United States, was small; in Maryland and Virginia, however, many churches were early formed, and had legal establishments for their support. The organization of the episcopal church in America took place after the revolutionary war. The Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D. of Connecticut, was consecrated at Aberdeen in Scotland, in November, 1784, by the Scotch bishops; Bishop Provost and Bishop White, of Pennsylvania, in 1787, by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Since that time, the number of Episcopalians in the republic has constantly increased, and they are now found in all the states.* The colleges of Washington in Connecticut; Columbia in New York city; Geneva, New York; the University of Pennsylvania; William and Mary College, Virginia; and Kenyon, Ohio, are institutions under their control. Their dioceses are fifteen, bishops ten, and clergy five hundred and twenty-eight. American episcopacy, though it was derived from this country, has been so greatly modified by its separation from state patronage, and is so very unlike its still venerated parent, that we may perhaps gratify our readers, especially those of the same faith, by a brief sketch of its constitution. The highest spiritual capacity known is, of course, a bishop. Priests and deacons, being all the orders named in the Bible, are the only other orders known or used in America. The supreme authority is exercised by the general convention, which is composed of two bodies,—a house of bishops, and a house of lay delegates. Each diocese has a convention for the regulation of its own affairs. The general convention consists of the bishops, who form the house of bishops, and of laymen, who are sent as delegates from the state conventions. The object of this body is to promote harmony and uniformity of doctrine in the whole church. The state conventions contain the clergy of the diocese, and a lay delegation from each church. In both conventions, the clergy (or bishops, as the case may be) and the laymen vote separately, a majority of both being necessary to an ordinance. Clergymen

are presented by their congregations, and bishops are elected by the conventions of the diocese, and are approved of by the house of bishops. There is no salary yet given to any bishop, though provision, to a reasonable amount, is making for that object; at present they are all rectors of churches. The oldest bishop for the time being is called the presiding bishop, though he enjoys no exclusive authority. The influence of republican institutions, even upon episcopacy, is here decidedly manifest. With the same name, this is obviously a very different thing from English episcopacy: the people uniformly choose their own ministers; the bishops are elected by a process in which, by their delegates, the laity have a voice; and no salaries are independent of a similar vote. It is well known that the Episcopalians of the United States look with no complacency on the golden fetters of their parent church; and it may be matter of some surprise how the admirers of the English hierarchy can delight themselves in the prosperity of a scion, which, while retaining an identity of denomination, has adopted what they must consider so dangerous and mischievous a principle, as the popular nomination to ecclesiastical offices and appropriation of ecclesiastical funds.

The first Presbyterians in America came from England, Scotland, and Ireland, about the year 1700, and settled in what is now a part of New Jersey and Delaware. The first presbytery was formed about 1706; the first synod, that of Philadelphia, in 1716; the general assembly in 1788. The essential features of Presbyterianism are the following:—1. The parity of its ministers. It recognizes but one order of ministers or presbyters, who receive their authority primarily from the Lord Jesus himself, and have power afterwards to confer this authority upon their successors. 2. The order and co-operation of ruling elders. They are properly the representatives of the people, chosen by them for the purpose of exercising government and discipline, in conjunction with pastors or ministers. 3. The union of its churches under courts of review and control. The general assembly of this church in the United States has under its care—synods, 20; presbyteries, 104; ministers, 1,800; churches, 2,250; communicants, 182,000. Of the ministers, forty are either presidents of, or professors in, theological or literary institutions, and fifteen foreign missionaries. In February, 1810, the Cumberland Presbytery was formed in Tennessee without any connexion with the Presbyterian church, principally because the synod of Kentucky refused to license ministers to preach the gospel without a classical education. This was at a period of considerable

* The present house of bishops is at this time (June, 1834) composed of sixteen bishops.

religious excitement, when the labours of clergymen were in great demand. They dissented also in some respects from the confession of faith of the general assembly, particularly in regard to the doctrines of reprobation, limited atonement, &c. At first there were but nine preachers in the connexion, four only of whom were ordained. They have now a synod, consisting of several presbyteries.

The Congregationalists, although principally abundant in New England, have a number of churches scattered over other parts of the country. The fundamental principle of Congregationalism, and that from which the name is derived, is, that each congregation, assembly, or brotherhood of professed christians, meeting together for religious purposes in one place, is a complete church. It may commune with other churches, but it is a church of itself, and not by virtue of any connexion with another body of christians. It has the right, under Christ, to appoint its own officers, to discharge the duties of worship, to observe the instituted sacraments, and to exercise discipline upon its own members. The name *Independent*, which has sometimes been applied to these churches, has been objected to as inapplicable, because "they hold friendly mutual intercourse for various purposes," and are only independent as to authoritative control; but this, so far as we understand it, is the exact meaning of the word *Independent*, as the denomination of a religious body, and the term seems to be just as applicable to the American Congregationalists as to the body who have long been designated by it in Britain. An account of the emigration of Mr. Robinson and his church, from whom the Congregationalists of the republic took their rise, will be found in a former part of our work. Formerly there were three officers known in these churches; pastors, ruling elders, and deacons. The intermediate class is now discontinued. The constitution of these churches, so far as there is any, is derived from ancient congregational writers on this subject, from the Cambridge platform of 1648, and the collateral discussions, from the Saybrook platform, and from general usage.* The strictly congregational form of church constitution and government in this body, has undergone some singular modifications, by the connexion, or rather the identification, in the origin and early proceedings of the colonies, of the church with the state. Migrating as a church, the settlers, not perhaps unnaturally, though clearly both unjustly and unwisely, conducted civil matters in the same capa-

city, and would allow none but church members to be elected to any office, or to possess the entire privileges of citizenship. In order to provide more completely for public worship, there was effected a division of the country and of the larger towns into parishes, a place of worship belonging to some Congregational Society being often considered as the parish church, and the residents in the parish having a joint right with the members of the church in the election of the minister. These things are obviously incongruous with the great principles of the congregational system, and must have proceeded from an oversight of them. They have produced the results which might have been expected. By a recent legal decision, in a case in which the parish and the church could not agree in their choice, the church has been merged in the parish, its distinct rights of property taken away, and even its separate existence denied. Loud, and, as we think, just complaint, is made by the Congregationalists against this decision, and we hope it will be cancelled; but should it be established and acted upon as law, the whole body may tremble for their very sanctuaries, and will have to learn, by costly and bitter experience, the evil of departing from their principles.† There are about 1,000 Congregational ministers, 1,270 churches, and 140,000 communicants.

The Baptist churches in the United States are formed upon the same theological model as the Congregational, and differ only in baptizing by immersion on a profession of faith. The Calvinistic Baptists formed their first church at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1639, and are now found in all parts of the union. They are a highly numerous and influential body, having 224 associations, 4,384 churches, 2,914 ministers, and 304,000 communicants. This is far, however, from being the whole body of American Baptists; there are others of "one faith and one baptism," appearing under subordinate distinctions: such are 1. The Seventh-day Baptists. The first Sabbatarian church in America was formed in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1671, and they are confined principally to that state. A few years since they numbered about 1,000 communicants. In the United States there are now about 2,000 members, united together in an annual conference. 2. Emancipators, consisting of a number of ministers and churches in Kentucky, who, in 1805, took a decided stand against slavery, in principle and practice: their number is constantly increasing. 3. Free-communion Baptists, a name given

* For an account of the Cambridge and Saybrook platforms, see vol. i.

† Spirit of the Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 114. It appears from this ar-

ticle, that some places of worship belonging to other denominations are likewise "connected with parishes"

to about thirty ministers and churches, who reside west of Albany, in the state of New York. The preceding are all of them Calvinistic. 4. Free-will Baptists: the number of ministers probably amounts to 300; churches, 400; communicants, 16,000. 5. Tunkers, or Dunkers, who have acquired this name from the manner in which they perform the rite of baptism, the word Tunker being a corruption of tumbler. They first appeared in America in 1719: they hold the doctrine of universal salvation, with some peculiar qualifications. They have, probably, forty or fifty churches, principally in the western states, and have great singularities. 6. Mennonites, of whom there were, in 1824, about 200 churches. 7. Six-principle Baptists, so called, from their belief that the custom of the imposition of hands, recognised in Heb. vi. 1, 2, is still binding as a prerequisite to church communion. As these two verses contain six distinct propositions, these persons have acquired the name of Six-principle Baptists, to distinguish them from others, sometimes called Five-principle. They reside mostly in Rhode Island and New York, and, in 1828, consisted of about twenty churches, and from 1500 to 1800 members.

The Congregationalists and Baptists already mentioned require to be further designated as *orthodox*, in order to distinguish them from some of a similar constitution, but of a different creed. Of this kind is a Baptist community calling themselves Christians, in defence of the name they have assumed quoting Acts xi. 26, xxvi. 28, and 1 Peter iv. 16, and regarding all others as the invention of men. The first society of this kind was formed in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1803; they have spread extensively in all parts of the United States; they are anti-calvinistic and anti-trinitarian, and have not far from 1,000 congregations. A portion of the congregational churches, likewise, is now characterized by what may be designated English Unitarianism. The origin of this form of belief in the states is not to be traced to emigration, but to the decay of vital piety among the Congregationalists of New England, which is stated to have occurred about seventy years since. Under the cover of indifference, Unitarianism but too effectually insinuated itself among the members and into the pulpits of that body, with no small measure, as is alleged, of secrecy and artifice; some concealing their sentiments because they were unpopular, others because they felt indifferent about them; and others, more reflecting and philosophical, because they conceived that their extension would be most effectually promoted at that particular time by reserve and caution. The first Unitarian congregation

formed in America was established in the king's chapel soon after the revolution, a case in which an open change was facilitated by the chapel becoming private property. As Unitarian sentiments became more general, they were gradually avowed with less reserve: yet the pulpits of many ministers who were supposed to have imbibed them gave no evidence of the fact, except by the systematic omission of distinct statements on discriminating points of doctrine. This at length brought upon them the charge of insincerity from their more orthodox brethren. The imputation was repelled with warmth, and the public were left in great doubt as to the precise sentiments of many of their pastors. Dr. Morse, the most prominent of those who publicly manifested their regret at the supposed defection of their brethren from the common faith, was accused of misrepresentation; and the most candid felt it almost impossible to arrive at the real state of things. At this time Dr. Morse happened to meet with Mr. Belsham's *Life of Lindsay*, in which he found his own representations borne out by letters and documents transmitted from Boston by the Unitarians themselves: these he put together in the form of a pamphlet, under the title of "*American Unitarianism; or a brief History of the Progress and Present State of the Unitarian Churches in America, compiled from Documents and Information communicated by the Rev. James Freeman, D. D. and William Wells, jun., Esq., of Boston, and from other Unitarian gentlemen in this country. By the Rev. T. Belsham, Essex-street, London. Extracted,*" &c. This pamphlet was eagerly read, and produced a great sensation. It disclosed the actual state of things, brought the question to issue, and ranged in opposite ranks those advocates of conflicting sentiments who had hitherto been confusedly intermingled.* The Unitarian party were not compelled to avow themselves, and to assume a distinct form in the United States, without loud complaints of illiberality against the orthodox Congregationalists; but, as it appears to us that this measure was right and imperative in its principle, so it is acknowledged on all hands to have been powerful in its influence, the orthodox churches having much increased since the commencement of this controversy, and Unitarianism being at a stand. The number of churches belonging to the Unitarians is not definitely known. Six or eight are found in Maine; four or five in New Hampshire; one in Vermont; one hundred and thirty or forty in Massachusetts; two in New York city; and a few in other places, south and west. It thus

* Letters from North America, by Adam Hodgson, vol. ii. p. 237.

appears that they are by no means a large body, and that they are almost entirely confined to New England, their head-quarters being in Boston, where they have possession of seven or eight churches, and where, at one period, only one or two were filled by evangelical ministers. Striking and surprising as it may appear, that such a system should have had its birth in the part of the United States most eminent for knowledge and religion, and that it should have enthroned itself in the very centre of orthodox Congregationalism, (for such Boston has always been,) gaining possession of its pulpits, its revenues, and its oldest, best endowed, and most influential university,* we conceive that there is nothing in these facts out of keeping, either with the character of Unitarianism, or the nature of man. The history of Unitarianism in our own country demonstrates it to be a system, delighting to insinuate itself into places it did not build, especially when attracted by funds which it is worth while to divert from their just appropriation; and proves equally, that nothing is so favourable to its progress as a religious state compounded of formality and indifference. Just so it has been in New England. The case of the Congregationalists there is but a repetition of that of the Presbyterians among ourselves: they stand, as a body, partly orthodox and partly Unitarian; and the strife on the part of the former will be, to induce, as vacancies may arise, the election of orthodox ministers. In this respect, if they could act as churches alone, their work would be much more easy, and their efforts more successful: it is the combination of parishes with churches which has given Unitarians their chief advantage, and creates for the orthodox their chief difficulty.† It is not the Congregational system, therefore, but a departure from it, which has suffered Unitarianism to enter; and in exact proportion to the degree in which its consistent operation can be restored, will be the prospect of expelling the intruder.

The first Methodist society in the United States was formed in the city of New York, in 1776, by some emigrants from Ireland. During the war of the revolution, all the preachers, except Mr. Asbury, returned to their native land. In 1784, Dr. Thomas Coke went to America, with powers to constitute the Methodist societies into a church: before this the

preachers were considered only as laymen, and did not administer the ordinances. Dr. Coke ordained Mr. Asbury a bishop, and thus gave to the whole Methodist body an episcopal character, which it has ever since retained. There is something singular in the contrast which is thus created between the Methodists of America and those of Britain; and we feel inclined to ask whence it arose. How is it that bishops were not ordained on both sides of the Atlantic? Was it originally intended, and frustrated on this side of the water by feelings relating to the proud episcopacy of the national church, which had no existence in America, at least after the establishment of its independence? The clergy of the Methodist Episcopal church consist of bishops, presiding elders, elders, deacons, and an unordained order of licensed preachers. The ministry is divided into itinerant and local: the former are constantly engaged in preaching and pastoral labour under the direction of the bishops and conferences; the latter perform these offices only as opportunity offers. The highest authority of the Methodist Episcopal church is the general conference, which meets once in four years, and consists of delegates from the annual conferences, in the ratio of one delegate for every seven itinerant preachers. The annual conferences are seventeen in number, dividing the whole territory of the United States: these conferences consist of all the travelling preachers in the connexion. Their numbers, in 1829, were 437,000, with 1639 travelling preachers.

The Quakers, or Friends, are found principally in Pennsylvania.‡ Within a few years past there has been a serious schism among them: a part professing the doctrines of Unitarianism, and called Hicksites, from their leader, Elias Hicks; the other portion adhering to orthodox sentiments. It having been made a question which of them ought to be considered as seceding from the doctrines of the original sect, the yearly meeting of Friends in London, May 20, 1829, sent forth an epistle, containing a statement of their belief; from which it appears, that they fully believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures, the supreme divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, atonement by his sufferings and death, &c. The Hicksites, therefore, though not the minority, are the seceders. Of 150,000 members of this society, 56,026 are Hicksites,

* Harvard University; now opposed by a flourishing institution at Andover.

† It is this controversy which has given rise to the legal appeal and decision to which we have referred in our account of the Congregational body. At a place called Dedham, the church having elected an orthodox minister, the parish elected a Unitarian; to which the church not submitting, the parish carried the matter before the supreme court, and the judge determined, not only that the election of the parish should stand against that of the

church, but that all the property of the church should likewise be at the disposal of the parish, equally irrespectively of the will of that body. Enormous injustice, truly, and flagrant law! but a fit employment for Unitarian artifice, and a fit recompense for Congregational inconsistency.—*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, vol. i.

‡ The editors of the *Quarterly Journal of the American Education Society* tell us that the Quakers "agree with the Baptists in denying the validity of infant baptism."—Vol. ii. p. 187. Query—Do they allow the validity of adult baptism?

and 28,904 are orthodox; the others are not known.—The Dutch reformed church was the established church in the state of New York until it was surrendered to the English. The church was dependent for the ordination of its ministers, &c., on the classis of Amsterdam, in Holland, till 1757, when the first classis was formed in America. Its government is committed to consistories, classes, and synods.—Some members of the German reformed church were among the early settlers in Pennsylvania: they are descended from the reformed or Calvinistic church in Germany, and remained in a scattered state till 1746, when the Rev. Michael Schlatter, who was sent from Europe for the purpose, collected them together. They are found principally in Pennsylvania; but there are a few in Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, and other states. The following may be given as a general estimate of the condition of this synod, including that of Ohio:—classes, eight; ordained ministers, one hundred and twenty; congregations, five hundred.—Some persons of the evangelical Lutheran church settled in Pennsylvania and the adjoining states on their arrival in America, and were for a considerable time supplied with ministers from Germany, some of whom were eminent men: they are now found in Pennsylvania, New York, North Carolina, Maryland, and other states. The Augsburg Confession, consisting of twenty-one articles, is the acknowledged standard of faith for the Lutherans. Among the American Lutherans are three judicatories:—1. The vestry of the congregation. 2. The district conference. 3. The general synod, from which there is no appeal. The general synod contained, in 1828, about 200 ministers, and 800 congregations.—The principal settlements of the United Brethren are in Pennsylvania and North Carolina; their congregations, in 1828, were twenty-three; communicants, 2,000; members, 6,000.—In the United States, there are probably about 300 societies, and 150 preachers of the Universalist persuasion: a general convention is annually holden, in which the several societies in New England, and some from other states, are represented.—The Swedenborgians are organized into a general convention, which meets annually: the eleventh meeting was held in Boston, in August, 1829; it consists of pastors, or teachers, and lay delegates.—The population of the Shakers, whose worship consists in religious dancing, was, in 1828, 5,400, in sixteen societies, and with forty-five preachers.

Our readers cannot fail to have observed, that, in the preceding account of the religious bodies existing in the United States, we have made no mention of a

national church, or a state religion. There is, in truth, no such thing in the republic. Religion is scrupulously dissevered from the state, and as much from its patronage as from its control. The general government is prohibited by a fundamental article of the union from making any laws relating to religion, a right which the separate states have reserved to themselves; and they have determined, we believe unanimously, not to use it. The states, indeed, allot portions of land in new settlements for the support of schools or divine worship, but they leave the appropriation of the grant to the vote of the inhabitants, without preference being shown by the legislature to any sect. If any more religious legislation than this exists, it is only in the laws by which some of the states prescribe qualifications for office; but these are, we believe, universally a dead letter. We do not consider it as an exception to this rule, that acting ministers of the gospel are, by law, in some states, not eligible to the legislature, or to the office of governor: where no such laws exists, the principle, we are informed, is equally held and acted upon, that the union of civil and religious duties in the same person is inexpedient,—a point on which Mr. Cooper states “the opinions of the whole nation” are agreed. The opinion of the Americans in this respect is the more worthy of regard, because it is not the offspring of theory, but the result of experience. In many cases, and in some almost inevitably, the early magistrates of the colonies were ministers. Here, therefore, the utility of a clerical magistracy has been put to a practical test, and the decision of experimental wisdom is against it. Truly happy should we be to see a similar division between civil and sacred duties among ourselves.

We were saying, however, that, in the United States, religion is not established by law: so far as the government is concerned, every man is left entirely free to be of any religion or none, without any forfeiture of any civil right; and religious people are permitted to propagate every man his system, to whatever extent they please, alike without patronage and without resistance. This feature in the religious aspect of the republic has been regarded with considerable interest, and has become the subject of much discussion. Those who yield themselves to the imagination that a nation without a state religion is a nation of atheists, “a nation without a God,” have naturally deemed it a horrible enormity; those who conceive religion to be the only foundation of civil government, have not less naturally apprehended from it the irruption of anarchy; while those who identify the existence and spread of religion with the

apparatus and wealth of an establishment, have, with equal reason, trembled for the ark of God. There are others, on the contrary, and we place ourselves in this class, who deem the existing state of things in the republic right in its principle, and rejoice to believe, that it has been, and will be, beneficial in its results.

It should be recollected in the outset of this discussion, that the separation of religion from the state in the North American republic has not arisen from the original structure of the colonies, or from the principles or designs of the first settlers. As the colonists went out for the most part as religious bodies, so they were almost universally impregnated with a passion for making religion the basis of the state, or of putting the state under the government of religion, —the reigning passion of the age, from which even persecution had not purified them.* Hence, almost everywhere, one of the first proceedings was to establish religion by a fundamental law; and thus Romanism was established in Maryland, Episcopacy in Virginia, and, with grievous inconsistency, Congregationalism in New England. If in these regions religion is not now established by law, it is because establishments were found not to be useful, and for no other reason. Here is no mere theory brought forward and put into action, but, on the contrary, the exclusive result of experience. It is, moreover, not the experience of states in which an unestablished religion was instituted from the commencement, but of states in which establishments were first tried, and in which they were loved, and clung to with almost infinite tenacity. They were abandoned gradually, only as the necessity of circumstances and the light of experience dictated, and only as it was demonstrated that they did more harm than good. Here, therefore, we have the system of ecclesiastical establishments put to the most critical and satisfactory test, for such that of experience confessedly is. There is proverbially nothing crude, nothing rash, nothing delusive, in the lessons of this teacher, who is withal so effectual, that she is said to teach fools, at least if they will ever learn. To this it may be added, that no trial of the system of state religions can be more advantageous for the advocates of establishments than that to which it has been subjected in the United States; and though it is far less favourable for the principles of Congregationalism than a fair trial of their value might demand, yet we are content. It is so much the more satisfactory if the result be on our side.

* Ample proofs of this may be found in the first volume of this work.

The practice of connecting the more ample or more restricted enjoyment of social privileges with a particular religious profession, which some of the colonies at first rigorously enforced, was soon found incompatible with their secular welfare. Persons aggrieved in this method could so easily remove themselves, either into another territory, or into the unsettled wilderness, that such a policy had for the most part no other effect than that of banishing valuable residents, and this at a time when it was of the utmost importance to multiply them. To the necessity of encouraging population we are indebted for the first instance of a government in this respect entirely equal, that of Maryland, into which, although it was colonized by Roman Catholics, and although Romanism was made the religion of the state, persons of all religious persuasions were welcomed upon equal terms as to civil rights, while bigotry was driving Presbyterians from the south, and Episcopalians from the north, to cultivate the lands, to augment the resources, and to reward the liberality, of a wiser state. In other instances, the near equality between the parties inflicting and those suffering the grievances contributed to the promptness of its cure. During their infancy, the colonies received such numerous accessions of persons not of the religious persuasion of the first settlers, and these often became of such special value and indispensable importance to the colonies themselves, that when they complained, their voice was necessarily heard. The reigning church became merged in the general population; and the equalization of civil rights became too general and imperative a demand to be refused. Its refusal, had it been possible, would have been not merely folly, but suicide.

The interference of the state with religion was found by no means conducive to the prosperity of religion. Those who settled in the transatlantic wilderness not unnaturally partook of the boldness and freedom of the wilderness itself; and religionists of the same sect assumed no inconsiderable diversities. This was the case at least in New England, where, in consequence of it, an attempt was made to introduce a uniformity of worship, by a meeting of delegates under the sanction of the government. From this body issued the ecclesiastical constitution called the Saybrook Platform. It was approved by the existing legislature; but what then? It caused great discontent among the people, and it was not adopted in general practice. Resolved to try their hands again at this hopeless work, another meeting was held at Cambridge, and a second "platform," or code of ecclesiastical laws, was promulgated. The

result is, that the churches which these legislative enactments were to regulate have, to the present day, no uniform constitution at all; but each has adopted which of the laws it pleased, and the others remain a dead letter. It was found impracticable to enforce them, without inflicting evils far more than commensurate with the benefit; and experience thus taught these meddling legislators and divines that uniformity of worship, if it be any benefit at all, which may well be doubted, is too dearly purchased by animosity and oppression.

Equally adverse to the interests of true godliness has been found the secular endowment and nomination of the ministers of religion. In no section of the republic was this system more deeply rooted, or more fondly clung to, than in Virginia, where Episcopacy had been established as the state religion from the first. After it had been abandoned every where else, it was acted upon here, conjoined with a legal prohibition of a different worship. According to the wisdom of some persons in the old world, Virginia, under this treatment, ought to have been a religious paradise: unhappily, however, it was a religious desert, the ecclesiastical revenues of which were absorbed by a tribe of irreligious clergymen, and the people abandoned to neglect and impiety, while neighbouring states were enjoying the benefits of a disinterested and devoted ministry. The consequence was, that the common sense of the population dictated a petition to the state for the abolition of the religious establishment, and the legislature had wisdom enough to comply with it.

Sound wisdom and great liberality were long thought to be embodied in that act of some American legislatures, by which all persons were compelled to pay a rate proportioned to their property in support of religion generally, but were allowed to select the denomination to which it should be applied. Even this, it seems, does more harm than good; and the last fragment of that system of secular interference or support on behalf of religion, which has been contemplated among ourselves with such profound veneration, and which has so long been identified in imagination with the existence of religion itself, is probably doomed speedily to follow the fate of the structure of which it formed a part.

What then is the fact? Has religion perished in the ruins of its secular supports? and have the rash hands, so unkindly laid on religious platforms, fallen with a kindred violence on piety herself, whose sa-

cred person they were intended to enthrone? It is an incontestable fact that nothing like this has occurred. Not only have these successive, and, in the eyes of some persons, these alarming changes, been made by those who wished religion, not harm, but good; but religion has actually survived this perilous treatment, and now appears in a state of no ordinary vigour and advancement. Nowhere has vital christianity suffered any injury by it: although she has had to grapple with the wickedness of man's heart in successive generations, and to sustain the assault where circumstances have given an extraordinary and almost unprecedented license and power to evil propensities; and although, while her dominion was yet young, and might have been supposed to be feeble, she had to contend with the mighty champions of infidelity, whose writings were poured like a flood into the bosom of the republic from revolutionary France, with a boastful confidence of success, she has nobly maintained her ground. Where religion ever flourished, it flourishes still, except where the baneful influence of religious establishments, or of practices partaking of the nature and principles of establishments, have enfeebled her energy. To such a cause exclusively, we conceive, must be referred the generation of Unitarianism in Massachusetts, together with the state of apathy by which it was preceded; results which the parochial division and the religious tax undoubtedly facilitated, and which the removal of these vaunted "aids" to piety will probably not only check, but ultimately leave to perish.

To say that religion has maintained its ground in the United States, however, is far too little. It has been continually and greatly on the increase. Voluntary zeal, without the lure of secular emolument, has extended the preaching of the gospel through a very large portion of that immense territory; and every where with a measure of success proportionate to the activity employed. Let our readers but refer to the hundreds of thousands of communicants comprised in the religious bodies of unexceptionable character already described, recollecting that they are gathered from all parts of the union; and, making a reasonable allowance for children and others, among whom, as usual, these persons of piety may be scattered, let them say whether these fruits of a few years' labour are not tolerably creditable to a religious system without that indispensable help, an establishment.* It may add to the distinctness of

* "Whatever may be the actual state of religion in this country, I am quite satisfied that it is on the advance. There may be many local exceptions, but my inquiries and observations in every part

of my route, have led me to a confident conclusion as to the general fact."—*Hodgson.*

"No one of reflection and candour can fail to be convinced, that

the fact, if we mention the annual increase of some of the principal denominations:—the Presbyterian official reports for 1831 exhibit a clear increase of nearly 20,000 communicants during the year; the Congregationalists have had an equal number of accessions; and the Baptist denomination, as far as can be ascertained, experienced an increase of about 10,000 members during the same period.

But, perhaps, the religion thus disseminated is of a spurious and unsatisfactory kind; perhaps, without the pressure of ecclesiastical authority in matters of faith, religious excitement may have run wild, and generated forms of superstition and error, fantastic beyond all former example. Open as the bosom of the states has been to the reception and unshackled utterance of all diversities of opinion from all quarters of the world, it could have been no matter of surprise if this had been the case; but while some of the numerous sects are certainly singular enough, and some may, perhaps, be peculiar to the republic, its condition in this respect presents nothing at all extraordinary.—It is well known that sects do not exist only in America. Their number on that side of the Atlantic does not appear to exceed those which exist in our own country, and they are far fewer than those which have been generated in the bosom of the Romish church, and cloaked in the mantle of her infallibility. For nearly the whole of its diversities, the union is indebted to other countries; and if in any case a vagary of religious enthusiasm has shown itself in America to which Europe is a stranger, how many forms of fanaticism exist on this side of the Atlantic which have taken no root on the other! Besides, sects of great peculiarity are invariably small and insignificant. The great masses in America, as in Europe, and more especially as in England, are the Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, Congregationalists or Independents, Baptists, Methodists, Unitarians, &c. Freedom of thought and discussion, though it has been highly advantageous to the science of theology, has given birth to no new forms of religious belief; while the pillars of the moral and religious system stand but the more firmly amidst the deep convictions of the mind, for the shrewd and fearless investigation to which they have been subjected; and truth and error are but repeating the same phrases with which the old world has for ages been familiar. With some exceptions, of which it is impossible to speak without mingled censure and regret, there is

no departure from the sobriety and sound judgment by which the ministrations of religion, and the conduct of its professors, should unquestionably be characterized. To these observations it may be added, we believe with indubitable truth, that, in some places, if not in all, personal piety is more decided and vigorous than among ourselves; we mean, that persons who are religious are more manifestly so, and that their religion imparts more of its character to their converse and general deportment; so that among professors there is a tone and atmosphere of piety of a more elevated and decided kind. In this connexion we ought to notice, likewise, those remarkable periods which are now so familiarly known on both sides of the Atlantic as revivals of religion, during which conversions of ungodly men are multiplied to an extent, and with a rapidity, in modern days altogether unparalleled.

In reference to the influence of religious establishments, it is not a little remarkable how the very systems which have been accustomed to them, and have for the most part been identified with them elsewhere, thrive in America without them. Both the Roman Catholics and the English Episcopalians are in a state of vigorous action and prosperity, which, upon the supposition of secular support being of any great consequence, is altogether inexplicable. While they were established they were feeble; when their secular props were broken from under them they began to prosper. They are now associations of an exclusively voluntary character, and have neither impulses nor resources but such as individual sentiment may afford; and yet they are marching through the length and breadth of the American union, diffusing and establishing an influence which the secular arm could never have acquired for them. We entertain a full conviction, that now these bodies have breathed the air of freedom, and felt its inspiring energy, neither of them would wish to receive the gaudy trappings and oppressive patronage of a state establishment, and that such a step, if it were practicable, would speedily reduce them to a state of torpor and decay.

We have looked with some care at the topics which have been adduced on the contrary side of the argument to that which we have taken; and we may be expected, perhaps, to take some notice of them in passing. Some writers speak of the value of "national religion as distinguished from personal religion;" and, from certain forms of phraseology in

truth and righteousness do, to a very important extent, prevail: and that those principles are in a state of increasing progress, and develop much."—*Duncan*.

"I found more places of worship in the large towns of America than in similar towns in Britain; and much genuine piety among

the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the evangelical Episcopalians, the Methodists, and the Baptists; and, as far as my journeying extended, I observed a cheering exhibition of Christian progress; as in England, all denominations of real Christians are increasing, and all are growing better."—*Ward, of Serampore*.

state documents, augur the stability or the ruin of empires. We wish these gentlemen would be at the pains to acquire a distinct notion of religion itself, and then they would see in a moment that it cannot be otherwise than personal, and that their notion of "national religion" is one of the merest fictions ever imposed upon the human mind. A nation can in no other sense be religious or irreligious, than as a greater or less proportion of the individuals who compose it are so. As for the whim of prophesying that the American union will some time be violated, because religious phrases were not incorporated in the constituent legislative act, it is purely ridiculous. Writers who contend that religion is the only basis of government, forget how many governments have existed and prospered without being founded upon any religion but a false one, the efficacy of which we suppose the advocates for the excellency of the true will not very strenuously maintain. To us it is obvious, that, while religion undoubtedly tends to promote the welfare of a nation, by causing the duties of social and public life to be better understood and fulfilled, the principles on which the existence and prosperity of nations are founded are not those of religion, but of mutual interest; principles which it does not require christianity either to understand or to follow.

To quote the French revolution as an example of a throne destroyed by the overthrow of religion, is quite in character for the advocates of priestcraft and of despotism; but we marvel at such language being held by Americans. The feelings of the people, it is true, were wrought to desperation by a set of designing infidels: but they were wrought upon by an appeal to the oppression which, alike from the court and the church, they had endured; and it was to avenge these social wrongs that they lifted themselves up against the powers which had inflicted them. They imbibed the poison of infidelity; but to say that they destroyed religion is absurd, for in all that their fury overwhelmed there was no religion to destroy. They suffered a period of anarchy and bloodshed, not because they had cast off religion, for none had previously existed; but because they yielded themselves to the frenzy of a selfish ambition. If they have subsequently been more tranquil, religion has had nothing to do with it; if they are yet restless, it is not for want of religion, but of a due regard to the principles of mutual interest. Without these, the government of an intelligent community never can be stable, as with them it can be in no considerable peril; and if the American union observes them, without making any pretension to the

prophetic gift, history and common sense assure us that long will be her prosperity.

It has been alleged, as an evil resulting from the absence of a state or national religion, that it allows persons to be of no religion at all; a permission of which it appears that no inconsiderable number on the western side of the Atlantic have availed themselves. Now, without questioning in the first instance the *power* of the state in this respect, we may ask, why the right of being of no religion should be denied by any government to its subjects? Is not this a question lying exclusively between man and his Maker, and to be settled on moral considerations, entirely apart from authoritative human interference? But suppose the state sets out on the quixotic errand of making christians of its subjects by wholesale, what can it do? Nothing but impose a ceremony and a name, while all the principles of character are left unchanged. If, therefore, the United States were to pass a law that all persons who did not choose to identify themselves with any minor religious sect, should be considered as belonging to some one henceforth to be made national, what would result, but that the present avowedly irreligious population would be compelled to assume a disguise and play the hypocrite, without having one particle more of religion than they had before? We ask any man of common sense to say whether there would be any advantage in this; and whether it is not better that persons who will be irreligious, as vast numbers will, and perhaps equal numbers whether there be a state religion or not, should appear to be so, rather than be screened alike from knowledge, rebuke, and conviction, by an inappropriate name? It is easily intelligible, that the absence of a national religion in the republic should be connected with the absence of that habit of religious forms which, in other countries, give a semblance of religion to society at large, and, by allowing irreligious character to show itself with greater distinctness and freedom, should tend to the diminution and ultimate annihilation of that large class of persons, who avail themselves of decent forms to conceal sceptical opinions, and an irreligious or perhaps a profligate life. And this we conceive to be the whole of the case in the North American republic. We see no proof that the population is more wicked there than in countries where a national religion, as it is called, is maintained; but there being no bounty put upon the observance of religious forms, and little penalty in public opinion attached to the neglect of them, the wicked are perhaps somewhat more openly and more freely wicked; and instead of extenuating their wickedness

by saying, as here, that they belong to the church, they avow, what is equally the fact in both cases, that they are of no religion at all. So far from esteeming this an evil, we consider it a benefit. All experience shows that the method of disguising wicked men under the name of christians, has done little towards the repression of vice, while it has done much to dishonour the profession, to obstruct the progress, and to paralyze the power of christianity. In the United States every man may be judged of "by his fruits;" and the ungodly part of the population, instead of being claimed in their sins as good members of the national church, lie open, as acknowledged sinners, to the instruction, reproof, and persuasion, of all who may take pity on their souls. This, if we mistake not, ranks high among the very reasons why religion spreads more rapidly in that country than in any other in the world. Before we leave this topic, we may add, that we scarcely know how to suppress a smile when we find a respectable writer in America,* eagerly quoted by high churchmen in England, speaking of the class of persons above referred to, those of "no religion," with horror, as "unbaptized infidels," and that unbaptized infidels are "the most atrocious and remorseless banditti that infest and desolate human society." That the vast territory of the republic is infested with "atrocious banditti" to a lamentable extent may possibly be true enough, as well as that it contains no small number of "infidels;" but Mr. Bristed's doctrine is, not merely that the infidels and the robbers are actually "unbaptized," but that it is the want of baptism which has caused the mischief! If it will be any comfort to this gentleman, we can assure him that his wonder-working rite has done very little in the Old World to prevent either infidelity or murder; and if he will take the pains to make the inquiry, we think he will find fewer of the American banditti and infidels "unbaptized" than he may have been inclined to suppose.

Another evil alleged to arise from the want of a national religious establishment in the United States, is the destitute condition of the new settlements. Now it is an unquestionable fact, that the border settlements in the western country are, to a very lamentable extent, characterized by prevalent irreligion, and unprovided with means of religious instruction. In many cases, a remedy for these evils is not desired; and when it is, the combined and only adequate exertion of the scattered population for this end, is often obstructed by sectarian attachments.

We do not wonder that the idea of government dividing such districts into parishes, and appointing a minister to each, with a salary from the public purse, should occur to the friends of establishments in such a case as this: it accords with their habits of thinking, and it is perhaps plausible in itself; but it is only plausible. The nomination of religious instructors by the state has never been found to secure a faithful and devoted ministry; and to try the experiment again on the Ohio or the Mississippi, would only be to renew disappointments which have already been sufficiently plentiful, both in the Old World and the New. Besides, in this case, one of several coexistent and rival sects must be adopted and patronized by the state, a step which has always been found to inflame animosity rather than to allay it, and which would soon add to the evils of the border settlements, already sufficiently great, the worse mischief of party feuds. It is remarkable, indeed, that one of the most strenuous advocates of state support for religion,† while loudly calling for a parochial provision in the new country, acknowledges its inutility in the old. Speaking of Massachusetts, where the desired method has had the longest and the fairest trial, he says, "Even here, we are beginning to feel the evils arising from division, and to feel them severely:—your parishes are crumbling into ruins,—party is arrayed against party,—to settle a minister becomes impracticable." Why, therefore, should an apparatus be set up elsewhere, which, in the most favourable circumstances, has produced such unsatisfactory results?

While we are convinced, however, that no ultimate or permanent good could arise to these destitute regions from the interference of the state, we must add that they have a strong and imperative claim upon the friends of religion in the more favoured parts of the union. This is the source from whence their help should be derived. They present an appropriate sphere for operations of a truly missionary character, and can be effectually benefitted only by missionary zeal. Considering the rapid population and the growing influence of the western states, no religious object should be deemed by American christians of equal importance with the diffusion of vital religion throughout their whole extent. There can be no doubt of their competency to the task; and if it is painful to see how much in past years it has been overlooked, it is matter of joy to know that it has recently been entered upon in a spirit of great promise. Besides the labours of the American Home

* Mr. Bristed, "America and her Resources," p. 394.

† Dr. Jarvis, as quoted by Mr. Hodgson, "Letters from North America," vol. ii. p. 224.

Missionary Society, which are not inconsiderable, a vigorous effort of Sunday-school instruction has been made by several thousand teachers, who have pledged themselves to go through the whole of the great central valley, and are still engaged in the accomplishment of their purpose. Those who have already encountered the labour of sowing the seed of divine truth in this hitherto barren region, have found it far from unproductive; and there is every reason to believe, that, under the hand of assiduous cultivation, it will ere long be fruitful as the garden of the Lord.*

To bring this long, but we hope not unimportant or useless discussion, to a close, we may remark, that, if the absence of a national establishment of religion be connected with no evil, it is an obvious and positive good. The advocates of such institutions, while they have contended that they yielded benefits for which it was worth while to bear them, have never maintained, we believe, that they were blessings in themselves. The heavy expense which they entail upon a country—the corrupting influence of church patronage—the anti-national bias of an endowed hierarchy—the inundation of interested and worldly ministers—and the heart-burnings inseparable from the elevation of one sect above its fellows—are evils which might be thought too great to be suffered for any price; but they are at all events too great to be endured for nothing.

To the absence of a religious establishment has been referred, and perhaps with some justice, the liberality of different sects towards each other, which exists to an eminent degree in the republic. The feature itself is at all events a very pleasing one, and must contribute very materially, both to the facility of individual labour, and the power of united exertion. “The different denominations in this country,” says Mr. Ward, “come together in delightful harmony, and co-operate without being obstructed by those impediments which exist in other countries. The Sunday-school Union, in New York, exhibits a noble specimen of the true christian feeling, and the Union flourishes accordingly.”

We may now turn to the consideration of a subject which we have already incidentally noticed,—we mean the Revivals of Religion by which some parts of the United States have been distinguished. Few things have struck the ear of the christian public in this country with more surprise and incredulity than the accounts which have of late more particularly

reached us, of wide-spreading religious excitements, and conversions in a few weeks amounting to several hundreds, and in some cases, thousands. Not a few have asked, with the very best intention, What is to be thought of these things? Must not large allowances be made, either for glowing representations, or for enthusiastic feeling? We apprehend that no judicious person, on either side of the Atlantic, commits himself to the approbation of every thing which may be called a revival of religion, or may be attendant upon one. Some of them, it is admitted on all hands, have been enthusiastic to a great degree; while others have been eminently characterized by the exercise of sound judgment, the awakening of holy emotion, and the production of valuable fruits. For the former we make no apology; of the latter we shall endeavour to lay before our readers a brief but comprehensive view.

It appears we are not to consider a revival of religion as synonymous with a multitude of conversions. By an author who writes from his own observation, their peculiar feature is illustrated in the following manner:—“Imagine a sinner awakened, and led on to conversion by reflection; having, in the mean time, little or no intercourse with other minds on the subject of religion, but associating principally, or exclusively, with his bible, and communing alone with his own heart and with God. Scarcely a second person is aware of the state and progress of his mind, except that, if he is concerned in the common intercourse of life, the more than usual gravity and seriousness of his demeanour will naturally be observed. There are, doubtless, a great many conversions of this sort, and they may be called, in distinction from another class, insulated conversions. Suppose an individual has been awakened by the admonitions of a sermon, or of some private intercourse with other minds, and is conducted by the Spirit of God to the stage of genuine conversion, but is virtually alone in this state and progress of his mind, there being no second person in his neighbourhood in a similar condition; this may also be called an insulated conversion, though not so absolutely so as the other case supposed: there was, indeed, a social influence which first awakened his attention, but no sympathy of other minds in a like condition, either to originate instrumentally, or to urge on his career. There is little reciprocal influence between such conversions and society. We may suppose, again, a community of greater or less extent, bound together

* We recommend it to the serious consideration of religious individuals or families who propose to emigrate, whether it is not their duty, by settling in some of the new states of the Mississippi

valley, to assist in the promotion of vital religion in a portion of the world, the importance and influence of which is increasing at a ratio of which it is difficult to form an adequate estimate.

by many common ties of a social character, through the channels of which sympathy on all subjects of common interest, especially those calculated to agitate the mind, is easy and quick. It may further be supposed, that the spirit of God arrests the attention of an unconverted individual of such a community, producing a very anxious solicitude for the salvation of his soul—so anxious that he cannot keep it a secret if he would. It is, moreover, supposed, that this community are generally instructed in the doctrine of repentance, as essential to peace with God,—and of regeneration, to salvation. It is the common public opinion—the popular belief, by an habitual speculative assent. Of course it is an easy and natural step to the conclusion, that it is quite reasonable, and even important, for every individual, at some period of his life, to devote himself, in special earnest, to his own preparation for eternity—that he is in danger of being overtaken in his sins by death. When, therefore, an individual of such a community is suddenly and powerfully seized with a concern for his soul's eternal welfare—so powerfully that he cannot conceal it—that his feelings break out in tears and in prayers—that he throws himself upon the compassion of christians as more fitted to guide his anxious mind, and to be his intercessors with God—and that, of necessity, the matter becomes a subject of some public notoriety—it very naturally produces a pause in the ordinary career of those with whom this individual is more intimately allied. And it may also be supposed, that the same Spirit which has smitten the individual with a conviction of his guilt, and a sense of his danger, employs that very event as an instrument of awakening his former associates to an equal degree of concern, so that they not only pause at his arrest, but are themselves affected, finding that they too are involved in the same condemnation, and have need of the same pardoning mercy and sanctifying grace. And now a group of individuals are together, asking, with an affecting and overpowering earnestness—What must we do to be saved? And this increase of the number renders it still more a matter of public notoriety; and there is a general pause. Every individual of this group has his more intimate connexions with society as the first individual had with them; and for the same reasons, and we will suppose, by the same divine influence, the number of the anxious is soon multiplied, till a crowd of individuals are together asking and seeking the way of salvation; and soon a whole community are affected, in a greater or less degree. All sympathize. Christians are 'filled with faith and the Holy Ghost,' and with an uncommon spirit of prayer; they are excited to diligence and roused to activity. The minis-

ter or ministers of religion are greatly animated, and uncommonly furnished by the natural excitements of such a state of things. The house of God is thronged, and the assemblies deeply affected and impressively solemn. Every sermon, and every prayer, and every exhortation, seem to tell with amazing power on the congregated multitudes. Sinners are converted, and others awakened, and the work goes on with increasing power, extending through the community. Meetings are necessarily multiplied to meet the exigencies; ministers and christians have as much as they can do to attend to the anxious, to guide the inquiring, and to conduct the frequent public assemblies of the people. They visit from house to house, warning the careless, encouraging and confirming the trembling hope, rejoicing with those who rejoice, instructing, exhorting, and offering up prayer. And this is somewhat the manner of an American revival of religion. And the fruit of it is, that many sinners are hopefully born again, the church enlarged, believers improved in their christian character, the interests of religion obtain a wider and more solid foundation in the community, and the way is better prepared for another season of like refreshing influence from above.*

American revivals, therefore, in part at least, owe their existence and peculiarities to sympathy. The supposition, however, that they wholly do so, and that they are nothing more than powerful sympathetic excitements, is by no means reconcilable with the nature of the results. "There is nothing in the social principle," as Mr. Colton justly remarks, "to account for a great and sudden movement of a whole community, upon a subject which, like that of the christian religion, has been before them from time immemorial, with all its sanctions and with all its motives—nothing in it, independent of the coming in of a special influence—an influence which does not lie in the letter of christianity. A community may be surprised by what is new—but every thing in the letter of christianity is old. A community may be greatly moved by what naturally and deeply affects their passions, when unexpectedly brought before them by the eloquence of the tongue, or under the affecting power of circumstances. All such excitements, however, can only be momentary. But that the histories, and doctrines, and truths of religion, in which the public mind had been thoroughly versed from the cradle, should suddenly be armed with an unwonted power, not only over the minds of individuals, but so as manifestly to affect a whole com-

* Rev. C. Colton on American Revivals of Religion, pp. 10—14.

munity, and operate a thorough change in the hearts and lives of many individuals of that community, is a fact which, so far as I know, it lies within the compass of no philosophy to account for, but that of the religion which is the instrument of the change, and which professes to solve the problem by a reference to the powers of the Holy Ghost. What reason is there that one community should feel more than another, or one person more than another;—their education being the same, and other things equal, which belong to the same relations and influences of society? And what reason, that the same communities and the same persons should feel more at one time than another, under the same system of means? Independently of the Spirit of God, there is a mystery in this; but with it, there is no mystery.”

It has been customary to regard American revivals of religion as connected generally, if not uniformly, with scenes of enthusiastic extravagance; but it would appear that such an idea has been entertained with little truth. Without maintaining an entire absence of irregularities, which, indeed, it would have been, in the highest degree, unreasonable to expect, the author we have already quoted gives the following general statement:—“The ostensible phenomena of revivals of religion in the United States have exhibited themselves very much according to the characters of the communities affected, and of the individuals to whom, in the providence of God, have been committed the guidance and control of public feeling. In New England, the character of the communities has always been of a grave and sober cast, where thought takes lead of feeling; and the temperament of the ministry is more severe than ardent—more prone to stock the understanding than excite the passions. Hence the public excitements of revivals have never exposed the people or the ministers to extravagances. The most remarkable characteristic of such seasons is not noise but stillness—the reign of contemplative silence and solemn reflection. The world itself seems hushed, as if awed by eternity. The public assemblies are thronged, indeed, but the ordinary restive listlessness of an unthinking crowd is settled into a wrapt attention of the soul, and into the silent, but not less expressive demonstrations of the deepest emotions. Public order is not less, but more exact. A violation of it would be the more shocking. There is no want of feeling, and no difficulty in controlling it. And I have yet to learn the occurrence of any notable disorders in all the revivals of New England that have ever come to my knowledge. They may have hap-

pened, but I never heard even of one. All is decency and all quietness—not, however, the quietness of stupor, but of subdued feeling. A large portion of New England is literally educated to revivals. The present generation of ministers and churches has been born in them, and brought up in them, and is familiar with all their scenes. They understand the symptoms—they know what to do and how to do—and the people know how to behave. In the highest excitement of public feeling, it would be morally impossible to drive the people into disorder or extravagance. They have no such habit. Such is the fixedness of their character, that no power on earth could essentially discompose the public mind. But all this cannot be said of every portion of the population of our country. Farther west there is less of the stubbornness of a well-defined and fixed character, as the settlements are new, and society comparatively heterogeneous and unorganized. Farther south, the people are more ardent and more excitable. But the medium of those extremes is of a character qualified between the two—I mean that medium of society, which is found in the intermediate territories. And there are many, very many communities without, and some of them far without New England, in the states of New York, New Jersey, and Ohio, where revivals of religion are characterized with as much sobriety as in the land of the pilgrim fathers. Irregularities and extravagance are no more essential attributes of revivals, than are the physical conditions of the territory and climate. They are mere accidents, when they happen to occur, owing to the state of society, or to the want of a proper superintendence, or to the combined influence of both these causes. A proper superintendence may, at all times, and in any community, prevent them.”*

It is conceived by Mr. Colton, and doubtless by his American brethren generally, that there is in the revivals with which they have been favoured, something peculiar, not only to their own country, but to the last age of christianity.

We cannot here enter into the details by which he supports his opinion; but if the views of this writer be adopted, (and we confess that we are disposed to adopt them,) it becomes of some interest to inquire what the reasons may have been which, either in themselves have favoured the production of revivals in the United States, or may have rendered it good in the eyes of divine wisdom thus peculiarly to honour them. On these points, let us again hear Mr. Colton. “It is remarkable that revivals of religion, under

* Colton, p. 132.

their American character, commenced in New England, and were, till quite recently, principally confined to that region. And their extension westward and southward, I believe, has generally been found in the track of New England emigrants, or springing up under the labours of New England ministers, until they are now beginning to be reported from every part of the land. The great bulk of revivals, however, are still found in the east and north. Such facts may be presumed to have a connexion with the original elements and peculiar frame of society, as also with the blessings of God in reward of the distinguished christian virtues of the founders of such institutions, and of the fidelity of successive generations in supporting them in their original spirit. It is a general and exact truth—that the pilgrim fathers of New England laid the foundations of their civil and social edifice, and of their religious institutions, in tears, and prayers, and in much faith. And the experiment of 200 years has proved that God has regarded those tears, and remembered those prayers, and plenteously rewarded those works of faith.”

Our author refers us likewise to the general aspect of society in the transatlantic republic. “It is generally understood, that the state of society in the United States is very near to a common level. And so far as the sympathies of the community are concerned, on any subject of great and common interest, it is agreeable to fact. Especially is it so in those regions where revivals of religion originated, and have principally flourished. It may be said of all the minor communities, of which the grand community is composed, that, in each of them, every body knows every body, and feels an interest in every body; so much so, that nothing of material interest transpires with a family, or scarcely with an individual, but that a pulse of sympathy beats through the whole body. Such being the state of society, and religion being generally acknowledged and esteemed the paramount interest of man, and, withal, the public conscience being preserved pure and susceptible, it is not very difficult to see, that the marked conversion of one or more individuals might become a subject of common and public interest. And admitting the scripture doctrine of the office and special

agency of the Holy Spirit in the work of conversion, the change might well be regarded with a high degree of respect and reverence. It has ever been considered as a great and decided change—a change which every one must undergo, in order to salvation. It has been habitually urged and pressed upon the conscience as a present duty. With a public mind so enlightened, and a conscience so susceptible, and a common sympathy so all-pervading, it can hardly appear incredible that the awakening of one sinner should be the means of awakening others, and the conversion of one the means of other conversions. And to this day there are no barriers of *caste* in the United States—no impaled, insulated conditions of society, of a character to limit the common circulation of good and healthful moral influences—or to prevent a reformation begun in one place, from reaching every other place.” It is a striking indication of the extent to which sympathy is carried in religious concerns, that, among ministers of the same denomination, a custom of exchanging pulpits exists, to the amount of nearly one fourth of their services. It thus arises that the influence of even a single minister of peculiar energy becomes widely felt; and it is an honourable feature in the congregation over which he is fixed, that they can rejoice in this extension of his usefulness.*

To these causes may be added, we conceive, the character of the theological system, which, within the last century, has been advocated in New England, and has now obtained a general prevalence. The change accomplished within this period is thus luminously stated by Dr. Lyman Beecher: “Our Puritan fathers adhered to the doctrine of original sin, as consisting in the imputation of Adam’s sin, and in a hereditary depravity; and this continued to be the received doctrine of the churches of New England, until after the time of Edwards. He adopted the views of the reformers on the subject of original sin, as consisting in the imputation of Adam’s sin, and a depraved nature transmitted by descent. But, after him, this mode of stating the subject was gradually changed, until, long since, the prevailing doctrine in New England has been, that men are not guilty of Adam’s sin, and that depravity is not of the sub-

influence in other places as well as in Boston. The literary character and inquiring spirit of the clergy have been quite as much distinguished in some other places as in that town. The same remark might be made with respect to several other considerations usually offered to assist in solving the difficulty. I have scarcely any remaining doubt, that a principal cause of the effect in question is to be sought in indiscriminate exchanges with all classes of heterodox ministers. There probably never was a place in which this system has been carried to such a length as in Boston.”—*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, p. 143.

* Though Unitarianism stands far removed from all connexion with revivals, its diffusion has been with great probability traced to this sympathetic practice. “The question has often been asked, what has led to that awful degeneracy of Boston with respect to evangelical truth, which the friends of the ‘faith once delivered to the saints,’ have so long observed and deplored? Various reasons have been assigned for this phenomenon, a phenomenon nearly, if not entirely unparalleled in ecclesiastical history: but I acknowledge none of these reasons have ever satisfied me. The licentiousness and derangements of the revolutionary war were known, and exerted an

stance of the soul, nor an inherent or physical quality, but is wholly voluntary, and consists in the transgression of law, in such circumstances as constitutes accountability and desert of punishment. This change was not accomplished without discussion. It was resisted by those who chose to be denominated Old Calvinists, and advocated by those who were called Hopkinsians and New Divinity men, until, for many years, these views of original sin have been the predominant doctrine of the ministers and churches now denominated Evangelical. These, while they disclaim the language held by Calvin and Edwards on the subject of imputation, do, in accordance with the bible and the reformers, hold that there is a connexion of some kind between the sin of Adam and the universal, voluntary, and entire depravity of his posterity; so that it is in consequence of Adam's sin that all mankind do sin voluntarily, as early as they are capable of accountability and moral action. The pamphlets and treatises on this subject were written, and the subject settled," adds Dr. B. "chiefly before my recollection. But I have read them, and have searched the scriptures, and have, from the beginning, accommodated my phraseology to opinions which had been adopted as the result of an investigation which commenced more than seventy years ago, and has been settled more than fifty years; and which is now, with some variety of modification, received substantially, as I apprehend, by two thirds, if not by three fourths, of the evangelical divines in the United States."*

This change of theological system, (we speak with-

* Spirit of the Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 158. Dr. Beecher goes on to say, "Some of the most approved writers on this subject are, Hopkins, the younger Edwards, West, Smalley, Spring, Strong, Dwight; and in England, Andrew Fuller, one of the greatest and best of men. The following quotations from several of these writers will show the fact, and the nature of the change in the mode of stating the doctrine of original sin. 'It is not to be supposed that the offence of Adam is imputed to them, [his posterity,] to their condemnation, while in their own persons innocent; or that they are guilty of the sin of their first father antecedent to their own sinfulness. All this is asserted as to what the scriptures teach us, that, by a divine constitution, there is a certain connexion between the first sin of Adam, and the sinfulness of his posterity.'—Hopkins, vol. i. p. 319.

"The subject is thus stated by Dwight: '1. That by one man sin entered into the world. 2. That in consequence of this event, all men have sinned. 3. That death, as the consequence of sin, has passed upon all men.' And he says, 'It is clearly impossible that any being except a thinking, voluntary one, should be the subject of either virtue or sin.'

"Please to remember that your wicked nature is your own, in the most personal sense; for, though we are sinners by Adam; though there is an established connexion between the sin of Adam and the sin of his posterity; though all the children of men are, by nature, totally depraved, in consequence of Adam's sin; yet sin is a personal quality. And as your hearts and souls are your own, and not the hearts and souls of other men; as your thoughts and volitions are your own, and not the thoughts and volitions of others; so your sin and evil nature are your own, and not the sin

out committing ourselves to its entire approval,) must undoubtedly have exercised an extensive influence on the modes of conceiving other topics, besides those more immediately specified, and have powerfully modified the whole style of pulpit address. In the latter respect, the change is wholly in favour of a more efficient ministry. The notions that men are born to be punished for Adam's sin, that they are summoned to duties they are not able to perform, and are to be tormented with the loss of happiness they never had the opportunity of attaining, whatever may be their other merits, have a clear adaptation, on the principles of common sense, to frustrate all exhortations, and to lull men into an imperturbable slumber. The new Calvinism of New England, on the contrary, bears upon the conscience with a direct and immense pressure; and to this cause some of their writers have, we think with great reason, attributed the signal success of their ministry.

But it appears, that, beyond the general influence of a stimulant and awakening ministry, there are methods employed in the western world for the direct and specific purpose of producing revivals of religion. On this part of the subject, Mr. Colton's treatment of which is highly interesting and important, our limits will not allow us to enter into detail. The modes of proceeding which have been adopted are of great variety; but they are obviously pervaded by the general design of bringing known and familiar truth into a more direct and powerful bearing upon individual feeling. Hence the protracted services, in which preaching and other exercises are

and evil nature of another. David, in his penitential confession, evidently refers to the established connexion between the sin of Adam and his posterity; for, he says, with the note of attention, 'Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me.' But he does not confess the sin of Adam any more than the sin of Seth; nor will any other man who is the subject of a proper share of conviction; for sin is a personal quality, and can not be transferred from one to another, any more than the heart or soul of one man can be transferred to another."—Spring's *Disquisition*, as quoted in *Ely's Contrast*, p. 79.

"Adam's first offence was some way or other the occasion of the universal sinfulness of his future offspring. And the question now before us is, how his sin was the occasion of ours. 1. Adam did not make us sinners by causing us to commit his first offence. Nor can we more easily believe, 2. That he made his posterity sinners by transferring to them the guilt of his first transgression. The doctrine of imputation, therefore, gives us no ground to suppose that all mankind sinned in, and fell with, Adam, in his first transgression; or that the guilt of his first sin was, either by him, or by the Deity, transferred to his posterity. Nor can we suppose, 3. That Adam made men sinners by conveying to them a morally corrupt nature. There is no morally corrupt nature distinct from free, voluntary, sinful exercises."—*Emmans*, as quoted in *Ely's Contrast*, pp. 67, 69, 71.

"Men have lost none of their ability to obey his commands by the fall; they are as really able to obey every divine command as Adam was when he came out of the forming hand of his Maker."—*Mass. Miss. Magazine*, as quoted in *Ely's Contrast*, p. 75.

kept up incessantly for a number of days, varying from four to twelve or thirteen; and hence the various methods of dividing congregations, from which such valuable effects have often resulted. Variety, in truth, is stated to be essential to the system: something to break in upon the ordinary routine of religious services, by the very regularity of which, perhaps, much may be done to lull the mind into slumber in the midst of awakening truths. That much wisdom is necessary to the beneficial use of such methods, we have no inclination to deny; but we are fully convinced that the system which employs them is founded upon right principles, and that they need only to be wisely used in order to produce effects of extraordinary power.

Among the various methods adopted for the diffusion of the gospel in the United States, the holding of "camp-meetings," a practice prevailing chiefly among the Methodists, has attracted considerable attention and animadversion. When such a meeting is announced, presently all the roads, sometimes for a hundred miles round, are covered with travellers on foot, on horseback, and in gigs or wagons, hastening themselves and their families to this grand celebration. The centre of a forest, "deep, dark, lonely, and almost impenetrable," is the theatre usually chosen. The native tenants of the wood being frightened away by the noise and tumult, it is taken possession of by this immense congregation. The horses being tied to the trees, and the wagons ranged in rows along the skirts of the forest, the interior is prepared for the purpose by cutting down the trees, and laying their branches along the ground to be used as seats; the space is railed round, and a pulpit elevated. Religious services are then kept up for several days. Great evils have been ascribed to these meetings; but while it would obviously be too much to expect that such an occasion should attract no persons of profligate character, or that they should not avail themselves of such an opportunity for licentious excesses, the unsparing manner in which the accusations have been brought, throws great suspicion upon the charges themselves. What is unusual may easily be deemed wrong; and when a thing is ranked as an evil, nothing is easier than to imagine mischiefs which do not exist, and to exaggerate those which do. Admitting such meetings to be in themselves undesirable, it may be questioned whether, in the actual state of the republic, some such services are not necessary; and whether efforts of any other kind could adequately convey religious instruction to a population so widely dispersed among the vast forests and prairies of the west. It is a relief, at least, to

know that *all* testimony is not against them. Mr. Cooper, who is at all events no enthusiast in religion, speaks of such services as "alike impressive and beautiful." "It is a fashion," he adds, "to ridicule and condemn these meetings, on the plea that they lead to excesses and encourage superstition." As to the former, the abuse is enormously exaggerated, though, beyond a doubt, there are individuals who attend them that would seek any other crowd to shield their vices; and as to the latter, the facts show, that, while new and awakened zeal, in ignorant persons, frequently breaks out in extravagance and folly, they pass away with the exciting cause, and leave behind them tender consciences and a chastened practice."

Before closing this chapter, we must take a passing notice of the important theological institutions, with which it may be said that the republic abounds. This spacious territory, notwithstanding its recent settlement, is almost studded over with colleges and universities. Of the rank of these in relation to general literature some notice will be taken in the following chapter; we only observe here, that in many of them there is a theological department of great value and efficiency. Besides these, there are also a number of strictly theological seminaries, of which a tabular view is annexed, devoted entirely to the training of ministerial candidates. The American Education Society is a valuable auxiliary to these; taking for its object, and pursuing it in a very catholic and praiseworthy spirit, the pecuniary provision necessary for eligible candidates, when they are destitute of resources for completing their education. A new, and hitherto, we believe, a peculiar feature in educational institutions, has been recently introduced into some of the transatlantic theological seminaries, namely, that of combining study with manual labour; several hours daily being devoted to some vigorous bodily employment. The principal object sought by this arrangement, appears to be the preservation of health of body and elasticity of mind; and, so far as experience has hitherto gone, the results are highly favourable to the wisdom of its adoption. The number of theological institutions in the United States decisively indicates the value which the professors of religion there attach to an educated gospel ministry.

The benevolent institutions of the republic, on which, perhaps, we may here make the single remark we have to offer, although most of them of comparatively recent origin, and most of them formed in generous imitation of British example, are of extraordinary vigour for their youth, of rapid growth, and of great promise. Their general denominations,

and the amount of their receipts for the years 1829 and 1830, will be found in one of the tables at the end of the chapter.

We may conclude this chapter with a general view of the religious character of the republic in the words of a pious English traveller.* The extent in which vital religion prevails here is known only to the Searcher of hearts; but there is the strongest reason to believe that it is very considerable. I am disposed to think that a cursory traveller visiting England and America, without prejudice, and with equal opportunities of observation, would draw a more favourable inference with respect to the state of religion in the Atlantic cities of the eastern and middle states, than with respect to the towns or cities of the former. I confine my supposition to the Atlantic cities, because the benighted shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and many portions of the western wilds, possess few features in common with our favoured country, and should rather be compared with our colonial possessions in the East or West Indies. Indeed, I might include extensive districts in the back parts of many of the Atlantic states, where population

is thinly scattered, and opportunities of public worship occur only once or twice a month. In some of these, I thought I observed great coldness in religious concerns; the unfrequent return of public ordinances rendering the inhabitants rather less than more willing to avail themselves of them when offered. I felt more disappointed in such districts, than in the frontier settlements. In the latter, some spiritual as well as temporal privations are naturally to be expected, though I thought their inhabitants often exhibited greater solicitude for schools and churches than those of the former. In fact, the new settlers from the Atlantic states have, in many cases, participated in the advantages of that general revival of religion which promises to be the characteristic of modern times; and before their zeal has had time to cool in solitude and separation, it has often secured a provision for those religious ordinances by which it may be cherished and sustained. But the back parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia were settled in less auspicious days; and we must not be surprised if the flame of piety, burning less brightly at that time, even on the coast, should have grown pale and sickly when removed into an atmosphere which ministered little to its support.

* Mr. Hodgson.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

Name.	Place.	Denomination.	Com. operation.	No. educa.	Stud. in 1831	Volumes in Library.	No. Prof
Bangor Theological Seminary	Bangor, Maine . .	Congregational . .	1816	50	14	1,200	
Theological Seminary	Andover, Mass. . .	Congregational . .	1808	514	139	10,000	4
Theological School	Cambridge, do. . .	Cong. Unitarian . .	1824	87	33	...	4
Massachusetts Episcopal Theological School . .	Ditto Ditto	Episcopal	1831	..	..	...	4
Theological Institution	Newtown, do. . . .	Baptist	1825	25	22	1,020	2
Theological Department, Yale College	New Haven, Ct. . .	Congregational . .	1822	70	48	...	3
Theological Institution, Episcopal Church . . .	New York, N. Y. . .	Protestant Epis. . .	1819	134	28	3,600	4
Theological Seminary of Auburn	Auburn, ditto . . .	Presbyterian	1821	157	51	4,000	3
Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution .	Hamilton, do. . . .	Baptist	1820	100	80	1,600	4
Hartwick Seminary	Hartwick, do. . . .	Lutheran	1816	..	..	...
Theological Seminary, Dutch Reformed Church .	New Brunswick, N.J.	Dutch Reformed . .	....	..	24	...	
Theological Seminary, Presbyterian Church, U.S.	Princeton, ditto . .	Presbyterian	1812	537	92	6,000	3
Seminary, Lutheran Church, United States . .	Gettysburg, Pa. . .	Evangelical L. . . .	1826	..	43	6,200	2
German Reformed	York, ditto	German Reform. Ch.	1825	11	14	...	2
Western Theological Seminary	Alleghany T. ditto .	Presbyterian	1828	..	22	3,964	2
Episcopal Theological School, Virginia	Fairfax County, Va.	Protestant Epis. . .	....	..	19	1,500	3
Union Theological Seminary	Prince Ed. Co. do. .	Presbyterian	1824	30	42	3,000	3
South Theological Seminary	Columbia, S. C. . .	Ditto	1829	..	9	...	2
South-Western Theological Seminary	Maryville, Ten. . .	Ditto	1821	41	22	5,500	3
Lane Seminary	Cincinnati, Ohio . .	Ditto	1829	..	..	...
Rock Spring Seminary	Rock Spring, Il. . .	Baptist	1827	..	5	1,200	1

There are Roman Catholic Theological Seminaries at Baltimore and near Emmittsburg, Maryland; at Charleston, South Carolina; at Bardstown and in Washington county, Kentucky; and in Perry county, Mobile.

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS.

Denominations.	Ministers.	Churches or Congrega.	Communicants.
Calvanistic Baptists	2,914	4,394	304,827
Methodist Episcopal Church	1,777	..	476,000
Presbyterians, General Assembly	1,801	2,253	182,017
Congregationalists, Orthodox	1,000	1,270	140,000
Protestant Episcopal Church	558	700	.....
Universalists	150	300	.....
Roman Catholics . . . . .	....	....	.....
Lutherans	205	1,200	44,000
Christians	200	800	25,000
German Reformed	84	400	17,400
Friends, or Quakers . . . . .	....	400	.....
Unitarians, Congregationalists	160	193	.....
Associate, and other Methodists	350	..	35,000
Free-will Baptists	300	400	16,000
Dutch Reformed	159	194	17,688
Mennonites	200	..	30,000
Associate Presbyterians	74	144	15,000
Cumberland Presbyterians	50	75	8,000
Tunkers	40	40	3,000
Free Communion Baptists	30	..	3,500
Seventh-day Baptists	30	40	2,000
Six-principle Baptists	25	30	1,800
United Brethren, or Moravians	23	23	2,000
Millennial Church, or Shakers	45	15	.....
New Jerusalem Church	30	28	.....
Emancipators, Baptists	15	..	500
Jews and others not mentioned . . . . .	....	150	.....

BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES.

Name.	Presidents.	Forma	Income. 1828-9.	Income. 1829-30.
			Dollars.	Dollars.
Connecticut Missionary Society	Hon. Jonathan Brace	1798	2,070 33	3,013 06
Philadelphia Bible Society	Right Rev. William White, D. D.	1808	7,724 41	..
American Board Foreign Missions	John C. Smith, LL. D.	1810	102,000 00	106,928 26
American Baptist Board Foreign Missions	Rev. Jesse Mercer	1814	16,061 90	20,000 00
American Tract Society, Boston	Hon. William Reed	1814	13,896 18	11,102 06
American Education Society	Samuel Hubbard, LL. D.	1816	30,434 18	30,710 14
American Asylum, Deaf and Dumb	Hon. Nathaniel Terry	1816	2,341 55	..
American Bible Society	Col. Richard Varick	1816	143,184 33	170,067 55
Presbyterian Board American Education Society	Arthur Tappan, Esq.	1817	..	12,632 00
Board Missionary General Assembly	A. Green, D. D., LL. D.	1818	8,000 00	12,632 43
Methodist Missionary Society	Rev. Elijah Hedding	1819	14,176 11	13,126 00
Board Education General Assembly	Thomas M'Auley, D. D.	1819	..	..
American Colonization Society	Charles Carrol	1819	19,561 93	20,295 00
Dutch Reformed Missionary Society . . . . .	..	1822	4,470 71	4,604 00
American Sunday School Union	Alexander Henry, Esq.	1824	18,527 00	70,521 70
Baptist General Tract Society	Rev. William T. Brantly	1824	5,256 76	5,536 39
Prison Discipline Society	Hon. William Jay	1825	3,531 00	3,353 52
Massachusetts Sunday School Union	Hon. William Reed	1825	1,018 80	1,465 46
American Tract Society	S. V. S. Wilder, Esq.	1825	60,000 00	60,210 00
American Temperance Society	Marcus Morton, LL. D.	1826	..	..
American Home Missionary Society	S. Van Rensselaer, LL. D.	1826	26,997 31	33,229 00
American Seamen's Friend Society	S. Thompson, LL. D.	1826	1,214 38	4,159 87
Massachusetts Missionary Society, reorganized	Leonard Woods, D. D.	1827	5,247 32	..
American Peace Society . . . . .	..	1828	..	495 85
African Education Society	Right Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D.	1830	..	..
			485,714 20	584,084 29

CHAPTER III.

LITERATURE—ARTS—MANNERS.

It has been our aim, in treating of the varied subjects to which the plan of the work has directed our attention, to avoid all unnecessary comparisons between the circumstances and condition of the republic; and of our own country, and to leave our readers to form their own judgment on the facts which have been laid before them; but the topics of the present chapter are of a character which frequently require comparison in order to render them intelligible: we trust, however, to be able to prove that even this process

* From the extension of commercial relations, and from the numerous conquests of the mother country, it would have been natural to expect that her language would have, in process of time, become somewhat a different one from that of her colonies in this country: but our commerce has followed hers so closely, and we have had so entirely the benefit of her mass of literature as soon as it was known to her own people, that the first adoption of a foreign word, or the slightest change in the use of one of her old stock, has been noticed on this side of the Atlantic; and we have wisely followed the public taste of the mother country, nor vainly thought that it would be wisdom to struggle for an independency in letters, as far as they regarded the use of our vernacular. This language was our birthright as Englishmen, and its preservation in its purity clearly shows how much we value it. The language that is addressed to the ear alone is soon changed or lost, but that which is addressed to the eye as well as the ear, is long preserved by a twofold impression upon the mind. The sight is more faithful than the ear, and preserves her knowledge longer; both are necessary to keep a language alive in its purity. The study of the language of a people is one of the best methods of sounding the depths of their knowledge, and of measuring their advancement in arts and arms, and of ascertaining the nature of their general pursuits and habits; and perhaps it may not be going too far to say, that geographical positions may be known by the examination of a nation's vocabulary alone. The soft air of Italy and France has given, in a long succession of years, by natural causes, operating upon body and mind, and which might be easily analyzed, if we could take the pains to do it, a delicious sweetness to the tones of the human voice, a melody to the sounds of words, and a harmony in the construction of sentences, which the inhabitants of the colder regions of the north can never know among themselves. This principle is tested by the still softer and more musical notes of the West India creoles. With them almost every word is vitiated in pronunciation, and reduced to a sort of infantile imbecility, yet it is most musical. The English language has not with us, generally speaking, been deeply studied by those who use it, either for the common business of life, or by those who make it a vehicle of matters of high import in enlightening and directing their countrymen.

English etymology has not, until lately, been a part of a classical education. Our scholars have been content to take, and use, words as they found them, sanctioned by good writers, without much inquiry into their derivations, or primitive significations; nor is it my object to go further in these remarks than to show, that we have kept a constant watch over our mother tongue, and if we have sometimes, after great English models, laboured to sink many of the good old words of our language, and to supply their places by those formed from the Latin and Greek languages, yet that we were ready, from taste and judgment, to go back again, and take those discarded, home-bred words, of strong meaning and peculiar fitness, whenever the established writers have led the way. Several modern scholars have shown us the force, precision, and even beauty of our old English, and we hail this returning to the homestead as an unfailing sign of good judgment. I have thrown together a few observations upon our language, to induce the English scholar to examine the treasures he is in possession

may be accomplished without manifesting the prejudices of nationality to the absurd excess which some, even of the most talented publications of the parent state, have exhibited. As if desirous to be revenged on the republic for the substantial advantages it possesses, they pour out a torrent of contemptuous abuse on their literature and manners.

The language of the United States, for the most part, differs so slightly from that of the middle and southern counties of England, that it requires some considerable discrimination to ascertain any points of distinction; and those which are perceptible rather pertain to accent and intonation, than affect the sense.* It is

of, and to show the reader, that if our fathers' style does not always suit the present taste, yet that they were masters of their vernacular, as well as deeply read in the learned languages. And this I shall do, not by pointing out particular passages, but by calling the attention of the reader to the general tenour of their works.

It is the belief of the learned, that all languages had a common origin; for there are words in all the languages they have examined, which bear relationship to each other. Sometimes the resemblance or kindred features are near and strong, at other times remote, but containing such resemblances as can not be mistaken: and until some other account more satisfactory is given by some retrospective seer, I am willing to take the account given by Moses of the confusion of tongues, as sufficiently true to answer the phenomenon which has no other solution. I am a lover of words, for I do not believe that there can be much reasoning of a moral nature without them; and sure I am, that no man ever despised the science of words who understood it to any considerable extent. It may be true, that the mind may be so much engaged in the pursuit of various tongues as to enfeeble its force in more severe studies; but the literary world exhibits so few instances of this nature, that we need not fear the effects of a pretty liberal attention to the languages; certainly, a careful examination of our mother tongue will not be thought improper by those who object to the attention paid to the learned languages. The origin, the history, the sweetness, the copiousness, the force and majesty, and importance of the English language, are subjects worthy the attention of the English scholar in our country at the present day, when so many facilities are offered him for the study of it; such facilities, that one may learn more in six months upon this branch of knowledge now, than he could have done in ten years if he had commenced half a century ago.

The language of the ancient Britons, from the time they were first known to the Romans, was Teutonic, or Scythian. The people were rude and fierce, and their language had the same cast of character, as far as we know any thing about it. When Julius Cesar first landed on the shores of Albion, the people exhibited the highest traits of courage, and met the polished armour of the skilful Roman soldiers in dauntless nakedness. From this time, which was before the christian era, until the conquest of Alaric, more than four centuries, these rude people were instructed by the Romans in arts and arms. The sons of the native kings and chiefs were taught the philosophical and polished language of their conquerors; and this instruction was pursued and enforced as a mean of bringing the Britons to a state of quietude and obedience. During this time many of the Roman words had found their way into the native language, or at least those formed from the Latin were in use. This is more evident in the names of places, perhaps, than in any other class of words. Those Britons who acquired the Latin, wrote the native language in the Roman character, as we now write the Indian dialects, or different languages of the several tribes in the same character at this day. If the Scythians brought letters with them from Asia, they had probably been lost; or if any relic of them was left, they were only used as a sort of a Cabala, as the fragments of some languages were by the

matter of surprise, indeed, that the idiom of the English language has undergone so little alteration. Several of the differences which exist arise from the

Druids—such as by them were called Runic characters, something out of which to make a charm.

About the middle of the fifth century (449) the Saxons made their first invasion, of any importance, of the island of Britain. Soon after Hengist gained a foothold, Horsa followed; and Cedric and other invaders took the same course; but it was not until after a lapse of many years, that the island was conquered; and then, not from the strength of the invaders, but from the dissensions of the natives. This conquest was, however, a blessing; for, notwithstanding the Saxons were barbarous as well as the Britons, yet they were a fearless, roaming race of men, who had made more improvements in the arts of life than the ancient Britons, and their habits of thinking were more enlarged, and approximated nearer to civilized life, than those of the natives of the island. The laws and institutions of the Saxons were of a higher mental character than those of most other nations then about them on the continent; but the Saxons received a vast accession to their stock of knowledge, by the introduction of christianity into the island in 596, through the auspices of Pope Gregory, a most benevolent representative of Saint Peter. This father of the church sent the learned and pious Augustin on a mission to Britain, who, after many struggles, succeeded in diffusing the doctrines of the gospel amongst them, and inspiring a taste for learning, and the arts of industry, and social life. If not before, certainly at this time, the Saxon tongue became a written one, and was soon expanded and improved by the attentive study of it among those ecclesiastics, who wished to diffuse through it the knowledge of the scriptures, until then a sealed book to the Saxons, and then only partially opened.

About ninety years after the introduction of christianity into the island of Britain, Alfred the Wise, of Northumbria, began his reign. He had passed his youthful days, when, by the death of his brother, he came to the throne of his father. His early years, and many of his riper ones, had been spent in study in the cloisters of Ireland, whose ecclesiastics were then more learned than all those on the continent, if we except a few in Italy. The Irish institutions of learning at this period furnished professors for those of France, Germany, and many other places. Alfred, when in possession of power, did not forget his taste for letters, but gathered about him as many learned men as he could obtain. Adhelm, a West-Saxon poet, wrote for his instruction and amusement "Flowers of the Bible," probably a sort of dramatic paraphrase on some portions of scripture; and also treated his royal patron with some touches of the philosophy of that age. The wise king bent his mind to improving his people and their language at the same time, and shone conspicuously as a firm supporter of christianity and letters. He was the first to give a relish for these pursuits to his nobles, who had hitherto found no delight but in war, or the chase.

The improvement of the Saxon tongue was, generally speaking, constantly going on, although the knowledge of the Latin had greatly declined from the time of Alfred the Wise, until the time of Alfred the Great, who was born in eight hundred and forty-nine. This monarch fills a wider space in the Saxon history than all his predecessors, or those Saxon kings who came after him, although his grandson was quite as great a man as himself. Alfred was a pet child of his father, who took his son to Rome when he was quite young, and brought him to France also, when Athelwelf, the father, married Judith, the daughter of Charles of France; but in all these journeyings the young Alfred had never learned to read. It was his fond step-dame who set about this task, and succeeded in laying the foundation of making him one of the greatest scholars of that age. He sought learned and good men from Ireland, France, and in his own country, and commencing with the poetry of his own language, which had taken fast hold of his affections when young, he pursued it, until he had exhausted all the ballads and legends which were written in Saxon, and then set about enlarging the narrow limits of the Saxon muses, by compositions of his own which, in fact, surpassed in

Americans expressing their meaning by words which were in use at the time of the emigration of the "pilgrim fathers;" while, in the mother-country, other

excellence all the poetry of his country, as he did his predecessors in civilization and knowledge. He was not content with this, but learned the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and assisted to bring the rich treasures of these repositories of wisdom into his own market, for the supply of his own people, and the refinement of his own court. He was not a mere book-worm neither, for he was as ready to fight as to write; to enforce laws as to make them. He was no pedant, but the great instructor of his people, anticipating ages by the power of his understanding, and the reach of his genius. Institutions of learning arose under his fostering care. The son of Alfred, Edward the Elder, was not a whit behind his father in his attention to the encouragement of learning, but having a regular education, there was no necessity for such efforts as were made by his father; and the infant institutions his father established were in a flourishing state. The son of Edward, Athelstan, was a more powerful prince than his father or grandfather had been, and extended his intercourse with the world more widely. The monastic institutions which Alfred founded, Athelstan endowed, and gave them books collected from every country to which he had access. Whatever we may think of monasteries now, they were the protectors and preservers of all the learning of antiquity, and the faithful trustees of all the knowledge committed to their care when they were first created. Through several changes of fortune, now smiled upon by Edward the Confessor, and then neglected by his ambitious successors, learning flourished or declined in the more public institutions, until the invasion of William the Conqueror; but it was not often that contemplation was disturbed in the convent's shades, for ages after his accession to the throne of England. Here, indeed,

"The little, fat, round oily man of God,"

laughed, slept, or idled life away; "but these deep solitudes and awful cells," contained men of true piety and profound learning; and to whose industry and wisdom we are now indebted for much of our present advancement in knowledge.

In 1066, William defeated Harold, and became king of England. His triumph was so complete, that a sudden revolution was made in the information, taste, and pursuits of men in that island. It was natural for him to think his Norman language, uncouth and rough as it was, greatly superior to that of the Saxon, which he did not understand. The church and convent, and perhaps court records, which had been kept in Latin, were now, in many instances, ordered to be in Norman. The ballad makers who flocked round the conqueror sung his praises in the Norman measure and language, and even the deeds of former kings, whose praises had for ages been echoed in pure Saxon, were now sung in the rude rhymes of the minstrels of the Conqueror: and such was the influence of the new order of things, that in the course of half a century the pure Saxon was no longer to be found in England; and a new language, the beginning of what is now our vernacular tongue, grew up there. Ellis, a learned writer on these subjects, says this was effected in the course of forty years after the conquest, and that this change in the language of England was completely brought about in this time; but we should be nearer the truth, I imagine, if we should allow nearly a century for this transformation. The language was indeed changed to the eye and the ear; but still a great proportion of all its elements remained, and will for ever remain, a strong proof that in all the permanent improvements in civilization and knowledge, the Saxons were greatly in advance of their conquerors. This change assisted the advancement of knowledge; for language, when advanced towards perfection, is the most labour-saving machine that ever ingenuity attempted to invent. The scanty words found in a primitive language are inadequate to the conveyance of refined or extended thought. By these simple elements the nice shades of difference in thought could be no more than indicated, not fully conveyed by the words written; therefore much was left to the imagination of readers, which was supplied when language was only spoken by

terms have been substituted:—as, for instance, the word “sick,” which the Americans continue to use instead of “ill,” or “indisposed.” “The best English,”

the looks, gestures, and accents of the speaker; hence arose the superiority, in the early times, of eloquence over written compositions. The oral communication was then a better method of conveying ideas than the record, however fully exemplified by the scanty language then in use, without taking into consideration the charm there has always been in a well toned and well regulated voice.

As language improved and expanded, the noun and the verb, the first elements of language, were found insufficient, with all their declinations and inflections, to convey thought accurately and forcibly. The connecting links, the qualifying terms, the affirmations and negations, with the prefixes and affixes, to increase, change, or qualify the power of the words, were sought for, and obtained; sometimes by a happy hit, which, by frequent repetitions, in time became usage, and usage law; or by the elaborate reasonings of the scholar upon the doctrines of analogies, or the principles of an easy composition or arrangement of sentences. Sometimes the understanding directed in this work of composition and structure of language, but oftener the ear; and when at times the wise and the learned reasoned and laid down the rule, the great mass of the people changed it for euphony sake, and the learned at length came into the same use; for custom is the despot over language. In the laws of language, as well as in those of national policy, the people, after all, are the revising tribunals; not by their sudden impulses, but by the sober reflection of years; and even their own opinions are revised by their own experience.

The English literature received its share of the acquisitions of learning made by the crusaders; and the language of course was greatly benefitted by the taste which these heroic adventurers awakened and cherished. In these epochs of delicacy and refinement, many of the coarse words were disused, and those better chosen and more appropriate became fashionable. The English language gained much from the days of Chaucer to those of Spenser; and more by the taste of Shakspeare than by any other person.

It is a matter of some singularity, that so little of the Saxon language is known by our scholars, when on a strict examination we find that our poets and prose writers have used so many words derived from the Saxon. In Shakspeare, taking out the proper names, eight words out of nine are found to be of Saxon origin, as exemplified by several quotations taken promiscuously from the works of the great dramatist. Milton, tried by the same rule, would give the proportion of six out of seven. Johnson's works, as he coined Latin words and used them freely, about five sixths are Saxon. In our translation of the Bible, and the writings of Addison and Goldsmith, and other writers of simplicity and purity, the proportion of words of Saxon origin is still greater than in Shakspeare or Milton. Our own declaration of independence, and many other American productions, are written in the style which contains a great proportion of these words of pure Saxon origin. I will give a few specimens of the use of Saxon words among our best writers; fair samples of their style, and the use of good old English. The Saxon words are in *italics*.

*But no! the freshness of that past shall still
Sacred to memory's holiest musings be;
When through the ideal fields of song at will,
He roved, and gather'd chaplets wild with thee;
When, reckless of the world, alone and free,
Like two proud barks, we kept our careless way,
That sail by moonlight o'er the tranquil sea;
Their white apparel and their streamers gay,
Bright gleaming o'er the main, beneath the ghostly ray.*

SANDS.

*While thus the shepherds watch'd the host of night,
O'er heaven's blue concave flash'd a sudden light,
The unrolling glory spread its folds divine,
O'er the green hills and vales of Palestine;*

says Mr. Cooper, in his *Notions of the Americans*, vol. ii. p. 171, “is spoken by the natives of the middle states, who are purely the descendants of English

*And lo! descending angels hovering there,
Stretch'd their loose wings, and in the purple air
Hung o'er the sleepless guardians of the fold:
When that high anthem, clear, and strong, and bold,
On wavy paths of trembling ether ran:
Glory to God—Benevolence to man—
Peace to the world.—*

PIERPONT.

A good man's piety and virtue are not distinct possessions; they are himself, and all the glory which belongs to them belongs to himself. What is religion? Not a foreign inhabitant, not something alien to our nature, which comes and takes up its abode in the soul. It is the soul itself, lifting itself up to its Maker. What is virtue? It is the soul listening to, and revering and obeying a law, which belongs to its very essence, the law of duty. We sometimes smile when we hear men decrying human nature, and in the same breath exalting religion to the skies, as if religion were any thing more than human nature, acting in obedience to its chief law.

CHANNING.

There are some poems in the Saxon language which strongly show the rude, bold, and superstitious character of the Saxons before christianity was introduced among them, or had generally spread through the island. The *Volupsa*, the sybil of the Saxons was called *Vola*, is a poem given in an English translation by Turner, from whom, with Bede, Ellis, Tooke, and Campbell, I have derived much of my information on this subject of Saxon literature. It is a rhapsody on the creation, according to the Saxon notions of it, and the first lessons of wisdom given to man from his Maker. The successive generations, with their history, are introduced, but only as a landscape is seen by the transitory flashes of the lightning amid the darkness of the storm. The Welch wrote at the same time with abruptness, and threw the fire and fanaticism of their Druids into the form of some wild and magic strain.

True poetry can not exist until there is a considerable degree of mental cultivation in the bard who makes it. Men must think, and feel, and reason, too; from cause to effect, before any delicacies of poetry can be developed; but the strong ebullitions of genius raving to soar to the regions of light and futurity, are scattered through the early ages of poetry; and time gives these productions, perhaps, an interest beyond their real merits.

The English language is now so enriched from the sources I have mentioned, and other sources more recondite, and also from some more recently made contributions to our stock of words, particularly in terms of banking, trade, and revenue, that it may challenge any other language to show more words of clear and definite significations, than we have legitimized and secured. The terms of art are every day increasing, as well as those of the sciences, and are constantly added for common use to our vocabulary. These, in general, have been formed by new applications of old words to the subjects, or by new compounds made to convey the idea of the use of the invention.

The English language is full of strength. There are no feeble words in it, such as are often made by an effeminate people; but every part of the fabric is of good old materials or approved new ones. There is no thought, or shade of a thought, that the English language is not capable of conveying to the mind, if used by a judicious, learned, and spirited writer. In the use of language to gain, or to defend a point, much depends upon the skill and judgment of the writer or speaker. The vocabulary of angels would fail to propagate a thought, *that would wake the genius or mend the heart*, in the mouth of dulness or apathy. The soul of the writer or speaker must breathe into his language the breath of life. The earthly particles must be melted, as it were, into the ethereal, to give a composition the spirit of intelligence and genius. The following extracts, the first from Shakspeare, and the other from Milton, show the natural strength of the English language; for

parents, without being the descendants of emigrants from New England. The educated men of all the southern Atlantic states, especially the members of

without any apparent effort, or artful selection, the words admirably convey the elevated thoughts which the authors had in their minds, and intended to put into an imperishable form.

'The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself;
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,
Leave not a wreck behind.'

Tempest, Act iv. Scene 4.

'For in those days might only shall be admir'd,
And valour an heroic virtue call'd:
To overcome in battle, and subdue
Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite
Manslaughter, shall be held the highest pitch
Of human glory, and for glory done
Of triumph, to be styl'd great conquerors,
Patrons of mankind, gods, and sons of gods,
Destroyers rightlier call'd, and plagues of men.
Thus fame shall be achieved, renown on earth,
And what most merits fame in silence hid.'

Milton, b. xi.

The beauty of the English language is conspicuous in English poetry and prose. It is fortunate for our vernacular, that the language of poetry does not differ, except in a few words, and perhaps in no one, from our prose; for in such a formation of language, all that is gained in the interchange with other nations in prose, is transferred to verse; and all that is created or refined by versé, is given over to prose, after due trial and final judgment of its use or beauty, at the tribunal of public criticism. The following poem is a specimen of that powerful, graceful beauty, which excites admiration for its elegance, and respect for its strength. It seems to come upon us with that calmness and divinity which it describes in the god of wisdom and taste, in his easy victory over the Python. What a beautiful fable this is; it was made to show how easily refinement and wisdom can overcome and destroy the monster of the literary world—a depraved taste.

PRIZE POEM—THE BELVIDERE APOLLO. (1812.)

"Heard ye the arrow hurtle in the sky?
Heard ye the dragon monster's deathful cry?
In settled majesty of fierce disdain,
Proud of his might, yet scornful of the slain,
The heavenly archer stands—no human birth,
No perishable denizen of earth!
Youth blooms immortal in his beardless face,
A god in strength, with more than god-like grace!
All, all divine—no struggling muscle glows,
Through heaving vein no mantling life-blood flows;
But animate with deity alone,
In deathless glory lives the breathing stone.

"Bright-kindling with a conqueror's stern delight,
His keen eye tracks the arrow's fateful flight;
Burns his indignant cheek with vengeful fire,
And his lip quivers with insulting ire;
Firm-fix'd his tread, yet light, as when on high
He walks the impalpable and pathless sky;
The rich luxuriance of his hair, confined
In graceful ringlets, wantons on the wind,
That lifts in sport his mantles' drooping fold,
Proud to display that form of faultless mould.

"Mighty Ephesian! with an eagle's flight
Thy proud soul mounted through the fields of light,
Viewed the bright conclave of Heaven's blest abode,
And the cold marble leapt to life a god:

those families which have long been accustomed to the better society of their towns, also speak an English but little to be distinguished from that of the

Contagious awe through breathless myriads ran,
And nations bowed before the work of man.
For mild he seemed as in Elysian bowers,
Wasting in careless ease the joyous hours;
Haughty, as bards have sung, with princely sway,
Curbing the fierce flame-breathing steeds of day;
Beauteous as vision seen in dreamy sleep
By holy maid on Delphi's haunted steep;
'Mid the dim twilight of the laurel grove,
Too fair to worship, too divine to love.

"Yet on that form, in wild delirious trance,
With more than reverence gazed the maid of France;
Day after day the love-sick dreamer stood
With him alone, nor thought it solitude;
To cherish grief, her task, her dearest care,
Her one fond hope—to perish—or despair.
Oft as the shining light her sight beguiled,
Blushing she shrunk, and thought the marble smiled;
Oft, breathless listening, heard, or seemed to hear,
A voice of music melt upon the ear.
Slowly she wan'd, and cold and senseless grown,
Closed her dim eyes, herself benumbed to stone.
Yet love in death a sickly strength supplied,
Once more she gaz'd, then feebly smiled, and died."

Sweetness in a language is intimately connected with beauty. Beauty may perhaps consist without sweetness; no one of taste would say that the head of Apollo was a sweet one, while all agree that the face of Venus is full of sweetness; yet, if beauty can exist without sweetness, the converse of the proposition would be offensive to taste and truth, to say that sweetness was ever found without beauty. The impression which beauty leaves on the mind, is pleasure and admiration; but when sweetness is superadded, the charm is increased to love and rapture. I have mentioned images that strike the senses to illustrate those which are sentimental. This is the only method by which any thing ethereal can be made to affect us forcibly, as we are now constituted. The dirge in Cymbeline is full of sweetness and delicacy.

"To fair Fidele's grassy tomb
Soft maids and village hinds shall bring
Each opening sweet of earliest bloom,
And rifle all the breathing spring.

"No wailing ghost shall dare appear
To vex with shrieks this quiet grove;
But shepherd lads assemble here,
And melting virgins own their love.

"No wither'd witch shall here be seen;
No goblins lead their nightly crew;
The female fays shall haunt the green,
And dress the grave with pearly dew!

"The redbreast oft, at evening hours,
Shall kindly lend his little aid,
With hoary moss, and gathered flowers,
To deck the ground where thou art laid.

"When howling winds, and beating rain,
In tempests shake thy sylvan cell;
Or 'midst the chase, on every plain,
The tender thought on thee shall dwell;

"Each lonely scene shall thee restore;
For thee the tear be duly shed;
Belov'd, till life can charm no more,
And mourn'd, till Pity's self be dead."

best circles of the mother-country. Still there are shades of difference between these very persons that a nice and practised ear can detect, and which, as

The wailing ghost—the withered witch—the howling winds, which at first thought seem to injure the loveliness of the picture, form a fine contrast to all the tender and affectionate images which are grouped around the grassy death-bed of beauty and innocence. The effect of this contrast is forcibly seen in the picture of Prospero, with the snow of many winters upon his reverend head, in the majesty of science and wisdom, and paternal affection, contrasted with the manly youth of Ferdinand, and the delicacy and beauty of Miranda; and the finishing of the whole is the ugliness and ferocity of Sycorax, with her fiend-begotten Caliban, "whose nature nurture would not stick to."

The majesty of the English language is conspicuous in the following extract from Akenside:

"Look then abroad through nature, to the range
Of planets, suns, and adamantine spheres,
Wheeling unshaken through the void immense;
And speak, O man! does this capacious scene
With half that kindling majesty dilate
Thy strong conception, as when Brutus rose
Refulgent from the stroke of Cesar's fate,
Amid the crowd of patriots; and his arm
Aloft extending, like eternal Jove
When guilt brings down the thunder, call'd aloud
On Tully's name; and shook his crimson steel,
And bade the father of his country hail!
For lo! the tyrant prostrate on the dust,
And Rome again is free!"

The majesty of the language is conspicuous also in the following extract:

—"Different minds
Incline to different objects: one pursues
The vast alone, the wonderful, the wild;
Another sighs for harmony, and grace,
And gentlest beauty. Hence, when lightning fires
The arch of Heaven, and thunders rock the ground;
When furious whirlwinds rend the howling air,
And ocean, groaning from his lowest bed,
Heaves his tempestuous billows to the sky;
Amid the mighty uproar, while below
The nations tremble, Shakspeare looks abroad
From some high cliff superior; and enjoys
The elemental war."

Our own writers furnish numerous specimens of the various characteristics of our language. The chaste, pure, classical language, abounds in Hamilton's prose, and Pierpont's poetry. For sweetness, we might look into Ames's prose, and Percival's verse. Robert Treat Paine would furnish us with many sentences in strong language, in both prose and verse. Dr. Dwight's works might also be mentioned, as exhibiting a fine selection of words and phrases in communicating his thoughts. In fact, a hundred others among our distinguished writers might be quoted for our purpose, to illustrate the statement that our language is copious, beautiful, sweet, majestic, strong, &c., but we will not at this time make these selections, for the reader will probably call to mind as many instances of all these traits in our writers as I can.

I need not dwell long on the importance of cultivating our mother tongue, nor attempt to prove that it is becoming the triumphant language of mankind, when it is known to all that it is now spoken by fifty millions of enlightened freemen, who keep it purer than that used by any other nation; and that the number now, to whom it is vernacular, is five fold greater than it was fifty years ago. As empire travels westward with us, or over the immense plains of Asia with the English, this language, whose origin and history, copiousness, strength, beauty, sweetness, and importance, will carry with it the blessings of sound political and civil

they denote the parts of the union to which they belong, must be called provincialisms. These little irregularities of language solely arise from the want

institutions, the blessings of letters and science, of virtue and religion.

As our knowledge, political, civil, and religious, expands, and our arts and sciences are extended, and the comforts and luxuries of life increase, words of new significations and aptitude are required, to correspond with these advancements. A poverty of words is a sure sign of poverty of thought in those who have had advantages to acquire a full supply. Not only the progress of knowledge, but the fashion of society, has its influence over language; and the time has arrived with us, that no word found in the dictionary of our language, that is used with good taste and judgment, can be considered as too learned for the social circle. It is neither affectation of pedantry to use any proper word in a proper sense. There is too much information diffused through the country, to require that condescension in the learned which strives to be simple and plain in language, in order to accommodate their hearers. The vocabulary of the scholar and the public man, should be opulent and well arranged. There should be no "res angusta domi" for an excuse for himself to the public, in his possession of the stores of his mother tongue. These are at his command. Every one's warehouse of words should not only be well stocked, but well sorted and arranged. Every synonyme should be classed for a ready selection. Still, however, I would not be understood to commend that fastidiousness that wakes to contentious valour in defence of an accent, or strives to martyrdom for the support of the pronunciation of a doubtful word or syllable. No, it is only that free, generous, tasteful use of language, and common regard to a just pronunciation, which shows at once the affluence of thought, and the extent and polish of education, that I contend for. The conversation of the social circle is now often rich and elegant, and even when it relaxes to trifling and playfulness. Formerly there was a great difference between the written language and that used in common conversation; but these styles are more nearly assimilated, and both have been benefitted by it. Eloquence has ceased to strut in corsets, and to walk only in measured steps, and to speak only in affected cadences. Nature has assumed her sway, and ease and grace prevail. Strong, beautiful, neat, or delicate thoughts, should each have their appropriate dress. The lion's skin to throw loosely over the shoulders, the succinct tunic, the flowing toga, the sweeping robe, and the transparent veil, should all be ready for clothing for the thoughts of the conversationist, the poet, or the orator, as these thoughts arise in their imaginations, and are marshalled forth by their understandings for use and display. Words should be the vassals of the mind, at the call of memory; but at the same time should always, like the slaves of the faithful, be used only in rigid justice or innocent familiarity. Once profaned by an indecent use, their character is degraded for ever. Necessity is the only true mother of invention in words as well as in other things: wit and profligacy often degrade appropriate words by indelicate uses. The languages of polished nations alone are liable to this misuse or profanation. It is in the reckless plenitude of genius that words are violated. A host of instances might be adduced to illustrate my meaning, if it were proper; but this is rather a subject for the eye, or the imagination, than the ear. One or two instances might be named.

The voluptuaries of the court of Louis 14th, called a pure white wine Virginis Lac; this was going far enough in all conscience; but another of a purple colour they called Lachryma Christi. To compare the ruddy, joyous drops of the wine-cup, to the tears of a suffering Saviour, was reaching the confines of blasphemy.

Every pure and elegant mind ought to rejoice in a freedom from the fetters of bigotry and the prudery of excessive puritanism; but should never relax his vigils over the chastity of his mother tongue. Morals depend more on taste, than philosophy, in her analysis of the human character, is willing to allow; but no one will deny the correctness of the maxim of inspiration, that "*words filthy spoken are like apples of gold in pictures of silver.*"—*Knapp's Lectures on American Literature.*

of a capital. Throughout all New England, and among most of the descendants of the people of New England, the English language is spoken with more or less of an intonation, derived, I believe, from the western counties of England, and with a pronunciation that is often peculiar to themselves. They form so large a proportion of the entire population of the country, that some of their provincialisms are getting to form a part of our ordinary language. The peculiarity of the New England dialect, (the term is almost too strong,) is most discernible in the manner in which they dwell on the last word of a sentence, or the last syllable of a word. It is not properly drawling, for they speak very quick in common, much quicker than the English; so quick, indeed, as to render syllables frequently indistinct: but, in consequence of the peculiar pause they make on the last word, I question if they utter a sentence in less time than those who dwell more equally on its separate parts. Among men of the world and of education, this peculiarity is, of course, often lost; but education is so common, and the state of society so simple in New England, as to produce less apparent distinction in speech and manners than it is usual to find elsewhere. The middle states certainly speak a softer English than their brethren of the east. I should say, that, when you get as far south as Maryland, the softest, and, perhaps, as pure an English, is spoken as is any where heard. No rule on such a subject, however, is without many exceptions in the United States. The emigration alone would, as yet, prevent perfect uniformity. The voices of the American females are particularly soft and silvery; and I think the language, a harsh one at the best, is made softer by our women, especially of the middle and southern states, than you often hear it in Europe. New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, have each their peculiar phrases. Some of the women have a habit of dwelling a little too long on the final syllables, but I think it is rare among the higher classes of society. I do not know that it exists at all as far south as Baltimore. As you go further south, it is true, you get a slower utterance, and other slight varieties of provincialism. In Georgia, you find a positive drawl, among what are called the 'crackers.' More or less of this drawl, and of all the peculiar sounds, are found in the southwestern and western states; but they are all too new to have any fixed habits of speech of their own. The usual vulgar phrases which are put into the mouths of Americans are commonly caricatured, though always founded in truth. 'I guess,' is a phrase of New England: it is used a great deal, though not as often as 'you know,' by a cockney. It proceeds, I

think, from the cautious and subdued habit of speaking, which is characteristic of these people. The gentlemen rarely use it, though I confess I have heard it interlarding the conversation of pretty lips that derived none of their beauty from the puritans. You see, therefore, that it has been partially introduced by the emigrants into the middle states. Criticism is here so active, just now, that it is rapidly getting into disuse. The New Yorker frequently says, 'I suspect,' and the Virginian, 'I reckon.' But the two last are often used in the best society in the mother-country. The difference in pronunciation and in the use of words, between the really good society of this country and that of England, is not very great. In America, we can only tell an Englishman by what we are pleased to call his provincialisms, and quite half the time the term is correct. I was struck at the close resemblance between the language of the higher classes in the mother country, and the higher classes of my own, especially if the latter belong to the middle states. There are certainly points of difference, but they as often proceed from affectation in individuals, as from the general habits of the two countries. Cockneyisms are quite as frequent in the language of an English gentleman, as provincialisms in the mouth of an American gentleman of the middle states."

We can readily conceive that the Americans must often be strongly tempted to believe from the specimens imported by emigrants, that they speak better English than the natives of Great Britain; for we have found, to our cost, that, although not unacquainted with most of the varieties of our native tongue, the cottagers of some of the most romantic parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire were as unable either to receive or communicate ideas through the medium of words known to us, as though they had been inhabitants of the South Seas. Certainly we found far more difficulty than we have ever done among our Gallic neighbours.

The construction of the English language is a topic which occupies much more frequently (we might almost say, incessantly) the attention of the public in the United States than in Great Britain. The American linguists have been thought presumptuous in supposing they could possibly understand the language better than Murray, or other English grammarians; to an impartial examiner, however, there will appear much force and truth in many of their observations. The following extract from "Strictures on Murray's Grammar,"* may be taken as a specimen:

* Journal of Education, vol. i. p. 425.

"'An article,' says Mr. Murray, 'is a word prefixed to substantives to point them out, and to show how far their signification extends.' Again, 'There are but two articles, *a* and *the*; *a* becomes *an* before a vowel or a silent *h*.' It is not difficult to find words in English resembling the nouns, verbs, adjectives, &c. of the ancient languages; but this was not enough for the first English grammarians; they must find in English as many 'sorts of words' as were said to exist elsewhere. Something called an article was found in Greek, and suspected to exist in Latin. *O*, the Greek article, is equivalent to *hic* in Latin, and *hic* in Latin is *this* (in some dialects *thic*) in English. But *this*, Murray calls a pronoun. *The*, his article, is a contraction of *this*, once spelled *thae*, and, afterwards, *the*. *The* has been pressed into the service, and made an article; while *this* has been denied *the* (or *this* or *that*) honour; for two words that are entitled to form a separate class are, certainly, highly distinguished. Now, we venture to say, that, in every important case, *this*, *that*, *these*, and *those*, may be substituted for *the*, without altering the sense. Mr. Murray says that *the* in the sentence, 'Nathan said unto David, Thou art *the* man,' is peculiarly emphatical; but thou art *this* or *that* man is equally so. 'An article, (our author says,) is a word prefixed to substantives,' *this* and *that*, *these* and *those*, *one*, *two*, *three*, and every other numeral and ordinal adjective, are prefixed to nouns in the same way, 'to point them out,' and even, 'to show how far their signification extends,' for they effectually limit the signification of the noun. *The* man, *this* man, *that* man, *forty* men, *seventh* man. The words in italic are all articles, if Murray's definition be correct. Thus we have disposed of one article. Not satisfied with one (that is *an*) article, our grammarian must have two. *An* is a contraction of *one*. *An* is generally contracted into *a* before words beginning with a consonant, and *a* does not become *an*, as Mr. Murray asserts; for at no very remote period of our literature, *an* was used before all words. *One* is sometimes spelled *ane*, hence *an*. A book is *one* book. The article *un*, which the French grammarians have impressed into the list of articles, is also their numeral adjective. How a numeral adjective can be called indefinite, is hard to conceive. Is *one* or *ten* an indefinite number? The fact is, *a*, *an*, and *the*, are as good adjectives as any in our language; and had there not been an article in the Greek grammar, these words would have been left among the adjectives in ours."

The subject of national education has engaged much attention, overcome many difficulties, and made considerable progress in Great Britain during the

last forty years. Previously to that time, the opinion of the clerical, and perhaps of the lay aristocracy of England, was decidedly adverse to the education of the people at large; but finding that the dissenters would successfully conduct the great work of educating the poorer classes, the clergy resolved, perhaps wisely, not to suffer so powerful an engine to remain in the hands of their opponents; and from these contrary, but co-operating causes, has elementary education become in a good degree general. In the United States, however, the cause of the education of the people has had no such difficulties to contend with, and owes its successful progress to feelings far more honourable. State has vied with state, as to the most effective means of insuring the education of every individual within its borders. In the new states, large grants of land have been made by the general government to constitute funds for the support of public schools; and a reservation of land is made for that purpose, in the laying out of every new township. In other states, enactments have been made by the legislature, compelling every township to provide, by assessment, instruction for its population, and rendering each township subject to indictment and fine if the regulation remains uncomplied with. We do not deem ourselves competent judges as to which of the states has made the best arrangements to attain so desirable a result; and our limits will not permit us to enter on a general collection of the details of the number of public schools, and the amount expended in their maintenance. In most of the states education at the public expense is one of the "rights" of "free-born Americans;" and throughout the union there are very few whites who cannot both read and write. In the state of Massachusetts by the returns from 131 towns presented to the legislature, it appears that the amount annually paid in those towns for public schools is 177,206 dollars, and the number of scholars receiving instruction is 70,599. The number of pupils attending private schools in the same towns is 12,393, at an expense of 170,342 dollars. The number of persons in those towns between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one who are unable to read or write, is fifty-eight. In the town of Hancock, Berkshire county, there are only three persons between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one, who are unable to read or write, and those three are mutes.

Infant schools have been extensively established in many of the states; and the best mode of conducting early instruction has occupied much attention. We would add the testimony of our own experience to the high importance of the training the human mind

is capable of receiving between the ages of three and six, fully convinced as we are that the complexion of future life is frequently determined by the treatment received at that early age; and would especially urge on the consideration of religious parents, whether the facts they are so ready to attribute to innate hereditary corruption, do not, in truth, to a great extent, result from their own irrational and injudicious treatment, or to that of those whom they employ.

Recently great attention has been bestowed on the improvement of the public schools, and a variety of means have been resorted to to render the teachers themselves more competent for their important work. Institutions for the improvement of schoolmasters are established,* various associations for mutual improvement formed, lectures delivered, libraries accumulated, periodicals on education ably conducted, and the systems of Europe investigated; in fact, every process is in operation which can indicate intense interest—a patriotic persuasion that the stability of the empire depends on the intelligence and information of her people.

Where the elements of education are thus open to all, it cannot be otherwise than that the more wealthy should be desirous of acquiring a larger portion of knowledge for their children than the public elementary schools can be expected to afford. In the principal towns there are private schools, in which this desire may be fully gratified, and as good an education may be obtained as in similar institutions in England, though, perhaps, at an advance of thirty

* One benevolent gentleman, in New York, devotes 800*l.* per annum to this important object.

† A statement of the course of instruction, expenses, &c. in Yale College.

Terms of Admission.—Candidates for admission to the freshman class are examined in Cicero's Select Orations, Virgil, Sallust, the Greek Testament, Dalzel's Collectanea, Græca Minora, Adam's Latin Grammar, Goodrich's Greek Grammar, Latin Prosody, Writing Latin, Barnard's or Adams' Arithmetic, Murray's English Grammar, and Morse's, Worcester's, or Woodbridge's Geography. Jacob's Greek Reader and the Four Gospels are admitted as a substitute for Græca Minora and the Greek Testament.—No one can be admitted to the freshman class till he has completed his fourteenth year; nor to an advanced standing without a proportional increase of age.—Testimonials of good moral character are in all cases required; and those who are admitted from other colleges must produce certificates of dismission in good standing. The students are not considered as regular members of the college till, after a residence of at least six months, they have been admitted to matriculation, on satisfactory evidence of an unblemished moral character. Before this they are only students on probation.

Course of Instruction.—The faculty to whom is committed the government and instruction of the students, consists of a president; a professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology; a professor of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages; a professor of mathematics, natural philosophy, and astronomy; a professor of divinity; a professor of rhetoric and oratory; and eight tutors.

The whole course of instruction occupies four years. In each year there are three terms or sessions.

The three younger classes are divided, each into two or three

per cent. on the cost. In some instances, the public schools have intrenched materially on private academies; while in others the case has been reversed. In some of the female seminaries, classical attainments are carried much farther than is deemed desirable in England—Latin, Greek, algebra, and mathematics, forming part of the routine, in addition to philosophy, astronomy, geology, botany, and the usual accomplishments: and a recent traveller complains particularly of the young ladies of Cincinnati being very "blue." It would appear to be characteristic of American education, that a general acquaintance with language and science should be imparted, without pursuing any particular branch to its utmost limit. Under such circumstances, there must be a liability to superficial knowledge in many cases. There is, however, a broad basis laid, on which the refinements of literature will naturally rise, as they are called forth by the increasing improvement of the national taste; and, indeed, the progress of the last few years indicates that the time is not far distant, when "eminent scholars" will not be so rare as they are now presumed to be.

The colleges in the republic are numerous, and dispersed among the different states. Those which have attained the greatest celebrity, are Harvard University and Yale College. As it is our aim to afford information rather than offer opinions of our own, we have appended the systems of education pursued in one of these institutions in a note;† and a table, containing the names of the various colleges through-

parts; and each of the divisions is committed to the particular charge of a tutor, who, with the assistance of the professors, instructs it. The senior class is instructed by the president and professors. Each of the four classes attends three recitations, or lectures, in a day, except on Wednesdays and Saturdays, when they have only two. The following scheme gives a general view of the authors recited each term:—

FRESHMAN CLASS.

- | | |
|------|--|
| I. | { Folsom's Livy, from one half to two thirds.
Adam's Roman Antiquities.
Day's Algebra, begun.
Græca Majora, Vol. I., begun. |
| II. | { Folsom's Livy, finished.
Græca Majora, continued through the historical part.
Day's Algebra, finished. |
| III. | { Horace, begun.
Græca Majora, Vol. II., begun.
Playfair's Euclid, five books. |

SOPHOMORE CLASS.

- | | |
|-----|---|
| I. | { Horace, continued.
Græca Majora, continued.
Euclid, reviewed and finished.
Horace, finished and reviewed.
Græca Majora, continued. |
| II. | { Day's Mathematics; Plane Trigonometry, Nature and Use of Logarithms, Mensuration of Superficies and Solids, and Isoperimetry; Mensuration of Heights and Distances; and Navigation. |

out the union, and many interesting particulars, extracted from the American Almanac, is given at the close of this chapter. It will be perceived, that the

- III. { Græca Majora, continued.
Juvenal; Leverett's Edition.
Cicero de Oratore, begun.
Day's Mathematics; Surveying.
Bridge's Conic Sections.
Spherical Geometry and Trigonometry.
Jamieson's Rhetoric.

JUNIOR CLASS.

- I. { Cicero de Oratore, finished.
Tacitus, begun.
Græca Majora, continued.
Olmsted's Natural Philosophy and Mechanics.
- II. { Tacitus; The History; Manners of the Germans; and
Agricola.
Græca Majora, continued.
Natural Philosophy, finished and reviewed.
- III. { Astronomy.
Hedge's Logic.
Tytler's History.
Fluxions.
Homer's Iliad.
Hebrew, French, or Spanish. } *At the option of the student.*

SENIOR CLASS.

- I. { Blair's Rhetoric.
Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind.
Brown's do.
Paley's Moral Philosophy.
Greek and Latin.
- II. { Paley's Natural Theology.
Evidences of Christianity.
Greek and Latin.
- III. Say's Political Economy.

In addition to the recitations in the books here specified, the classes receive lectures and occasional instruction from the professor of languages; the junior class attends a course of experimental lectures on natural philosophy; and the senior class the courses on chemistry, mineralogy, geology, and select subjects of natural philosophy and astronomy. The members of the several classes attend also the private exercises and lectures of the professor of rhetoric and oratory. A course of lectures on the Oration of Demosthenes for the Crown, is delivered to members of the senior class. Specimens of English composition are exhibited daily by one or more of each of the divisions of the sophomore and junior classes. Written translations from Latin authors are presented by the freshman class. The lower classes are also instructed in Latin composition. The senior and junior classes have forensic disputations once or twice a week, before their instructors. There are very frequent exercises in declamation before the tutors, before the professor of oratory, and before the faculty and students in the chapel.

Gentlemen well qualified to teach the French and Spanish languages are engaged by the faculty, to give instruction in these branches to those students who desire it, at their own expense.

The object of the system of instruction to the undergraduates in the college is not to give a partial education, consisting of a few branches only; nor, on the other hand, to give a superficial education, containing a little of almost every thing; nor to finish the details of either a professional or practical education; but to commence a thorough course, and to carry it as far as the time of the student's residence here will allow. It is intended to maintain such a proportion between the different branches of literature and science, as to form a proper *symmetry* and *balance* of character. In laying the foundation of a thorough education, it is necessary that *all* the important faculties be brought into exercise. When certain

intention of these institutions is to give a thorough education both in languages, mathematics, and the sciences; and there is no reason to doubt that any

mental endowments receive a much higher culture than others, there is a distortion in the intellectual character. The powers of the mind are not developed in their fairest proportions by studying languages alone, or mathematics alone, or natural or political science alone. The object, in the proper collegiate department, is not to teach that which is peculiar to any one of the *professions*; but to lay the foundation which is common to them all. There are separate schools of medicine, law, and theology, connected with the college, as well as in various parts of the country, which are open to all who are prepared to enter on professional studies. With these, the undergraduate course is not intended to interfere. It contains those subjects only which ought to be understood by every one who aims at a thorough education. The principles of science and literature are the common foundation of all high intellectual attainments. They give that furniture, and discipline, and elevation of the mind, which are the best preparation for the study of a profession, or of the operations which are peculiar to the higher mercantile, manufacturing, or agricultural establishments.

There are two public examinations of the classes in a year,—one in May, the other in September,—which are continued from four to six days each. The candidates for degrees are also examined at the close of their course of study.

There are three vacations in a year; one of six weeks, beginning at commencement, the second Wednesday in September; the second, two weeks from the second Wednesday in January; and the third, four weeks from the first Wednesday in May. No student is allowed to be absent, without special leave, except in vacations. The absence of a student in term time, even for a few days, occasions a much greater injury to his education than is commonly supposed by parents and guardians.

Public Worship.—Prayers are attended in the college chapel every morning and evening, with the reading of the Scriptures, when one of the faculty officiates, and all the students are required to be present. They are also required to attend public worship in the chapel on the Sabbath, except such as have permission to attend the episcopal, or other congregations in town.

Expenses.—The college bills are made out by the treasurer and steward three times a year, at the close of each term, and are presented to the students, who are required to present them to their parents, guardians, or patrons. If any student fails to comply with this requisition, he is not permitted to recite till the bills are paid.

The annual charges in the treasurer's bill are,

	Dolls.	Cts.
For instruction	33	00
For rent of chamber in college, from 6 to 12 dollars—		
average	9	00
For ordinary repairs and contingencies	2	40
For general damages, sweeping, &c., about	3	30
For wood, for recitation-rooms, about	1	30
Total	49	00

Besides this, the student may be charged for damages done by himself, and a small sum for printing catalogues, and other occasional expenses.

Board is furnished in commons by the steward, at cost, about 1 dollar 60 cents a week, or 64 dollars a year, not including vacations. It varies, however, with the price of provisions. Wood is procured by the corporation, and distributed to those students who apply for it, at cost and charges.

The students provide for themselves bed and bedding, furniture for their rooms, candles, books, stationery, and washing. There are also, in the several classes, taxes of a small amount, for the fuel in the recitation-rooms, catalogues, &c. If books and furniture are sold, when the student has no further necessity for them, the expense incurred by their use will not be great.

The following may be considered as a near estimate of the ne-

students who remain, and diligently apply themselves, during the full term, may attain the object proposed. It is admitted, nevertheless, that a large proportion leave college for the busy and interesting concerns of life, before they have allowed themselves sufficient time to become thoroughly grounded. It may be doubted, however, how many individuals in England would condemn themselves to spend the fairest portion of their lives in celibacy, were they not amply supplied, by means of endowments, with the luxuries of life, and beguiled by a prospect of liberty and a good living at the death of some worthy consumer of the tithe. Contrasting the university system of Great Britain, under which many individuals are justly said "to spend their lives in polishing a key, without ever unlocking a door," with the less wealthy colleges of America; and keeping in view their moral, as well as literary character, the superiority of the former may be viewed without envy by a people, who in their literary, as well as in their financial pursuits, have as few beggars as they have monopolists.

cessary expenses, without including apparel, pocket-money, travelling, and board in vacations:

	Dollars.
Treasurer's bill, as above	49 49
Board in commons, 40 weeks, from	60 to 70
Fuel and light	8 16
Use of books recited, and stationery	5 15
Use of furniture, bed, and bedding	5 15
Washing	8 18
Taxes in the classes, &c.	5 7
Total	140 to 190

No students are permitted to take lodgings in town, except when the rooms in college are not sufficient to accommodate all.

Students who wait in the hall are allowed their board; and those who occupy the recitation-rooms save their room-rent and fuel in winter, and receive a small compensation in summer. A cheap boarding-house is opened, under the direction of the steward, for those students who wish to board at a lower rate than it is furnished in commons. The price of board here is about 1 dollar 25 cents.

By a resolve of the corporation, a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars a year is appropriated to the relief of indigent students, and the encouragement of merit.

The Theological Department.—The instructors in the theological department are a professor of didactic theology, a professor of sacred literature, and the professors of divinity and of rhetoric in the classical department of the college.—The whole course of instruction occupies three years; and the students are divided into junior, middle, and senior classes.—The time of admission is at the commencement of the first collegiate term. The terms and vacations are the same with those in the college. The conditions for entrance are hopeful piety, and a liberal education at some college, unless the candidate have otherwise qualified himself for pursuing advantageously the prescribed course of studies.—No charges are made for the tuition and lectures.—No funds have as yet been granted to this department for defraying the expenses of indigent students.—Board may be obtained in private families at from 1 dollar 25 cents to 1 dollar 75 cents per week.

The Law School.—The Law School is under the direction of the Hon. David Daggett, LL. D., a judge in the supreme court in Connecticut, and professor of law; and Samuel J. Hitchcock, Esq., at-

Having thus briefly noticed the machinery of education in the United States, we shall make a few observations on its results, which will be found to correspond with the character of their causes. We commence with what, with few exceptions, may be termed the lowest kind. Newspaper literature has attained a universality unparalleled in the annals of the art of printing, and leaving, in point of quantity at least, the parent country far behind. There are published in the United States nearly 1,000 newspapers: a large number of them daily, and some of them of very extensive circulation: many of them are entirely political; and certainly we cannot commend their style of conducting their warfare—they appear to mistake virulence for talent: others are purely commercial, filled with advertisements, at the rate of four insertions for a dollar. Some are devoted chiefly to literary and scientific purposes; many of these are highly respectable. A considerable number, some of them of a very large circulation, (the New York Christian Advocate and Journal, and New York

torney and counsellor at law.—The students are required to peruse the most important elementary treatises, and are daily examined on the author they are reading, and receive at the same time explanations and illustrations of the subject they are studying.—A course of lectures is delivered by the professor of law, on all the titles and subjects of common and statute law.—A moot court is holden once a week, or oftener, which employs the students in drawing pleadings and investigating and arguing questions of law.—The students are called upon from time to time to draw declarations, pleadings, contracts, and other instruments connected with the practice of law, and to do the most important duties of an attorney's clerk.—They are occasionally required to write disquisitions on some topic of law, and collect the authorities to support their opinions.—The students are furnished with the use of the elementary books, and have access, at all times, to the college libraries, and to a law library, comprising every important work, both ancient and modern.—The terms for tuition are 75 dollars per annum. The course of study occupies two years, allowing eight weeks' vacation each year. Students are, however, received for a shorter period.—The professor of law will also, for the present, occasionally deliver lectures to the senior class in college, until arrangements are made for a systematic course to be permanently continued.

The Medical Institution.—The instructors of the Medical Institution are, a professor of surgery and obstetrics, a professor of chemistry and pharmacy, a professor of the theory and practice of physic, a professor of materia medica, botany, and therapeutics, and a professor of anatomy and physiology.—The lectures commence the last week in October, and terminate the last week in February. During the course, from fifty to one hundred lectures are given by each professor.—The students have access to the lectures on natural philosophy on paying the fees of the course, and they may attend the lectures on mineralogy and geology without charge. The examination for licenses and degrees is held immediately after the close of the lectures.—The institution is furnished with a library and an anatomical museum. The students have access also to the library of the college, and to the cabinet of minerals.—The fees, which are paid in advance, are twelve dollars and fifty cents for each course. The matriculation fee and contingent bill are seven dollars and fifty cents. The entire expense of a residence of four months, through the course, including fees and all expenses, except clothing, is from 120 to 150 dollars.

Observer, for instance, the former having 30,000, and the latter 14,000 subscribers,) are religious newspapers—a class that has never yet maintained its ground in England, although blessed with a “national religion.” There is also another class of newspapers, very different from any in this country—weekly registers of facts connected with trade, commerce, internal improvements, mechanical inventions, as well as the proceedings of congress and the state legislatures—such are Niles’s Register and Hazard’s Pennsylvania Register. We apprehend they cannot exist in this country unless the stamp duty were abolished, as they combine many of the features of a newspaper with those of a mechanic and scientific magazine.

The present state of the monthly and quarterly publications indicates a rapid improvement in the taste of the American public. Several attempts were made, some years since, to establish an American Review; but the North American has been the first that has maintained its ground; and from its progressive improvement, it has well deserved the honour. It is now become almost as well known in Europe as the Edinburgh or Quarterly; and some of its articles on European politics are read with a *biting* interest. Two other American Reviews, the Quarterly and the Southern, both very ably conducted, are also published quarterly. In the field of science, Silliman’s Journal, published quarterly at New Haven, is well known, and deservedly esteemed. The American Monthly Review, recently established, gives short notices of all new works which issue from the press, either in Europe or America. The New England Magazine, though inferior, is somewhat in the style of our New Monthly. Several other literary periodicals are published in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; and even the new states in the west are not wholly destitute of periodical literature. Theological periodicals are very numerous; and some of them contain very able critical disquisitions on biblical literature, as well as controversial pieces. The Christian Examiner, and the Unitarian Advocate, published at Boston, are the organs of Unitarianism. The Christian Spectator, published at New Haven, is the advocate of orthodoxy. The Theological and Critical Repository, published at Andover, conducted by Professor Robinson and Dr. Moses Stuart, is perhaps one of the ablest critical works in biblical literature that has ever appeared in the English language. The Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Swedenborgians, Universalists, and other sects, have each one or more periodicals. It might seem impossible that such variety should exist without inducing universal freedom of thought; but this result may

be, and to a very large extent is, avoided, by the very simple process of each sect carefully excluding every other publication but its own, for the very sufficient reason that it is the only one which either does or can contain the truth—a reason perfectly similar in its principle to that which induced the Turk to order the destruction of the Alexandrian library.

The principal annual works which issue from the American press are the American Almanac, a most admirable publication, and the Annual Register, which improves every year, both as to matter and arrangement. The pictorial annuals certainly exhibit no advanced state of the arts either of painting or engraving; and, indeed, are more discreditable in the former point than in the latter: for most of the designs are taken from English prints, and this (unless the taste of the American people is founded upon the principle that a painter is to have “no honour in his own country”) most unnecessarily, as the scenery of the Hudson, the Potomac, and the Ohio, not to mention a thousand other streams, and the pencils of Cole and other American artists, would produce as interesting an annual, at any rate, as borrowed prints, which as invasions of copyright, render the works not only unpalatable, but unsaleable in Great Britain.

With respect to original works on general literature, if America has less to boast than Europe, she has still less to be ashamed of. If her genius has not been employed to enliven the fancy, neither is it devoted to the pollution of the heart. But the writings of Irving and Cooper have forced their way through the prejudice which exists against the productions of our former colonies, and are too well known and too highly esteemed to permit any encomium from our pen, without a violation of propriety. It is true that their chief writers have sought the richer reward which the European market affords; but the genius is no less American because exercised on this side the Atlantic, nor must our readers suppose that the claims of America to literary merit rest on two or three names alone. If a lucid and manly style is worthy of commendation, that of Franklin, and of Washington, has rarely been surpassed; if eloquence be a mark of genius, Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and others, may well lay claim to the wreath of fame.

We are somewhat surprised to find the dramatic writings of the Americans to be so numerous. The editor of the American Quarterly states, that “he has actually in his possession nearly sixty American dramas, consisting of tragedies, comedies, operas, melo-dramas, and farces;” and he adds, that after a duly diligent perusal of them, he can venture to affirm,

that "they are quite equal to the productions of the present race of London playwrights which are regularly brought out at our theatres, and to which the certificate of having been performed a hundred nights, with unbounded applause, gives all the efficacy of a quack medicine." Nor have the Americans been destitute of poetic efforts; not to mention living poets, Hopkins, Dwight, Barlow, Humphreys, Hopkinson, Trumbull, Freneau, Sewell, Linn, Lathrop, Paine, Prentiss, Boyd, Clifton, Isaac Story, Allan, Osborn, Spense, Brainerd and Drake, have contributed many powerful and even refined effusions of the poetic muse. It would, however, occupy a volume to give a brief account of American writers; and it is a work which we hope will be taken up by some able pen, that the ignorance which exists on this subject may, at least, be left without excuse.

We shall close our remarks on American literature with some very just observations by a recent American writer,* which place in a correct point of view the causes which have hitherto operated to retard the progress of literary refinement in the United States, while they at the same time vindicate the mental elements of their national character. "The American intellect possessing great compass, strength, and flexibility, united to a clear perception of fitness, is equal to any exigency in human affairs, and can adapt its pursuits to every change that may occur, and its measures to every new demand that may be made on it. This is attested by the great improvements it has made in every branch of knowledge that is called for in the country, and by which an honourable independence can be gained. Our position to this effect might be confirmed by a reference to the elevated condition of the liberal professions among us, and the multitude of inventions in the mechanical arts. Knowledge on these subjects, being needed in the present state of society, can be rendered profitable to its possessors, by an immediate application of it to practical purposes. It is therefore eagerly sought after, and rapidly attained. And the same will be true of every other branch of knowledge, as soon as it shall be called for under the certainty of a suitable reward. No matter whether it belongs to science, arts, or letters; let a market for it be opened, and American genius will soon supply it. But little has been hitherto done by the public to encourage American literature. It has been even discountenanced, by an unreasonable preference of that from abroad. We call the preference unreasonable,

because the foreign articles preferred have been often inferior to the domestic ones that were undervalued. The consequence has been what every one who reflected on the subject anticipated. Polite literature has been comparatively but little cultivated among us, except as a matter of individual taste and amusement. We have had but few writers by profession, because neither honour nor riches awaited the pursuit. Our mechanics became wealthy by labouring in their vocations, while our scholars might have starved in the midst of the most exquisite productions of their pens. The reason is obvious. There was a great demand for the implements of agriculture and some of the arts, but a very limited one for poetry, or any other kind of fine writing. The former was adapted to the state of society, while the latter was out of time. Necessaries and comforts, not luxuries or mere delicacies, were first to be provided. But polite literature is a luxury, and will not therefore be encouraged, because it cannot be indulged in, except as a concomitant of wealth and leisure. During this condition of things, but few literary productions appeared; and even those that did appear were not of the highest order, or in the most finished style, because they had not been sufficiently elaborated: and to become a good writer is the work of years, under close industry, and the strictest attention to style and manner. Such was the disheartening state of things: yet it has already appeared that, notwithstanding its power to blight and wither, it did not render American genius unproductive. Beneath gloom and winter the blossoms opened, and the fruit became mature and excellent, far beyond what there was ground to expect. But of late, the sentiments of society have changed, public taste and judgment are improved, and a new era is evidently opening on American literature. Foreign productions are not, as formerly, almost indiscriminately approved, nor those of our own writers rejected, merely because they are not the growth of a distant hemisphere. Readers examine and reflect, before they feel themselves authorized to decide. Their decision, therefore, is founded on principle, and is usually correct. As the consequence of this change in public feeling, American works are sought for and purchased to a much greater extent than in former years. Let this state of things continue; or rather, let it improve in the requisite degree; let fine specimens of American composition be rewarded with honour and profit, and they will soon be abundantly produced. Let prompt and liberal purchasers be found, and the market, as in other cases, will be well supplied. The Souvenirs, Tokens,

* New England Magazine, vol. i. p. 479.

and novels of the day, with many other productions of taste, give proof of this. We do not say that Byrons, and Sir Walters, and Moores, will immediately spring up among us. Authors of that class appear but seldom. But we do say that we shall soon have writers equal to any Europe contains, except, perhaps, such prodigies as we have named; and in time we shall equal them. The same genius that gave renown to our fathers, through all the eventful periods of our history, is still the cherished inheritance of their descendants."

The progress of the arts in the United States has been in proportion to their bearing on the essential comforts of life. Thus, in the mechanical arts they are inferior to no nation of the globe, as their ships, steamboats, and engines of all kinds, bridges, canals, and rail-roads, abundantly testify. Architecture has recently received a far greater portion of attention than formerly; those who devote their attention to this subject generally making the tour of Europe, to inform their minds and cultivate their taste. Many of their recent state-houses and churches indicate the improved condition of the art, and afford just ground for pleasing anticipations of the future. We cannot give our readers a better idea of the domestic architecture of a respectable house in the cities of the United States, than by quoting the description which Mr. Cooper has given of a habitation of an American in the very best society, who is in easy circumstances, of extensive and high connexions. "The house in question occupies, I should think, a front of about thirty-four feet on the Broadway, and extends into the rear between sixty and seventy more. There are no additions, the building ascending from the ground to its attics in the same proportions. The exterior necessarily presents a narrow, ill-arranged facade, that puts architectural beauty a good deal at defiance. The most that can be done with such a front, is to abstain from inappropriate ornament, and to aim at such an effect as shall convey a proper idea of the more substantial comforts and of the neatness that predominate within. The building is of bricks, painted and lined, and modestly ornamented, in a very good taste, with caps, sills, cornices, &c. in the dark red freestone of the country. The house is of four stories; the lower, or *rez de chaussee*, being half sunk, as is very usual, below the surface of the ground, and the three upper possessing elevations well proportioned to the height of the edifice. The door is at one of the corners of the front, and is nearly on a level with the windows of the first floor, which may commence at the distance of about a dozen feet above the pavement of the street. To reach

this door, it is necessary to mount a flight of steep, inconvenient steps, also in freestone, which compensate, in a slight degree, for the pain of the ascent, by their admirable neatness, and the perfect order of their iron rails and glittering brass ornaments. The entrance is into a little vestibule, which may be some twelve feet long by eight in width. This apartment is entirely unfurnished, and appears only constructed to shelter visitors while the servant is approaching to admit them through the inner door. From the vestibule, the entrance is into a long, narrow, high, and handsome corridor, at the farther extremity of which are the principal stairs. This corridor, or passage, as it is called here, is carpeted, lighted with a handsome lamp, has a table and a few chairs; and, in short, is just as unlike a French corridor as any thing of the sort can very well be. From this passage you enter the rooms on the first floor; you ascend to the upper, and descend to the lower story, and you have egress from and ingress to the house by its front and rear. The first floor is occupied by two rooms that communicate by double doors. These apartments are of nearly equal size, and, subtracting the space occupied by the passage, and two little china closets that partially separate them, they cover the whole area of the house. Each room is lighted by two windows; is sufficiently high; has stuccoed ceiling, and cornices in white; hangings of light, airy, French paper; curtains in silk and in muslin; mantel-pieces of carved figures in white marble; Brussels carpets; large mirrors; chairs, sofas, and tables, in mahogany; chandeliers; beautiful, neat, and highly-wrought grates in the fire-places, of home work; candelabras, lustres, &c., much as one sees them all over Europe. In one of the rooms, however, is a spacious, heavy, ill looking side-board, in mahogany, groaning with plate, knife and spoon cases, all handsome enough, I allow, but sadly out of place where they are seen. You ascend, by means of the stairs at the end of the passage, into what is here called the second story, but which, from the equivocal character of the basement, it is difficult to name correctly. This ascent is necessarily narrow, crowded, and inconvenient. The beautiful railings in mahogany and brass, and the admirable neatness of every part of an American house of any pretension, would serve to reconcile one to a thousand defects. As respects this cardinal point, I think there is little difference between the English and the Americans, at least, so far as I have yet seen the latter; but the glorious sun of this climate illumines every thing to such a degree as to lend a quality of brightness that is rarely known in Britain. On the second

floor, (or perhaps you will get a better idea if I call it the first) of the house of Mr. —, there is a spacious saloon, which occupies the whole width of the building, and possesses a corresponding breadth. This apartment, being exclusively that of the mistress of the mansion, is furnished with rather more delicacy than those below. The curtains are in blue India damask, the chairs and sofa of the same coloured silk, and other things are made to correspond. The library of the husband is on the same floor, and between the two is a room which is used as a bed-chamber. The third story is appropriated to the sleeping-rooms of the family; the attic to the same purpose for the servants; and the basement contains a nursery and the usual offices. The whole building is finished with great neatness, and with a solidity and accuracy of workmanship that it is rare to meet with in Europe, out of England. The doors of the better rooms are of massive mahogany; and wherever wood is employed, it is used with great taste and skill. All the mantel-pieces are marble, all the floors are carpeted, and all the walls are finished in a firm, smooth cement.*

Of the fine arts, the Americans have been less deficient in painting than any other; and, we apprehend, but few years comparatively will transpire before they attain a high character in this respect. Symbert, who went out with Dean Berkeley, in 1728, was decidedly a man of genius, though a self taught artist. He settled in Boston, where he was highly esteemed. His head of Cardinal Bentivilio, and of Dr. Mayhew, are among the first of fine portraits. Copley, the father of Lord Lyndhurst, the late lord-chancellor, appears to have been a pupil of Symbert, and flourished at Boston after Symbert's death. At the period of the revolution, after the battle of Lexington, he left America for England, where he had the good fortune to be as acceptable as he had been in his native country. Sir Benjamin West was a native of America, and first discovered his genius there. His talents are too well known to require our comment. Among the most distinguished American painters must be ranked Gilbert Stuart; he was a native of Rhode Island, and, after leaving college, made up his mind to follow painting as a profession; and not being able to find a proper master in America, Copley being then gone to England, he embarked for this country, in 1775, and put himself under the instruction of Mr. West, who was then in the zenith of his fame. Stuart soon became a favourite pupil of his master, and graduated from his school with a high

reputation as a portrait painter: he ranked second to no one in London, but Sir Joshua Reynolds. While in the metropolis, he had the good fortune to become acquainted with Burke, Fox, Sheridan, and many of their associates. These men were not only patrons of the arts, but the friends of artists. He painted several of them in a fine style, which spread his fame far and wide. They were anxious to possess and to give to the world a correct likeness of Washington, and they induced Stuart to visit the United States for that purpose. When he arrived at the city of Washington, the great man had retired from all office, and was in private life at Mount Vernon. When he sat to Stuart, as the latter has often stated, an apathy seemed to seize him, and a vacuity spread over his countenance, most appalling to the painter. Stuart was, however, not easily overcome; he made several fruitless attempts to awaken the heroic spirit in him, by talking of battles, but in vain. He next tried to warm up the patriot and sage, by turning the conversation to the republican ages of antiquity;—this was equally unsuccessful. At length the painter struck on the master-key, and opened a way to his mind, which he has so happily transferred to the canvass with the features of his face. In the whole of this picture, in every limb, as well as feature, the martial air of the warrior chief is admirably mingled with the dignity and majesty of the statesman and sage. Stuart tarried a year or two in the city of Washington, and, during that time, painted John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and many other distinguished men of America. He removed from Washington to Philadelphia, which was then greatly in advance of the other cities and great towns in the United States, in every branch of the fine arts. Here, too, he was a favourite in society, as well as in his profession. His next remove was to Boston, where he resided during the remainder of his life. For several years after his coming to Boston, he was overwhelmed with business: many had to wait months for an opportunity of sitting to him; and, even in his latter years, he frequently had more calls than he could answer.

Colonel John Trumbull, who is now living, was the contemporary of Stuart and Johnson, an acquaintance of Copley's, and a student with West. His life has been more full of incident than those of his brother artists, for he has been soldier, politician, and traveller, as well as painter. In him the love of his art was early developed; it began in the nursery: before he was prepared to enter college, he had painted several pictures; and while at Cambridge, in his leisure moments, he indulged himself in painting. Some of these efforts, before he had received a

* Notions of the Americans, vol. i. p. 194—199.

single lesson, were seen by Copley, who bestowed upon them a cordial smile of approbation. He then had but a faint expectation of making the art his main pursuit, and he subsequently entered on a military career; and, in the fall of 1776, he was appointed adjutant-general of the northern army. While in this office, he thought himself superseded, which his pride could not brook; and he resigned his commission, and returned to his native state. Having determined to become an artist, he made his way to England, to place himself under the guidance and instruction of his countryman, Mr. West, then at the head of painters in England. He had sheathed his sword, and shut his ears to all political strife, and was advancing his knowledge in the bosom of the arts, when, on the British ministry learning the fate of the unfortunate Andre, in 1780, he was seized and imprisoned in the tower, on the ground of being an American officer of the same rank as Andre; and, for some time, his life was considered in danger. During his imprisonment, Fox, Burke, and the leaders of the opposition, often visited him. At length Trumbull was released on bail; but an order instantly followed for his departure forthwith. He went to France, and from thence returned to America. During this difficulty, West was the warm and unshaken friend of his pupil, and proved to him that his virtues were as exalted as his talents, that his heart was as true and steady as his hand. Colonel Trumbull returned to England after the peace of 1783, and was most warmly received by his old friends, and patronized by them in his profession. During this visit he painted the *Sortie of Gibraltar*—a production which Horace Walpole pronounced the best that had ever been executed on this side the Alps. After his return to America, he was employed in painting the four historical pieces which adorn the capitol: the subjects are—The Declaration of Independence, the Surrender of Burgoyne, the Taking of Cornwallis, and Washington resigning his Commission. It is much to be regretted, that the pencil of this veteran has not been employed to perpetuate other signal events of the illustrious struggle of the Americans for Independence.*

Several institutions have been formed for the encouragement of the arts. One of them, the National Academy of Design, in New York, has furnished opportunity for some very judicious remarks in the *North American Review*. The editor resents the charge brought by one of the advocates of the institution, Mr. Morse, that the Americans are ne-

glectful of their own artists, and observes, that the only way in which a correct taste can be formed is, by placing a due value on the productions of the old masters, as well as on the productions of other countries. The writer adds, "That our country will equal the contemporaneous works of others, we are well inclined to believe, though we cannot but see in our peculiar situation peculiar disadvantages. But we can hardly hope that the masterpieces of ancient art are ever to be surpassed, here or in Europe. The forms and occupations of society are growing every day less favourable to the highest efforts of the imagination. We live in an age of utility. Every thing which tends directly to improve the physical condition of man, and to develop his reasoning and active powers, is cultivated with zeal and success. The most stubborn obstacles of nature are yielding to new and tremendous engineering. What were her impassable barriers, have become highways; and the fabled works of the giants are surpassed by the power of knowledge. Education is sent abroad into all classes of men, to make them feel their strength and use their reason. All this renders the world populous, prosperous, and happy; but it is at the expense of much that we love, and much that elevates and refines the feelings. In this cultivation of the reason, the imagination loses its power. Eloquence, poetry, painting, and sculpture, do not belong to such an age; they are already declining, and they must give way before the progress of popular education, science, and the useful arts. It may be, that when the great work about which the world is now occupied is accomplished, a new school of art, of proportionate grandeur, may arise; but we fear that its best days are past. We cannot but rejoice at this progress of society; still we must wish that the good it brings might be purchased without so great a sacrifice. We would not withhold the light of knowledge for fear it should dissipate the most poetical phantoms of the imagination; but we may be allowed to look back on their old haunts, laid open to the vulgar day, with some feelings of regret."†

An addition of some extent would embrace but a partial notice of a few of the more prominent works which Americans have produced, on the respective branches of law, physic, and divinity. The reputation which the United States enjoy for their successful efforts in establishing a republican form of government, embracing the inestimable privileges of civil and religious rights, independently of that derived from the valour of arms, has not been effected without the

* Knapp's Lectures on American Literature.

† *North American Review*, vol. xxvi. p. 218.

principles of legislation having been investigated with much talents and acumen, and by the publication of numerous-works, many of them of standard value, for the benefit of the present and after ages. The mere enumeration of the intellectual products of American minds, on the science of government and legislation, would occupy a considerable space: and a remark of a like import might be made in relation to the various evidences which have been given by indigenous writers on morals and religion, as well as on the science of the healing art. The editor is induced to transfer to these pages a portion of his observations made on a former occasion, on the subject of American literature, with such additions as he deems sufficiently appropriate at this time.*

"American literature seems to be but imperfectly understood abroad—but when the subject is fully examined it will be found that there have been many excellent writers in this country on many subjects of deep interest to the community. Literature had been cherished in England for the best part of a century before the American colonies were planted, or before they arrived to any consideration, and the planters had no small share of it, especially that part of learning which related to theology and biblical criticism.—The puritan divines were deeply read in the humanities, and when the yoke of Rome was thrown off, they prepared themselves to defend their opinions with all the learning of the East. When these men, and those under their clerical guidance, came to this country, they brought all the books necessary to defend themselves, and the faith they professed, and instruct succeeding generations. Those who did come to this new world for conscience's sake, were among the most enterprising men of the mother country. In 1606, the Virginia settlement began. The next was commenced by the Dutch, on Hudson's river. Smith, the leader of the Virginian colony, was a man of high acquirements and accomplishments. He wrote a minute account of all he saw and examined, and of course must be considered as having commenced the literature of the country. He published, in 1608, his sixth voyage to Virginia; six years afterwards, his first voyage to New England; and the next year, his second voyage to the same place; and in 1617, a description of the country. These were in addition to works he had previously published of his adventures in other countries.

"Among the pilgrims who came to Plymouth in 1620, there were many men of literary information.

The venerable Brewster, and his friend Carver, were both well educated, and the political compact drawn up before these pilgrims landed, is sufficient proof of their intelligence; and the correspondence this little band had with the settlers of New Amsterdam, only seven years after they had taken possession of New England, is corroborative of the fact. The letters from Governor Winslow to the Governor of New Amsterdam are written with acuteness and elegance. Several of his productions have come down to us and are much esteemed at the present time. One of his works is called *Good News from New England*.

"The colony established by Winthrop, and others, in Massachusetts, in 1620, contained several very learned men, both in law and divinity.—Winthrop was an intelligent lawyer. He kept a journal of his proceedings, and noted all the remarkable events as they happened. This work, after a variety of fortunes, has been given to the public, nearly or quite complete. Parts of the manuscript had been lost, which a few years since were accidentally found.

"Harvard college was established in 1636, and soon afterwards a printing press was set up in Cambridge. From this press issued many valuable works. The first book printed was the Freeman's Call; soon after this, an almanac; and the first political pamphlet was 'The Christian Commonwealth,' written by Elliot, *the apostle to the Indians*, who soon afterwards learned the language of the aborigines, and translated the Bible into their vernacular tongue, with parcels of several other books for religious instruction. This translation of the Bible must have been a work of prodigious labour.—There are a few copies of it now extant, and these are indeed great curiosities, for the very race it was meant to instruct have vanished from the face of the earth.

"Hooker, a divine who came to Boston, wrote many sermons, and a work on church discipline; and at the same period, Thomas Parker, a learned man, was engaged in the cause of literature, with James Noyes, his friend; they were publishers of several works on divinity. Some of Parker's works were on the controversial side.

"Mr. Thomas Shepherd, wrote on metaphysical subjects; such as '*the morality of the Sabbath*,' '*New England's lamentation for Old England's Errors*;' and likewise, '*An explanation of the parable of the ten virgins*.' This last work is said to abound in the philosophy of the heart, and has been the guide to many who have attempted an analysis of the affections and the passions. When Shepherd died, President Oakes delivered a eulogy,

* See Volume II. Part V. Treasury of Knowledge, published by Conner & Cooke, New York.

in Latin, on his character. Shepherd had two sons, who were distinguished scholars.

"One of the best writers of that day was Nathaniel Ward. He was not only a man of versatile genius; but he had laboured in several professions, certainly in law and divinity. He wielded the pen of an accomplished satirist. He wrote *'the simple cobbler of Agawam.'* This was a satire upon the enemies of Charles I., and was full of causticity and wit. He also wrote the *'Body of the Liberties.'* This is a singular work, and perhaps contains more germs of the true and fundamental doctrines of liberty and law, than any work of its size in the world. There is not a feature of all our state and of our federal constitutions, but may be found in the *'Body of the Liberties.'*

"Peter Buckeley wrote Latin poetry; some scraps have been preserved. He wrote and published a celebrated theological work, entitled, *'The Covenant of Grace opened.'*

"Ezekiel Rogers, a clergyman of Rowley, preached the election sermon in 1643. This production was a most direct promulgation of democracy, as he advocated rotation in office, and urged the impropriety of choosing a governor for a second term. The people were then too wise to follow such advice; but it shows how much the whole mass were inclined to democracy, that such a sermon should have been tolerated.

"One of the most voluminous writers of that day, was John Cotton, mostly on subjects of divinity or church government. A catalogue of his works are given, merely to show how indefatigable the founders of our republic were in all their duties of enlightening the minds of the people; 'God's promise to his Plantation, an election sermon, 1634; a Letter in answer to objections made against the New England Churches, with the questions proposed to such as are admitted to Church Fellowship, 1641; The Way of Life, 4to; God's mercy mixed with his Justice; an Abstract of the Laws of New England, 1641, and a second edition in 1655;' this abstract of such laws of the Jews, as were supposed to be of perpetual obligation, was drawn up in 1636, when Vane was governor, though it was never accepted; it is preserved in volume 5, of his historical collections of Massachusetts: 'the Church's Resurrection, on the fifth and sixth verses of Revelation xx. 1642, a Modest and Clear answer to Mr. Ball's discourse on set forms of Prayer; Exposition of Revelation xvi.; the True Constitution of a particular visible church, 1643; the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and power thereof, 1644; the Doctrine of the Church, to

which is committed the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; the Covenant of God's Free Grace most sweetly unfolded, to which is added a profession of faith, by Mr. Davenport, 1645—3d edition, 1671; the Way of the Churches of Christ in New England, or the Way of the Churches walking in brotherly equality, &c.; the pouring out of the Seven Vials; the Controversy concerning liberty of Conscience truly stated, 1646; a Treatise showing that the Singing of Psalms is a good Gospel Ordinance, 1647; the Grounds and Ends of the Baptism of the Children of the Faithful, 1647; a Letter to Mr. Williams; the Bloody Tenet washed, and made white, by the Blood of the Lamb, being discussed and discharged of blood guiltiness by Just Defence, in answer to Mr. Williams, to which is added a reply to Mr. Williams' answer to Mr. Cotton's letter, 1647; Questions propounded to him by the teaching elders, with his answer to each question; the Way of Congregational Churches cleared, in two treatises against Mr. Baylie and Mr. Rutherford, 1648; of the Holiness of Church Members, proving that visible saints are the matter of the church, 1650; Christ the fountain of Life, 1651; a brief exposition of Ecclesiastes, 1654; his censure of the way of Mr. Hamden of Kent, 1656; Sermons on the first epistle of John, folio; a Discourse on things indifferent, proving that no church governors have power to impose indifferent things upon the consciences of men; Exposition of Canticles; Milk for Babes; a Catechism; Meat for Strong Men; a Discourse about civil government in a plantation, whose design is religion.' The foregoing works were probably all printed at the Cambridge press. We had made a catalogue of the works of this distinguished early writer, but after considerable research, found one far better made at our hands, by that learned, pious, and indefatigable biographer, Doctor Allen. Every scholar in that age wrote poetry; for they called all their productions poetry, that had been twisted out of the ordinary connexion of common prose;—but at this period, they had no good models of English versification, but Spenser; and they did not relish his use of antiquated words: however, there were some who had the soul of poetry in them.

Anne Bradstreet, who wrote a volume of poems, which were printed as early as 1642, was formed by nature for a poet. She was the wife and daughter of a governor, and was well educated. Her works were historical, metaphysical, and pious; she was as much praised in that day as any of the favourites of the muses are in our times by kind friends; and she had no fear of critics, for all the satire was reserved for polemic divinity in that day.

"Hooker, who came to this country with Cotton and Stone, was a distinguished writer, whose works made up a part of the literature of that age. He wrote a work on church discipline, and published a volume of sermons.

"John Norton was one of the great scholars of that early time; he wrote a Latin book in answer to certain questions put to him by the divines of Zealand, and many other works upon theological subjects, taking rank with Cotton and others of his school.

"While literature was cultivated, mathematics were not forgotten.—John Sherman delivered lectures on numbers, and on moral and political economy, as far as the science was then understood. He taught all who listened to him, how to make the best use of the means heaven had given them, both spiritual and temporal.

"Winthrop, governor of Connecticut, was son of the chief magistrate of Massachusetts, and a learned man; he was a philosopher.

"Roger Williams, who was the founder of Rhode Island, possessed more learning than he had credit for in those days, as his creed was objectionable to many; some of his poetry, and his vocabulary of the Indian language, have come to light of late years, which place him among the best bred scholars of that age.—He is the father of toleration in this country, which is praise enough for one man.

"Among the most gifted minds of early times was that of Ann Hutchinson, the wife of a respectable representative in the legislature from Boston. She was metaphysical and eloquent—she admired Cotton, and he had a great respect, as a man of intellect must always have, for a woman of such commanding talents.—She had meetings of women, and broached what the lords of creation thought new doctrines. There was a little touch of what is now called Swedenborgianism in her creed, for she asserted 'that believers are personally united with the spirit of God;' and perhaps she assumed a deeper look into futurity than most other women. All this was harmless enough, but not so for the grave divines of her time. They called a synod in 1637, the first ever called in America. This convention condemned eighty-two of her erroneous opinions; and the poor woman, for thinking deeper, and reasoning probably better, than her judges, was banished from Massachusetts. She was a fine spirited woman, and ought to have been made a teacher in the churches, instead of receiving a decree of banishment. She went to Rhode Island, 'the asylum of heretics,' the highest eulogy that ever was pronounced on any state. She lived there a few years, when her husband died, and

she removed to New York. In 1643, she, and the rest of her family, were slain by the Indians; this was considered by the superstitious as a just punishment for her numerous errors in religion. The Hon. James Savage, one of the first scholars of this country, is descended from Ann Hutchinson; and prides himself, no doubt, on his ancestry, for who would not be vain of having descended from such a gifted woman?

"Elliot had versified David's Psalms, which were unpopular; and Dunster, president of Harvard College, a ripe oriental scholar, attempted to revise them: it would have been better had he attempted to translate them altogether anew. This corrected version was at length superseded by that of Tate and Brady; which was in the next generation superseded by the fine version of Dr. Watts.

"The first tragedy written in America, was from the pen of Benjamin Coleman, while he was a student in Harvard College, entitled *Gustavas Vasa*, and was enacted at Harvard College at a regular commencement. He studied divinity, and was settled at Boston. He was eloquent and affectionate, and was called upon to pronounce the eulogies of most of the great men who died in his time. From his sermons, more than a hundred in number, many facts have been taken for the biographies of the 'illustrious men who were his predecessors.'

"Others were also distinguished as scholars, divines, and philosophers; but none more so than the Mathers, father and son. Increase, the elder, was president of Harvard College, was an agent for the colony in England, and wrote a great many excellent works. He was one of the chief labourers in the literary vineyard; and as such, was surpassed only by his son Cotton, the greatest prodigy of learning, of this, or of almost any other age or country. Cotton Mather was born in 1663, at which time the whole country was new, and the views even of the statesman and divine extended but little beyond the plantation, as a religious community, and before many had looked forward to the growth and power of the Colonies. Cotton Mather was the most voluminous writer that ever appeared in this country. The number of his works, according to one of his biographers, amounted to 383; many of them of considerable size. The *Magnalia* is the one now most often read. It contains a great portion of historical matter, and often serves for data to those who most violently abuse the author and his writings. A deep hatred against him, was fixed in the minds of many, at the course pursued in the affair of witchcraft in 1692, and previous. Mather was deceived, for he could not

have intended to do wrong, and has only the sin to answer for which lies at the door of many now-a-days, *'of forgetting, in their zeal to do good, the necessity of examining the means they use to effect their purpose.'*

"To Robert Calef, we owe much; he was opposed to Mather's course, and came out boldly against it. His facts are clearly stated, and his reasons fairly given. The common sense of the people was awakened, and the whole delusion vanished, but not without a struggle on the part of the Mathers, and their friends.

"Michael Wigglesworth, was contemporary with Cotton Mather, but his senior.—He was an invalid most of his days, and his mind naturally turned on solemn subjects. As was not uncommon at that time, he acted in the double capacity of divine and physician to his flock. He was, for many years, confined to his house, and there he sought to do good by his poetry. He published a poem, called the Day of Doom; it was a poetical description of the great and awful day of judgment. He also published a discourse on eternity, and several other short labours upon the solemn subjects of a change of worlds. Wigglesworth was a poet of no ordinary genius, and of extensive acquirements. His descendants, down to this day, have in every generation, been distinguished for talents and learning. There is a deep feeling in his Day of Doom, which only wants the skill of modern verse, to make greatly effective. The same thoughts, wrought up by Scott or Moore, would be admired.

"The first century of New England history was closing as the Mathers went down to the tomb. The scholars now in life had been educated at Harvard College, and all the statesmen and literati seemed to consider this their native land, which had not been the case for a great part of the first century. Connecticut now put in her claims for distinction. She had commenced a college, and could already boast of many intelligent men in every walk of life. Good Dean Berkeley, and others, had been roused by the reputation the colonies had acquired, in their short existence, and were desirous of having a share in the literature of the country.—Berkeley foresaw the coming glories of this country; and though it was not in the nature of things for him to realize his anticipations, yet his visions were prophetic. What he waited for and expected in his day, came in due time, even in less than a century. He is not less a seer that foretells events, because he can not answer for times; things are often disclosed when the hour of their advent is hidden: notwithstanding this, the

little poem by the Dean upon this country has been and still is considered a sort of prophecy.

"To this imperfect sketch of American writers on theology may be added a long list of divines who have sustained no small share of consideration, and exercised a wholesome and profitable influence by their respective publications, at a comparatively late day. The catalogue of sermon writers is indeed immense: a few of the most conspicuous of them are Provost Smith, of Pennsylvania; Smith, of New Jersey; Parsons, Tucker, Chauncey, Lathrop, Buckmaster, Channing, and Payson, of Massachusetts; Seabury, Smalley, and Strong, of Connecticut; Morse, Mason, Romaine, and Hobart, of New York; Buist and Dehon, of South Carolina, &c.

"The literature of the United States has received several substantial contributions by G. C. Verplanck, Esq. Of these, his work on Revealed Religion is perhaps the first in importance. Polemical theology has had many expositors; Edwards, Strong, Huntington, Linn, Mason, Miller, Whelpley, Howe, Bowden, M'Leod, and Spring. A Search after Truth, by Dr. Beasley, must not be omitted.

"When William and Mary came to the throne of Great Britain, a new charter was given to Massachusetts, and war and conquest, in some measure, took the place of religious discussions. Sir William Phipps brought out lawyers with him, and some new books, which had an effect on the taste of the times. Public schools were now cherished; commerce was engaged in; and the whole people began to believe that they were destined for something more than a mere plantation for religious purposes. The people began to think that the press was intended for more than an instrument to make numerous copies of a book, and held it in the light of a security for the liberties they possessed.—Book printing had been known in Boston for many years before a newspaper was established. In 1636, books were printed, but it was not until 1704, that a newspaper was established. In 1686, there was a press set up in Philadelphia, and in seven years afterwards in New York—but pamphlet printing constituted the most of the business. The clergy were the great patrons of the press for the first century.

"The News Letter was published at Boston in 1704, and continued for the space of seventy-two years, until after the commencement of the war of the revolution. The Boston Gazette was next established, and the third was the New England Courant, by the elder brother of Benjamin Franklin, and in which that great philosopher was engaged as an apprentice. The first paper published in Philadel-

phia was issued in 1719, and the first in New York in 1725.

"Among the most valuable writers of this country was Thomas Prince, the chronologist; he was a fine scholar, deeply read in civil, military, and ecclesiastical history. He travelled, became an excellent oriental scholar, and returned home fraught with all the collected wisdom of the old world, and at once set about doing something for the honour of his native land. He was the first who gave an account of the *Aurora Borealis* in this country. This phenomenon was seen by most with superstitious dread; but he met it upon sound principles of natural philosophy, and calmed the fears of the public. His productions are numerous, and are all marked with great good sense; but his chronology is the most esteemed of all his works, for its profound research. It is to be lamented that he did not bring his work down to more modern times. He spent too much time on the fabulous or doubtful parts of history to finish a table of the minute events of his own times. His labours should be continued by some of his countrymen, for there are ample materials for such a work; but perhaps whoever would undertake the task, would find himself but ill-paid for his trouble, and mortified as Prince was, at its slow sale; for while the public were praising the work, the writer was left to pay the printer. It is often to be regretted, that the book which the learned admire and extol, finds, perhaps, but few purchasers.

"Benjamin Franklin was born in 1706, and while a youth, was distinguished for his talents. He marked out a new path for himself. His essays were plain, and so full of good sense, that he became at once a popular writer. In 1732, he began his *Poor Richard's Almanac*, which abounded in such aphorisms and sayings as would attract all tastes and were useful for all conditions.—He then became a political writer, and was the first to gather a sufficient body of statistics to form correct opinions, and probably was the best informed man on general colonial subjects in the country. He next made many experiments in electricity, for the safety of human life. He also suggested a plan of union and defence for the colonies. His whole life was one long day of mental efforts, and his writings have an influence on this enlightened age.

"David Mason, a pupil of Franklin, in a few years after the philosopher's experiments in electricity, gave lectures upon the science, and excited the wonder of the people at the phenomena he exhibited by his machine. He was also acquainted with the science of chemistry, as it was then known in Europe; and

was called by the legislature of Massachusetts to teach the art of making gunpowder.

"From the first settlement of the country, the almanacs had exhibited a sufficiency of science for their general purposes, and oftentimes much more; and the literary information they contained was profitable and widely diffused.

"Doctor William Douglas wrote a summary account of the colonies, and something on botany, statistics, and political economy.

"Paul Dudley was the first in this country who turned his attention to natural history, and some of his papers are specimens of fine writing.

"Mark Catesby's works at this time became known. He travelled through Virginia and South Carolina; both of which abounded in plants, animals, and eminent materials for a naturalist. He returned to Europe, and procured assistance in getting out his work; a production which has much assisted our botanists in later times.

"The science of mind had now begun to call forth the attention of the ablest men in this country. Polemic divinity had lost some of its popularity, and new paths of learning were to be explored. Among the most distinguished of these philosophers, was Jonathan Edwards, who wrote on the "*Freedom of the Will*." This work has received the highest encomiums from those great men of Europe, who have made metaphysics a study.—Sir James Mackintosh, in the last labour of his mind, spoke of Edwards with profound respect. The works of our metaphysician have been published in eight octavo volumes, of large size, and, to the credit of the country, sold well. His son was quite as profound in the science as his father, and his style more clear and attractive; but the second in any pathway, has generally less fame than the leader.

"In 1763, the subject of introducing bishops into America, brought forward some of its best writers, among whom was Abthorp, rector of the episcopal church in Cambridge. It was a harmless affair in itself, but was made, from fears of the orthodox puritans, a matter of moment. Seabury, Johnson, Chauncey, and Mayhew, all engaged in the controversy, and displayed no ordinary talents. In Mayhew's productions there was much energy and bold freedom of political remark. He discovered no partiality for Saint Charles I., and refused to put him upon the calendar of the pious army of martyrs, although it was certain that he died after the manner of them. Doctor Mayhew was one of those men who enter so deeply into the affairs of their professional duties, that they forget how much is justly due to their ani-

mal nature—and wore himself fairly out, before he had reached the best age of mental labour. He died at the age of forty-six, of a nervous fever, brought on by excessive study.

“Several institutions of learning had been founded, and were in a state of *hopeful experiment*, besides the college at Cambridge. Yale college was in a thriving condition long before the period to which we have brought down our cursory remarks upon American literature;—and the college at Providence, (now Brown University, and under excellent auspices,) had connected with it some fine scholars. Nassau Hall had been founded, and a circle of learned men were soon brought from its walls—the Burrs and the Edwardses are among them. Columbia College, (then King’s College,) had gone into operation before some of those we have mentioned; as also Dartmouth College, and all were doing well. There was now something fixed and settled, as it regarded future operations in the arts and sciences. At this juncture the revolutionary troubles came on—but there were mighty minds harnessed for the hour of battle. The mental resources of the country had been collecting for the crisis; and all were fearless in the cause. We pause a moment, to show who wrote on this subject. The currents of Time will let these records last.

“Among the writers, whose works more immediately assisted in bringing on the revolution, we may record James Otis. In 1765, he wrote a pamphlet on the stamp act. This, at the time, was considered an excellent piece of fine writing, and was republished in London by the friends of America. The works of Mr. Otis were not numerous; and there can be no doubt, but that his fame as an orator, added much to his reputation as a writer; and more than this, the nature of his subjects at that time were all-absorbing. His writings, however, aside from their political character, had, it was agreed by friends and foes, great merit. He wrote, ‘A vindication of the conduct of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts,’ in 1762; the Rights of the British Colonies Asserted, 1764; and Considerations on behalf of the Colonists, 1765. These productions were scattered through the country, and every copy was read at least by five hundred persons, so popular was all he wrote at the time; and in the discussions upon the subject, more anecdotes of the effects of his eloquence were told, than ever Greek or Roman had in store for the fame of Demosthenes or Tully; but abating much for all the enthusiasm of the times, there can be no doubt but he had a powerful pen, and a tongue of fire.

“Another of that band of patriots, whose writings did much to awaken and cherish the flame of liberty,

was John Adams. He wrote several essays over the signature of NOVAGLUS, in answer to some papers on the royal side, signed MASSACHUTENTIS, written by a lawyer of the name of Leonard. These were papers creditable to both, as matters of argument, and were admired and extolled, as people took sides. Mr. Adams was on the popular side upon the great questions then agitated in the country. During this period, he had acted in the highest political capacities; but here we have only to mention his writings. He published ‘A Defence of the American Constitution,’ to appease an opinion then prevalent among many patriots, that a single assembly was the only true government. This opinion was advocated both in England and France, and it cannot be denied, was favoured by Franklin. Mr. Adams ransacked history to show that such a government was defective, and the theory is now at rest. In his old age and in retirement, Mr. Adams poured out his opinions in a series of pieces, which afford the statesmen many early facts, and opinions which are valuable to the historian. His style was bold and characteristic, and evinced marks of deep reading, and profound reflection.

“Samuel Cooper, a clergyman of Boston, was a constant writer in the cause of liberty. He wrote a political discourse, as early as 1759, on the taking of Quebec, which directed the attention of the politicians of the day to him, as master of a fine pen in the cause of rational liberty. All his writings, from that time, had a bearing on the great question between the mother country and the colonies. There was an eloquence and grace in his productions, beyond the style of the times, and he became a man of wonderful influence in all political controversies. Works of this nature, in some measure, lose their charm in an after age,—but Cooper’s writings are tasteful at this day.

“Josiah Quincy ranks among the writers of that day as wielding an elegant pen. He was a man of genius, and earnestly engaged in the cause of freedom: and when the Boston *Port Bill* came to this country, and was put in force, he wrote a pamphlet, entitled, ‘Thoughts on the Boston Port Bill, &c., addressed to the freeholders and yeomanry of Massachusetts.’ It was spirited, and in many parts highly eloquent. He had much of the Grecian spirit, and not a small share of Athenian eloquence. He fell a victim to his vigils of patriotism in early life.

“One of the best writers of the age was John Dickinson, who was born in Maryland, but was active in Delaware and Pennsylvania. In 1767, he began to publish tracts against the taxation of the colonies. These were masterly productions, and deserve to rank

mong the best specimens of American genius. He was a member of the Congress of 1774; and his pen was frequently employed in drafting the most important state papers. The address to the inhabitants of Canada, the first petition to the king, the address to the army, the second petition to the king, and the address to the several states, were written by him. One of these petitions to the king, was the production which called forth the memorable compliment from Lord Chatham, in which he called him superior to any classical writer of antiquity. While president of Delaware, he published a proclamation to his people, full of lessons of wisdom. When the constitution of the United States was under discussion, he wrote a number of letters, signed Fabius, in order to forward the adoption of it, which merit reading at the present day. Many other works came from his hand, all tending to public good. His works have been collected and published in two volumes; but are now only to be found in public libraries, and with those who are lovers of the curious and rare; they ought, and will be reprinted, and placed along side of the *FEDERALIST*, and other standard works of American literature.

"South Carolina boasts, and with justice, of her patriotic writers in the great cause of freedom, one of whom was William Henry Drayton. He was a prime scholar—enlightened and polished by foreign travel. On coming home, he became at once a patriot, and took up his pen in the cause of his country. He wrote a pamphlet, addressed to Congress, under the signature of 'Freeman,' in which he expatiated upon the grievances of America, and then openly stated their rights. He also published a charge to the grand jury of his state, which is now incorporated into the history of those times. He also wrote a history of the American Revolution, but his materials were not so extensive as those of Ramsay and others.

"William Livingston, of New Jersey, wrote many things to rouse the people of his state to vigorous exertions in the cause of liberty, and was justly ranked among the patriots and fine writers of his time. He was not confined to one department of literature, for his poetry had as much spirit as his prose. He presented to the New York Historical Society, or his son did, from his library, the journal of the British House of Commons for several years, comprising the period commencing a year or more before the death of Charles the First, and extending nearly to the time of the restoration. They are proved to be genuine and original from the following indices, viz.: from the water-marks of the paper on which they are written; the first volumes have the royal stamp on the

paper; the next, the fools-cap and bills, ordered by government in derision, to take the place of the royal arms;—this continues for some volumes, and then appear the arms assumed by the commonwealth; and then, those of the lord protector, Oliver Cromwell. These volumes unquestionably were brought over to this country by the regicides, who wished to hide the record of their proceedings, in order to prevent Charles II. from finding out all that was done in his exile. This was the safest place for them, and here they will be preserved for future history. It is a singular fact, that every English historian is silent upon their loss, and no one has ever pretended to quote these journals; yet much useful matter may be extracted from them, and many things that English history does not contain may be found there. Some one of the Livingston family may give a minute history of their being found in this country. It would be as acceptable as curious.

"David Dulany, of Maryland, was one of the writers upon political subjects, previous to the revolution. He wrote several treatises on the great subjects of taxes and other matters, which agitated the colonies at that time; but he did not live to see the end of the contest, in which he had so heartily entered, and with so much reputation. He was one of the number who were early called to their account; but it is a remarkable fact, that those who entered into the cause of freedom—heart and soul—lived longer than most other men;—whether it was because they were animated with heroic sentiments, or from some other reason, the fact is nevertheless certain, that the signers of the declaration of independence, as a body of men, arrived at a greater age, and died more quietly, than any fifty-six that could ever be named, as acting together in any important national concern.

"Virginia had her share of good writers, who were engaged in enlightening the American people during the revolutionary contest. The Lees were among the most distinguished. Richard Henry Lee, among other works, wrote what has been called the 'Farmer's Letters,' and the second address to the people of Great Britain. These productions evinced patriotism and scholarship. Arthur Lee, his brother, was also a political writer of distinction. He wrote letters under the signature of JUNIUS AMERICANUS, which held a high rank, at the time, among the literati of America. Mr. Jefferson wrote the declaration of independence, Notes on Virginia, and a Manual of Parliamentary Practice for the use of the Senate of the United States, which was an abridgment, with some alterations, from Hatsell's great work on the same subject. Hatsell was clerk of the House of Commons

from 1768 to 1797, and was thoroughly acquainted with all the rules and order of parliamentary proceedings, which is a science in itself, not thoroughly understood by many politicians. Mr. Jefferson's acute mind at once penetrated the arcana.

"It would be unjust to pass over General Joseph Warren, who fell at Bunker Hill, in our notice of those who had added to the stores of American literature. He was a frequent writer in the periodical journals of the day, where he poured forth all the warmth of his soul. He delivered two orations on the Boston massacre, one in 1772, and another in 1775; and perhaps no two orations since the days of Demosthenes' orations against Philip, ever had such an influence upon an audience, or such an effect upon the people generally. These productions have been used for declamation by every schoolboy since that time. The burst of indignation—the high toned patriotism—the fundamental maxims of a free people, all came in torrents of eloquence; and its effects were felt through the country. On the 17th of June, 1775, he sealed his course with his blood, being the first martyr of the revolution. He was assisted in defending the views of freemen and their rights, by Hancock, Church, and others of note, who were zealous in the cause of their country.

"The literature of the revolution was bold, direct, and without any affectation. Any high exertions of mind will produce new and ardent expressions; and these, after a while, will be moulded by taste. If you take the orders and proclamations of Washington—the letters written by him in the exigencies of the moment,—there will be found that strength and felicity of expression, that is supposed to be the offspring of care and leisure. Some of the writings of Knox, Schuyler, Brooks, Laurens, and others, during the most gloomy parts of the contest, are marked with excellent sense, and often are elegant compositions. The commentaries of Cæsar, were written in a camp.—When the mind is under excitement, we often find that it receives the best method of thought and expression. In the intercourse of a camp, some minds are always found, which give a direction and tone to the rest. It was so in our army; and even in a prison, instruction may be received.

"It is a singular fact, that the diplomatic correspondence of the revolution has not been surpassed; nor has modern times improved much upon the styles of Adams, Washington, Lee, Jefferson, Hamilton, or Dickinson. The poets of those days, had not the models before them, that they now have; but few productions contain more elegant satire, than can be found in M'Fingal, or more patriotism than can be

discovered in the arousing songs of Freneau. When one mind pervades all classes of men, improvement is rapid; every beam of light that is reflected, and refracted in a community, acting in unison, increases the force and power of the ray. If the whole nation had gone to school, instead of going to fight, they would not have learned as much as they did in the eight years' war they waged for independence. Heaven never intended that the choicest blessings should be had without pains and labour.

"Since the revolution, we may fairly class the writers that have been conspicuous in our country; for, notwithstanding our habits and forms of society did not allow any one to follow exclusively one course, yet there has been a finer opportunity for men to display their particular talents, than there was when every one bent his whole soul to one great object, that of gaining for his country the rank of an independent nation. A nation, like an individual, must go through a course of discipline, to form a character. It might be impossible to form a nation that should bring all their energies to the best possible direction, without going through a series of difficulties, teaching forbearance, sacrifices of local prejudices, and making each part acquainted with the characters of the whole. The revolution contributed as much to the advancement of learning, as it was necessary to the formation of national character.

"Before the revolution, it was difficult to place our writers into classes, for almost all were miscellaneous in their productions; since that period, notwithstanding no man has exclusively followed any one branch of learning, still the classification is more distinct than in former times, and we shall give an account of our authors and their works under distinct heads.

"HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.—Ramsay's history of the United States, ranks among the best works we have in our libraries. He had ample materials for his work, and particularly that part of it which relates to the revolution, as he was a member of Congress, at one time president of that body, and consulted with Washington upon all the important events of the revolutionary war. He was a fair-minded historian. He also wrote a compend of universal history, which did him great credit.

"Holmes' Annals of America, from 1492 to 1826—the second edition in two large volumes, is one of the most useful works ever printed in the United States. It is pretty copious, very correct in dates, and in description of events, and adorned with much accurate and excellent biography. It is written by a scholar, who had no prejudices, who is a great antiquarian, and a lover of his country; and if it now and then shows

a little more partiality to saints of his own creed than to saints of another creed, it requires no small sagacity to find it out. Every future historian will plunder him; but it will be impossible for any one to abuse him. A more unpretending, and a more valuable work, was never published.—Minot's histories deserve also special consideration. Smith's History of New York: the edition in two volumes, published by the New York Historical Society, which brings down the records of the state to the administration of Colden, in 1762; Williamson's North Carolina, Gordon's Pennsylvania, and his New Jersey; Mills' statistics of South Carolina,—also deserve notice. Marshall's history of the Colonies, and his life of Washington, are valuable works; what they want in the charm of fine writing is amply made up in accurate observation and impartial delineation.

"The histories of the several states have been written with more or less ability. Belknap's history of New Hampshire is a work of merit. He had access to the best materials, and he wrote with honesty, intelligence, and taste. In fact, it is one of the best specimens of the style of our writers extant. It is a remarkable fact, that no one has attempted the subject since, except in the way of illustration or explanation.

"Sullivan, a man of genius and learning, has written the history of the District, now the state of Maine, but his materials were scanty, and notwithstanding he did all that a man of talents at that time could do, yet a more copious history of that growing state is wanted.

"The history of Massachusetts has been more fully written out than that of any other state. In addition to the works of Winthrop, Hubbard, and others of the early settlers, we have many of modern times that are worthy of notice; such as Minott's and Bradford's histories of Massachusetts, and Hannah Adams' History of New England. This lady was one of the most candid and accurate historians that ever wrote. She set down no assertion that had not proof to support it, nor one that had a particle of prejudice to be abstracted from it. It may be said, without fear of contradiction, that the historians of New England have been more assiduous than those of any other portion of this extended country.

"Trumbull's history of Connecticut is a good ground work for a future writer. He is explicit and honest; had nothing to disguise, nor did he 'set down aught in malice.' The history was an eventful one, and he handled it with great simplicity.

"Professor Williams has written a history of Vermont, but that state has so wonderfully increased in

population, wealth, and character, that it will be only the ground-work of a more full history: but it is fortunate that this ground-work is so philosophical. The commencement of most histories is fable and romance—this is otherwise, being fact and philosophy.

"Flint has written a history, and given some account of the geography of the Western States. He is shrewd, capable, literary, and eloquent. It is impossible that he should have done entire justice to this new world in so small a compass—but it is the first of all considerations, that what is done, should be well done,—this praise no one will deny him. It is to be wished, that he may live to fill up his great outlines.

"In modern times, Yates and Moulton have written most excellently upon the history of New York, and these men are capable of giving a full history of this state; but this will not probably be done, until the government of the state make some provision for forwarding the work. To give a fair and correct history of this state, requires more research and labour, than to write the history of any other of the states, as more than half a century of it is in Dutch records. It is said that the materials are ample, and there can be no doubt of it, as the Dutch were the most minute, pains-taking, and accurate of the nations of Europe, and they could not have been wanting in making journals and observations on all the passing events of the times in which they lived. New York, the centre of the union, and the mart of the world, should have minute and well written accounts of all she has done, and all she is.

"Stoddard has made some judicious sketches of the history of Louisiana, which deserve credit: but that old territory, though new to the United States, deserves a full history. It is already, and every day becoming more important to the United States, and should be fully known to all the members of this great republic.

"McCall has, with considerable talent, given us a history of Georgia, but there is a more ample field than he had at that moment means to explore. This state is now a large one, although the last settled of the old thirteen states. The character of Oglethorpe, the founder, has not yet been fully written out.

"The histories of Ohio, Kentucky, Missouri, Indiana, Mississippi, and other new states, have only been partially written. The lovers of history should, at this moment, set about making exertions to have all the facts relating to those interesting sections of the country gathered up, and put into proper form.

"Pitkin's Political and Civil History of the United States is a valuable work. It covers a period from

1763 to 1798. This work shows us more of the labours of the statesmen of that period, than any other production. Miller's *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* is a work of great research. It was printed at the commencement of the nineteenth century, just as American literature began to expand. Thomas' *History of Printing* is a curious book. The writer has done much for learning, by establishing an antiquarian society, and gathering a fine library for public use. He was a printer himself, and had treasured up many important facts. Lyman's history of the Diplomacy of the United States is valuable to every statesman and historian. It required no small share of perseverance to collect and arrange such a mass of matter.

"Mr. Sparks, an able scholar, who has the Washington papers, amounting to sixty volumes of manuscripts, and a mass of other matters from the Colonial office in England, is now furnishing the country with a view of these subjects, on a most extended scale. It will be several years before his labours can be finished, for he does every thing thoroughly.

"In biography the country has been pretty well supplied since the revolution. Besides the Biographical Dictionaries of Elliot, Hardie, Allen, Rogers, and others, we have many works on this subject, containing only a few names, or, in many instances, only one name. Ramsay, Marshall, Bancroft, and Weems, have published lives of Washington in good sized volumes; and a hundred sketches of the Father of his country may be found in the journals published since and before his death.

"One of the most elegant pieces of composition to be found in our language of the kind, is Washington Irving's life of Columbus. He went to the fountain head for his materials, and spared no pains in working them up.

"Tudor's life of Otis is a valuable work, not so much for delineation of character, as accurate historical anecdote. He was an excellent scholar and a great lover of his country.

"The Lees of Virginia, whom we have heretofore named in this sketch of literary history, have found an able historian in one of their descendants.

"Wirt's life of Patrick Henry has been one of the most popular works ever printed in our country. It has lately appeared in a new edition, with the memoir of the author, written in good taste.

"Judge Johnson's life of General Greene, is an elaborate and a minute work, enriched by some of Greene's correspondence, which shows the directness and strength of his mind more than any thing could do unsupported by such proof.

"A life of Gouverneur Morris has been given by Mr. Sparks, in addition to his other labours, which is a most interesting book, full of the events of the French revolution, a most important period in the civilized world. The same author has also given to the public the life of the traveller Ledyard, whose sober history, without a particle of embellishment, is a romantic tale.

"Sanderson's lives of the signers of the declaration, is a clever work. A volume containing their lives was printed at Hartford; and brief sketches of these distinguished men will be found in the first volume of the *TREASURY OF KNOWLEDGE*, from another hand.

"Colden's life of Robert Fulton is a valuable work. It proves how much can be done by genius and perseverance. Every inventor should read this book, when discouraged by untoward events; for never was there a more persevering spirit than Robert Fulton. Who has, in the end, done more good?

"Very recently the more important annals of the revolution and events subsequent have found valuable historians in the life of John Jay, the eminent statesman, by his son William Jay; and in the life of the illustrious Hamilton, by his son John Hamilton; the first volume only of this work has yet appeared: it brings down events to the termination of the revolutionary struggle.

"Of works which will hereafter be deemed of value to the historian, as illustrating the history of the times, Theodore Dwight's Account of the Hartford Convention will claim special consideration.

"The life of Wm. Livingston, of New York, has lately been written by a worthy descendant of his, Theodore Sedgwick, Jr.

"Brown, the novelist, wrote the life of Dr. Linn. It is a fine specimen of writing, and of warm and affectionate colouring. The writer and subject were poets and friends. There is a glow in this little work that would do honour to the pen of Burke.

"Dunlap, the painter and dramatist, several years since published the life of Charles Brockden Brown. It is a fair and faithful account of that distinguished writer, who died before the public could fully appreciate his merits. In the minds of many it was thought almost criminal to deal in fiction, and some esteemed it a species of falsehood; but since Brown's death this prejudice has been scattered to the winds by the magic wand of Sir Walter Scott, and many admirable lessons of wisdom been given through the medium of fiction.

"Dr. Hosack's memoir of De Witt Clinton was written soon after that great statesman died. The

work contains many valuable facts for the future historian, expressed in a clear and perspicuous manner. The obitulist seemed fearful of eulogy, and of being considered too partial to his excellent friend, and has spoken of him in a subdued tone, when he might have indulged in higher notes of praise.

"The lives of the late venerable pastor of sacred theology, Dr. Livingston, by A. Gunn, D. D. and of Dr. John Rogers, by Samuel Miller, D. D. will be consulted by the historians of ecclesiastical affairs. A similar remark may be made concerning Bishop White's memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal church.

"THE POETRY OF THE UNITED STATES, *since the declaration of independence*.—The Conquest of Canaan, an epic poem, by Timothy Dwight, was not published until 1785; this was hailed as a work of high merit. It was written when the author was quite young, and is full of poetry, certainly; and a hundred years hence, will rank higher than it now does. He wrote Greenfield Hill, and several other poems. Dwight was a man of genius, of acquirements, and virtue; but he lived too much with the pious and particular, to become sufficiently acquainted with those incidents that mark the pathway of mankind in general, a knowledge of which is so essentially necessary to the poet. He was a virtuous man and a good scholar.

"Joel Barlow published his *Vision of Columbus*, in 1787, and dedicated it to Louis XVI. After the first publication, he remodelled it, called it the *Columbiad*, and made it quite another thing, in politics. This has appeared in a most splendid edition in this country, and in the opinion of many, stands at the head of our poetry. He wrote other works, such as, *Conspiracy of Kings*, *Hasty Pudding*, &c.

"General Humphrey also wrote poetry, and was considered as one of the poetic trio of Connecticut at that time. He, with Trumbull, Barlow, and Hopkins, wrote the *Anarchiad*. In 1782 he published a poetical address to the armies of the United States. He wrote a poem on the happiness of America; on the future glory of the United States; on the industry of the United States, &c. &c. He had more of the polish of the soldier than the spirit of the poet; but he has many admirers, and still holds a rank among the best and most patriotic writers of this country.

"Richard Alsop was one of the Connecticut poets, who wrote for the pleasure of the hour. He has the credit of getting up the *Echo*, a work of great poetical power, sometimes in burlesque and sometimes slyly grave. This work contained some admirable hits upon the reigning follies of the times, and now

and then drew a feather across a favourite's nose. Alsop left several unpublished poems, and published a good many things for amusement only. The *Echo* is one of the best satires ever written in this country. His coadjutors were Theodore Dwight, Trumbull, Hopkins, and others, not so distinctly known.

"Mrs. Warren should have been named before these bards. She wrote two tragedies, '*The Sack of Rome*,' and '*The Ladies of Castile*.' These were written during the war, and all for patriotic purposes. Previous to them she wrote a play, called '*The Group*,' which contained some forcible satire, and had a decided effect at the time. She was a sister of the great patriot, James Otis, which gave some eclat to her writings. She was a woman of genius, and a good writer.

"Judge Dawes, at the close of the revolutionary war, wrote some fine poetical pieces, among which were '*The Law given on Sinai*,' and '*An Ode on the Death of James Otis*.'

"Dr. Joseph Brown Ladd, who died in Charleston in 1786, in the twenty-second year of his age, was a fine poet. He wrote many things worthy of being preserved. His sister has lately gathered up all the pieces she could find from his pen, and published them in a neat volume. It does credit to her affection and his genius. It contains a short but elegant biographical notice of Ladd from the pen of William Chittenden, Esq., a tasteful and spirited writer of the city of New York. His prominent poems are, an '*Ode to the Sun*,' and '*The Appeal of Almasi, the wife of Almaz Ali Cawn, to Warren Hastings, governor-general of India*.' He wrote many other pieces, particularly a series of poems under the signature of Arnoret. These productions, and many of prose, from his pen, bear marks of genius, and of precocious acquirement.

"John Blair Linn wrote poetry of no ordinary character. He was a lawyer, a dramatic writer, and then a divine. He wrote a poem on '*the Death of Washington*,' '*The Powers of Genius*,' and a play called '*Bourville Castle*.' He died young, much respected.

"Robert Treat Paine claims a high rank among the poets of his time. He wrote '*The Invention of Letters*,' '*Adams and Liberty*,' and '*The Ruling Passion*,' with occasional songs and odes; one, '*the Steeds of Apollo*,' was his last, and in better taste than most of his other productions.

"John Lathrop was contemporary with Paine. He was a poet of taste, but did not write much. His longest poem was entitled '*Canonicus*,' published first in Calcutta, and reprinted in Boston.

"Charles Prentiss was among the bards of that time. He had taste and versatility. His 'Will,' a playful poem, written while at College, gave him a high rank in the catalogue of wits and poets of the age.

"William Boyd wrote a poem 'on Woman,' remarkable for delicacy and smoothness. It has been read by the fair ever since, if not with the highest admiration, certainly with great pleasure.

"William Clifford, a young quaker of Philadelphia, burst out into a most courteous address to Gifford, praising him for his *BAYIAD* and *MÆVIAD*. He wrote some patriotic songs, which were quite famous in their time. What he wanted in the inspirations of the muse, if any thing was wanted, he made up in patriotism.

"Paul Allen, Isaac Story, Captain Spence, and Selleck Osborne, were all poets, and some of them have been highly praised, and no doubt with propriety.

"Some few who have written since, have gone to their long account, and of course we can speak of them as if they had not been our contemporaries. Some of them wrote beautifully, and their works should be preserved by the generations to come. It is easy for the just to secure what the envious would wish to destroy.

"John G. C. Brainerd, who died a few years since in Connecticut, was a man of talents and principle. The columns of the *Hartford Mirror* bear testimony to his acquirements and taste. A friend of the deceased has gathered up his fugitive poems, and printed them with a delicate memoir of the poet. His temperament was sensitive and melancholy. He loved not the world, and was taken from it early, being only thirty-two years of age.

"Robert C. Sands, who has lately descended to the tomb, at the same age, was a fine scholar, of exquisite taste, and devoted to literary pursuits. He was one of the authors of that fine poem, *Yamoyden*, which he wrote in company with young Eastburn, who died several years before Sands. His works are now preparing for publication by his friends. Some of his poetry, written when quite a boy, is not inferior to the early productions of Henry Kirke White. Sands was one of the best classical scholars of our country, and his works will be read with pleasure, as containing many flights of a vigorous and fastidious muse.

"The late Dr. Drake of New York, was the author of several poetical effusions of rare merit. Our only regret when perusing this writer's compositions is, that they are not more numerous.

"We pass over the living poets, still with pen in hand, without comment, as the time has not come to do them justice, or to speak of them with freedom. Many of them have acquired an enviable fame in the pursuits of literature—Bryant, Halleck, Dana, Sprague, Pierpont, Mack, Wetmore, Mrs. Sigourney, Miss Gould, Mrs. Ware, Mrs. Hale, Mrs. Child, Woodworth, Willis, and hundreds of others, who occasionally cultivate poetry as an amusement, but few or none of them as a profession. Our votaries of the muse are often discouraged from venturing on the wing, from watching the flights of the eagle geniuses across the water, forgetting that most of these writers make poetry the great business of their lives. Should some of our most gifted writers devote themselves assiduously to poetry, we might soon vie with England in poets as we have in orators. Life is too short for any one to attend to many things. Few American poets keep their pieces 'nine years;' their productions often reach an annual, or some periodical, in as many hours; being things thrown off as occasion demands, or as caprice may inspire.

"**DIVINITY.**—In 1793, Dr. Hopkins, a shrewd and deep metaphysician, published a system of divinity, which was the foundation of a new sect. He differed from Calvin in some things, pushing his doctrine even beyond the great reformer himself. This system had a host of opposers, many of them very learned men.

"Doctor Timothy Dwight's system of divinity, published since his death, is the most voluminous in the country, is remarkable for clearness and fairness, and seems to be the most popular of all the theological works ever printed in the United States. The beauty of his life gave a charm to all matters from his pen. His doctrines are distinctly Calvinistic.

"For several years, a spirited controversy was carried on between the orthodox and the Unitarian clergy, in which several gifted and learned men took part—Noah Worcester, Samuel Worcester, Mr. Stewart, Doctor Wood, and others, on the side of Calvinism; and Doctor Channing, Mr. Norton, Doctor Ware, Mr. Whitman, and others, on the Unitarian side. It was a 'war of the giants,' and they perhaps now only rest from their labours, neither being vanquished. The reading public have derived much instruction from this collision of mighty minds.

"Doctor Emmons has published several able discourses, which should be read by those who do not, as well as by those who do, agree with him in sentiment: Emmons belongs to the Edwards school of metaphysicians.

"Doctor Freeman has published a volume of ser-

mons. Those who do not follow his creed, must admire his liberal views, and his pure and elegant literature.

"Joseph Buckminster's sermons, published since his death, have more of the charm of fine writing, than any that have ever been published among us. If, as some have said, there is a want of evangelical divinity in them, even these critics could not deny the fact, that there is an Apostolic purity running through them, which chains the heart to the memory of such a man, and fixes the attention to so sweet a writer. His Phi Beta Kappa oration is a splendid specimen of writing. His friend Thatcher wrote a memoir of his life. It was a description of a bright, particular star, that rose, culminated, and set for ever, while the magi were gazing at it.

"Others have written volumes of sermons, and almost every clergyman prints an occasional discourse; but as yet, few works on theology, written in the United States, have issued from the press. There are several theological periodicals that discover great learning and research. The Christian Examiner, published at Boston, is much read and admired by the Unitarians, and commands the respect of other sects for its chaste literature, gentlemanly courtesy, and high moral tone.

"The Biblical Repository, published at Andover, in Massachusetts, is a quarterly work. It is learned, and every day rising in reputation. Andover Theological Institution met with much opposition in getting a charter. One of its advocates said, at that time, 'no matter what creed they avow, give them an opportunity to become learned, and they will, in the end, be right, whether it be your creed or mine, or neither, they shall hereafter teach.' The Christian Spectator, published quarterly at New Haven, is one of the most acute and candid of all the reviews in the whole country. We differ from many, in thinking that the science of theology is yet in a crude state among us. We believe that it has received more attention than any other science, and is better understood. It is a science which can never be brought to any degree of perfection. That part of it which is founded on nature, is as well read as it ever will be in regard to a reverence of the Creator; and that which is founded on the faith once delivered to the saints, will, in a free country, for ever be construed by each one as he pleases. Between man and his God, there is a communion that no philosophy can long interrupt, and no false glare long delude. Man knows his responsibility; he feels it every hour, and if he is 'taught to stray' for a season, he comes back with a due sense of his dependence, and of the

necessity of forgiveness and mercy. There are several, it is said, who are deeply engaged in giving us true versions of the scriptures; we wish them success. It can not be doubted, that it is not only the prerogative of man to be constantly reasoning upon his Maker, as well as his own being;—his benevolent God has so ordained it, and the creature should be in the discharge of his duty. Toleration, which our constitutions of government sanction and defend, can alone advance the nation in the science of theology.

"FICTION.—As we have before remarked, the grave character of the people of the British colonies in this country, almost entirely precluded works of fiction. But among the first who ventured indirectly to break the spell, was a reverend divine, Doctor Belknap. He wrote the *Foresters*, a story made up to divulge some of his sentiments upon history, politics, and manners, which he thought it was not prudent to express directly. This work was extensively read in every part of the United States, and much admired.

"At the head of American novelists, is Charles Brockden Brown. He published several novels, viz. *Wieland*, *Ormond*, *Arthur Mervyn*, *Edgar Huntley*, *Clara Howard*, and *Jane Talbot*. They were admired by a few men of feeling and taste, but he was suffered to expire before they reached any prominent eminence. Since his death, they have been reprinted in this country and in England, and have received no small share of praise from able critics. No one who has read his works, will deny them the merit of striking incident and vivid description.

"Mrs. Foster, soon after this, wrote 'the *Boarding School*,' and 'the *Coquette*.' The latter caused considerable excitement, as some of the principal characters were well known. These works had the merit of being written in good English, and the *Coquette* was a sad tale, too true to be called fiction.

"Mrs. Rawson, who for many years was at the head of a school for young ladies, wrote, besides school books used in her institution, several novels—*Charlotte Temple*; *the Sorrows of the Heart*; *Montoria*, or *the Young Lady's Friend*; *Sarah*, or *the Exemplary Wife*; *Reuben and Rachel*; a sequel to *Charlotte Temple*; and several others. These were all read with avidity, for it was well understood that her English was good, and her motives pure. *Charlotte Temple* went through nearly twenty editions.

"Since the novels of Walter Scott have been extensively known, several candidates for fame in this path have started forth; but no one has gained more celebrity than James Fenimore-Cooper. His *Spy*, *Pioneers*, *Red Rover* Last of the *Mohegans*, the *Wept*

of Wishton-Wish, the Pilot, and others, have all been extensively read and much admired, not only in this country, but in England, France, and Germany.

"James K. Paulding has written several good novels and works of satire. His *John Bull in America*, made those for whom it was intended, feel severely. His *Dutchman's Fireside*, and *Westward-Ho*, have been very popular. He is a prompt and rapid writer. Having been one of the authors of the *Salmagundi*, placed him early on elevated ground.

"Timothy Flint, of the Western country, has written a novel called *Francis Berrian*, that has been much admired, not only at the West, but also on the sea-board. He has devoted himself to literature, and deserves the generous patronage of that growing empire.

"Miss Sedgwick is among the very best writers in the United States; always sensible, correct, and moral. She sees clearly, and expresses forcibly what she means. Like Miss Edgeworth's works, her *Redwood*, *Hope Leslie*, and *Clarence*, will be read in future days with as much interest as they are at present.

"Mrs. Child's *Hobomok*, *Rebels*, &c. have been justly praised, and by those who have taste and judgment.

"**LAW.**—For many years the press has teemed with reprints of law books; to many of them notes have been appended. The twelve thousand practising lawyers in the United States, are in general well provided with law books. Not only the laws of every state, but the reported decisions of most of their highest courts, are readily found in every city, town, or village. Some of the best scholars of the country have been engaged in multiplying books on the science of law. Books of pleadings, and practice, have been published in almost every state in the union, and have afforded excellent guides to the practitioner. It would exceed our limits to name a tithe of them. A few who have engaged in great labours we will mention. Mr. Adams wrote an essay on *Canon and Federal Law*, which had a great reputation at the time. Nathan Dane was engaged for forty years in making an abridgment of the law, which he finished eight or ten years since, and published it in six large octavo volumes. He is considered one of the profoundest lawyers of the country.

"Chancellor Kent's *Commentaries on American law* is considered by competent judges, to be one of the best works since Sir William Blackstone published his commentaries.

"Judge Story's overflowing and excursive mind,

has been busy upon almost every part of the law, from Constitutional Law to that of Bailments, Shipping, Bills of Exchange, &c. &c. The bar and the bench are deeply indebted to this indefatigable jurist, who has brought the mind of a statesman to the detail and principle of jurisprudence.

"Louisiana is indebted to the late secretary of state for the United States, Edward Livingston, for arranging the civil code which is now in force in that state. By this code, every action is commenced by short petition or statement. The whole of the complex machinery of the common law is dispensed with, and the forms of special pleadings unknown in their courts. Mr. Livingston has been employed for several years in forming a code of criminal law. It is divided into a code of crimes and their punishments, a code of procedure, and a code for regulating Penitentiaries. The whole is a work of great labour, deep research, clear views of human nature, with a current of benevolence running through it, that has made it the admiration of the enlightened in every country. If the code is not, in all its parts adopted, its spirit will, in time, pervade the criminal code of all civilized countries.

"**MEDICINE.**—Since the peace of 1783, there has been more activity in the profession of medicine and surgery than in any other. This profession furnished several brave officers in the revolution, and many statesmen since; among them were Brooks, Cobb, Mercer, St. Clair, Gadsden, Bricket, and many others. The first martyr in the cause of the revolution was Dr. Joseph Warren. His brother, Dr. John Warren, was surgeon-general of the northern army, and left the office to pursue his practice in Boston. The Medical School at Cambridge was got up under him, and a few others. Dexter, Waterhouse, and others, were his coadjutors in the cause. This was the second medical school established in the United States. Dr. Rush had devised a medical school in Philadelphia previous to this time, which may be considered the first in point of time, as it regards its foundation, and most assuredly has been second to none in its success in forming the medical mind in this country. In this school the eloquent Shippen taught anatomy. The one in New York followed, and it has been honoured by distinguished professors. The classical Bard; the learned Mitchill; the tasteful, indefatigable, and copious lecturers, and medical writers of a more modern day, Romaine, Hosack, Miller, Francis, and many others—have added to the science of the healing art, besides exerting a fatherly care over science and letters in general. The medical school at Dartmouth College was the fourth in the country, has flourish-

ed ever since its commencement, and with its seniors, is every day enlarging its influence. Next followed the University of Maryland, and then that of Kentucky. Since that period many others have grown up, which have produced many distinguished professors of surgery and medicine. It is now difficult to succeed as a quack, except in some of the most ignorant parts of the country, and there they are often ferreted out.

"The medical literature of the United States demands a passing notice. The momentous discussions which occupied a large share of the attention of the faculty, have been connected chiefly with the origin, nature, and characteristics of the several epidemical fevers which have prevailed at different times, more especially in the various maritime cities, since 1793; discussions involving the contagious and non-contagious quality of yellow fever: whether it be of foreign or domestic origin; and the law by which its communicability is governed. Mr. Noah Webster, the distinguished lexicographer, though not a medical man, long ago favoured the public with a rich repository of facts on pestilential disorders, in a *History of Pestilence*, in two vols. 8vo. The writers who have rendered themselves conspicuous on this vexed topic, are, Rush, Miller, Smith, Mitchell, Hosack, Caldwell, Brown, Bowen, Monson, Drysdale, Griffiths, Ramsay, Moultrie, Pascalis, Townsend, &c.

"Besides these, many others have given their facts and opinions on the subject, in the *New York Medical Repository*, edited by Mitchell and Miller; the *New York Medical and Physical Journal*, edited by Drs. Francis, Beck, and Dyckman; Hosack and Francis' *American Medical and Philosophical Register*; Coxe's *Philadelphia Museum*; *American Medical Recorder*, &c. &c.

"The non-susceptibility of the constitution to a second attack of yellow fever, or the greater chance of exemption from its influence a second time, seems to be pretty generally admitted by those most experienced with the disease, as demonstrated by J. W. Francis' *Letter on Febrile Contagion*, dated London, 1816. Besides the periodical works to which reference has just been made, there are several others deserving of consultation by the medical historian, as the *New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery*; the *Monthly Medical Magazine*, published at Boston; the *American Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences*; the *North American Medical and Surgical Journal*, &c. Many distinct works or monographs of acknowledged merit, might also pass in review, even in this imperfect sketch. Among the earliest publications in America on medical subjects, may be enumerated, Boylston's *Essay on Inoculation for*

the Small Pox, 1726; an *Essay on Fevers*, by Dr. John Walton, Boston, 1732; Colden on the Yellow Fever of New York, in 1742; Dr. Cadwallader's *Essay on the Iliaic Passion*, 1740; J. Bard's *Essay on the Malignant Pleurisy*, 1749; Middleton and Bayley on Croup; Jones on Wounds and Fractures, 1775; Lining on the Yellow Fever, &c. &c. The voluminous writings of Dr. Rush; the medical works of Miller; the *Essays and Fragments of Barton*; Gallup on Epidemics; Warren on the Diseases of the Heart and on the Nervous System; several tracts by Drs. Hall and Ware, of Boston, by Cathrall, Mease, and Currie, of Philadelphia, and Drake, of Cincinnati; the *Therapeutics of Dr. Chapin*; the *System of Midwifery*, and the *Treatise on the Diseases of Females and of Children*, by Professor Dewees; the medical writings of Nathan Smith, North, Tully, Minor, Eberle, Jackson, Waterhouse, Cooke: Hosack's *Essays on various subjects*—contain a great amount of information on topics purely practical, and on the rise and progress of medical education in the United States. The *Systems of Anatomy*, by Wistar and by Horner; the *Systems of Surgery*, by Dorsey and by Gibson; and the surgical papers of Physic, Post, Mott, Parish, and other eminent professors of the chirurgical art, will also receive the tribute of regard by all who are solicitous of the reputation of the adepts in the science of the healing art. In juridical medicine, Professor T. R. Beck, of Albany, has laid the profession under lasting obligation, by his scientific and popular treatise on that subject. A *System of Chemistry* was published by Dr. Gorham, of Boston, in 1819. Dr. J. Bell, of Philadelphia, has lately favoured the public with a work on the Mineral Waters of the United States. Professor Silliman has recently issued a work on Chemistry, and his periodical journal is a rich repository of facts and opinions on the natural and physical departments of knowledge. In botanical investigations, Torrey's *Flora*, with Muhlenberg's performance, and the productions of W. P. C. Barton, of Philadelphia, Bigelow of New York, and Elliott of South Carolina, are all that can at present be cited here.—No one perhaps would deem himself fully qualified to become the medical annalist of the United States, without an examination of the *Medical Biography of the venerable Dr. Thacher of Plymouth*.

"Medical Journals are now before the public as periodicals, which do honour to the talents and acquirements of their conductors and contributors; and it is not a little in favour of the profession, that the faculty are among the best friends of learning in the country. The fears that were once entertained, that the study of medicine and surgery lead to materialism.

are now done away with ; for it is now conceded that the studies connected with this profession, when fully carried out in the forms of physiology, pathology, and mental phenomena, are all proofs of infinite wisdom, and a divine superintendence. If fifty years ago there were few believers in this profession, it may now claim many of the most devout piety. It would be an invidious task to name those who have been distinguished, where all are so respectable.

"THE ARTS AND SCIENCES.—That our country abounds in inventive genius no one will question who takes a glance at the patent office. In the course of forty-three years, the length of time the patent office has been established, there have been more than seven thousand inventions recorded ; and if you would say that there was much trash, it must, on the other hand, be agreed, that many things there have a claim to a high character in the Arts. Jacob Perkins invented many things which have saved the labour of many—his nail machine, and many others. Whitney's cotton gin, as was said by a learned judge, has doubled the value of every acre of land in North Carolina and Georgia. Whitmore's card-making machine was one that received from the strange man of Roanoke, an almost irreverent compliment, that it was "*like the love of God, which surpasses all understanding.*" The power looms of Stinson have been in use in every part of the country, and have saved labour to an almost incalculable extent. Look at the store-house of these models, and one could not say the inventive power of the nation has been idle.

"In Mathematical science we have not been deficient ; the American mind is naturally mathematical, certainly arithmetical. Many of our countrymen have been distinguished abroad for their advancement in this science. Nathaniel Bowditch, LL. D., the author of several works on navigation, comets, and lastly, the translator and commentator of La Place, is at the head of our mathematicians. Professor Dean, Adrain, and many others, are conspicuous in this department of science. A higher knowledge of this science is now required at our colleges, and this branch is certainly much more attended to every where than formerly. It is found advantageous in the business of common life. No branch of knowledge is so easily acquired, with proper instruction, as this ; yet no one gives its possessor more celebrity. Two years spent in acquiring the varieties of Greek literature would hardly advance a well bred scholar so as to be perceptible to his learned friend ; but two years study in mathematics would be very perceptible.

"A slight view of our history will prove that we have been prolific in painters, from Symbert down to

the present time. *West* was born in the United States, but his faculties were developed in England.—*Copley* was a native of this country, and reached a degree of perfection in his art, before he left it, that would have made him one of the first portrait painters of any age. Hundreds of his portraits are preserved among us. *Stuart* returned to this country in the latter part of the last century, and for many years stood at the head of his profession, as a portrait painter. He has left numerous paintings to preserve his fame, and to show the extent of the power of his art in this line. *Trumbull*, the first historical painter of our country, still lives, and probably like *West* will die as it were with the pencil in his hand. He is as lively as if in the noon-day of life. *Vanderlyn*, who gained laurels abroad, is now engaged on a likeness of Washington for the Hall of the House of Representatives, in the federal city. *Dunlap* is engaged as usual in instructing those of the present generation what those of a former one suffered. The new generation of painters, Morse, Cole, Frothingham, Inman, Leslie, and many others, are busy in their calling.—There is no danger that this branch of the Arts will deteriorate in their hands.

"Some few in sculpture are becoming known ; Auger's Mercury, and Jephthah and his daughter, with Greenough's chanting cherubs, have already gratified the tasteful in the art ; and other works are soon expected from their hands. A taste for specimens of sculpture has been awakened in this country, and we trust patronage enough to support it will follow. The fine arts are of slow growth among a people who are engaged in building up their fortunes. Monuments to departed greatness are becoming common, and artists will find employment in this branch. Frazee, (late of New Jersey, now of New York,) the self-taught artist, has given reason to think he will eminently excel, by his admirable busts of Jay, Webster, Bowditch, and N. Prime. The monuments lately erected to Kosciusko, at West Point ; to Thomas Addis Emmet, in the city of New York ; to Bishop Hobart, in Trinity church ; are proofs that sculpture is now held in estimation. What can be more delightful to a grateful people, than these memorials of genius ? They are the tribute of the living, which pass not suddenly away.

"VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.—In this department we have some valuable works : Delano's Voyages, Riley's Narrative, Lewis and Clark's expedition to the sources of the Missouri, Pike's expedition to the sources of the Mississippi, Major Long's expedition to the Rocky Mountains, Keating's account of Long's travels ; Doctor Dwight's travels in the United States.

abounding in incident, and elegant description, and containing much valuable historical knowledge: Professor Silliman has published travels both at home and abroad; he is a chaste and careful writer, who sees all things with the eye of a philosopher. Flint has given us a good account of the western country, its manners, habits, and customs. Captain Benjamin Morrell has just published an account of four voyages to various parts of the world. His book abounds in incidents, contains much nautical information, and more poetical feeling than often falls to the lot of a hardy sailor. Mrs. Abby Jane Morrell, wife of the above named Captain Morrell, was with him in his last voyage to the Southern Pacific, and has published her narrative. It is a curious work, and shows with what intensity a woman views every novelty: She is the first female voyager from the United States who has published a journal. Bigelow has given us a volume of travels in Europe, of deep interest: he saw things as a scholar should view them, and describes with great faithfulness.

"Dr. Griseom's travels are full of instruction; he went out to see and describe, and all is done in purity and honesty. His principles were too firm to be led astray by false lights of philosophy, and he had no prejudices to indulge.

"The Letters from Europe, comprising the Journal of a Tour through Ireland, England, Scotland, France, Italy, and Sicily, in the years 1825, 1826, and 1827, by N. H. Carter, obtained for their author a most favourable consideration among the literati; and he stands prominent in the list of Americans, who have visited with a generous spirit foreign countries.

"**MISCELLANEOUS.**—Under this head we might make a large volume without enumerating one half of those works, more or less valuable; many of them of a high character. In philology, Noah Webster stands without a rival. He has spent a great part of a long life upon the subject, and if he is not without some errors and inconsistencies, they are more attributable to the nature of the science, than to the want of care, industry, or learning, in him.

"We are well stocked with school books, geographies, gazetteers, grammars of all sorts, and arithmetics of all plans. In statistical works we are becoming rich. Several are labouring with assiduity in this department. The Gazetteer, by Edwin Williams, abounds in tabular information, as in other valuable matter.

"In Rhetoric we have several elementary treatises, but no great work, except John Quincy Adams' Lectures on Rhetoric and Oratory, which is a work of genius and of bold opinions. He has been too much

engaged in politics these twenty years past to give them a finishing touch.

"The Conversations Lexicon, printed in Philadelphia, and edited by Lieber, Wigglesworth, and Bradford, assisted, it is said, in some parts, by Robert Walsh, has added much to the facilities of giving information on general topics. Some of its biography, however short, is happy, and the articles in regard to the United States are written in a spirit of candour, and the information is generally drawn from good sources. This book will be extensively read, and find a prominent place in every village library. The plan is a good one, that of adding information respecting our own country to that brought from abroad, and giving, at a glance, a panoramic view of a subject."

Of the various subjects which present themselves in taking a view of the state of society of any country, we deem the *manners* of its inhabitants to be the most difficult; and of all the countries of which an Englishman could undertake to form an impartial opinion, the North American republic is the most embarrassing. We are fully aware that this doctrine is far from according with that of some of the first critics of the day, who never feel more at home than when indulging in flippant and ignorant, but to them, and as they suppose to their readers, agreeable animadversions on the "barbarous manners" which "blighting democracy" has spread over the whole surface of society in the United States. If, however, they would reflect for a moment, that no one nation can be an authorized judge of another on such points, since no international standard has been yet agreed upon—that what is viewed by the polished and refined of one country as barbarous, is received in a very opposite light by the same class, (with regard to that appellation,) in another—they might be induced to hesitate before they assumed a superiority, which, however gratifying it may be to themselves, can carry no conviction, and may justly inspire, not only resentment, but contempt. Not professing to have a knowledge of this subject by personal experience, we have felt it our duty (and an irksome one it has proved) to become acquainted with, we believe, nearly all the statements of travellers in the United States for the last thirty years; and the impression it has left on our minds is that of astonishment, that such a mass of contradiction and absurdity could have been produced on any given subject; nor do we think it would have been possible, had not one of the leading periodicals of the day encouraged such publications, to their too great honour and its own disgrace, by affording the most contemptible of them a prominence it awards to no other publications

of such a character in any other department of literature.*

In one principal aspect, manners may be said to consist in the external mode in which the several duties and relations of social life are discharged. We shall speak, therefore, first of that which exists between parent and child. It has been affirmed by several travellers, that the effect of republican notions on this relation has been to destroy the authority on the part of the parent, and respect and obedience on that of the child. Mr. Bristed, Mr. Janson, and others, affirm this to be their opinion. We believe, however, if there are some families in England where more authority is exercised than in America, there are many others where there is less; and that the average of obedience is equal while it is more uniform and rational.

The relation of husband and wife appears to be sustained with a fidelity unknown (as a national characteristic) in European states. Married females, it is admitted by all, even by Mrs. Trollope, are either engaged in their domestic duties, or in works of benevolence. We shall present our readers with her description of the life of a lady of "a senator and lawyer of the highest repute;" only premising that some of the points at which she aims her sarcasm meet with our admiration and approval:—"She has a very handsome house, with white marble steps and door-posts, and a delicate silver knocker, and door-handle; she has very handsome drawing-rooms, very handsomely furnished,—there is a sideboard in one of them, but it is very handsome and has very hand-

some decanters and cut-glass water-jugs upon it; she has a very handsome carriage, and a very handsome free black coachman; she is always very handsomely dressed; and, moreover, she is very handsome herself. She rises, and her first hour is spent in the scrupulously nice arrangement of her dress; she descends to her parlour, neat, stiff, and silent; her breakfast is brought in by her free black footman; she eats her fried ham and her salt fish, and drinks her coffee in silence, while her husband reads one newspaper and puts another under his elbow; and then, perhaps, she washes the cups and saucers. Her carriage is ordered at eleven; till that hour she is employed in the pastry-room, her snow-white apron protecting her mouse-coloured silk. Twenty minutes before her carriage should appear, she retires to her chamber, as she calls it, shakes and folds up her still snow white apron, smooths her rich dress, and with nice care, sets on her elegant bonnet, and all the handsome *et cetera*; then walks down stairs, just at the moment that her free black coachman announces to her free black footman that the carriage waits. She steps into it, and gives the word, 'Drive to the Dorcas Society.' Her footman stays at home to clean the knives, but her coachman can trust his horses while he opens the carriage door, and his lady, not being accustomed to a hand or an arm, gets out very safely without, though one of her own is occupied by a work basket, and the other by a large roll of all those indescribable matters which ladies take as offerings to Dorcas societies. She enters the parlour appropriated for the meeting, and finds seven other

* These remarks are especially justified by the eagerness which the periodical referred to has recently manifested in condescending to accept the favour of the proof-sheets of two 12mo. volumes on the "Domestic Manners of the Americans," by a Mrs. Trollope. The "whipper-in" of the Quarterly has usually been very unfortunate in committing the review of works on the United States to persons as ignorant of facts, as they have been bold in assertion; a circumstance perhaps arising from the contempt in which "our late colonies" are still held, so that they are committed to the charge of the most inferior members of the conclave; or possibly the articles may have been written by an underling at half-price, while the principal has been in attendance at "Charles-street." However this may be, in one of their late reviews, while attempting to enlighten the public on the subject of the American navy, they are pleased to inform them, that, for some sinister purpose of deception, "the order of congress for building their ships limited their size to that of seventy-fours;" whereas the law, or order, as he pleases to term it, was just the contrary—"that the president of the United States is hereby authorized to cause to be built nine ships, to rate not less than seventy-four guns each:"—and in the number just published, in the prefatory remarks to the review of the work which contains "exactly the title-page they have long wished to see," we are gravely informed, as a most important fact, that "in fully four fifths of the settled portion of the United States, the labouring population consists of slaves," which is just as true as that "fully four fifths" of the talent of England is connected with the Quarterly Review. Lest we should by possibility mistake, in a few lines we are again informed, that it is "an undoubt-

ed fact, that over the most fertile, and, in other respects, the most wealthy portion of the union, the working population consists of negro slaves!"—*Quarterly Review*, for March, p. 41. Now, as out of thirteen millions of inhabitants, there happen to be about two millions of slaves, it will follow that, if four fifths of the working classes are slaves, at least ten millions out of thirteen do not work in America! and that, with the exception of the unfortunate blacks, there are little more than half a million of persons only who can be numbered among the "working population;" consequently, that the remaining nearly ten and a half millions have that special feature of aristocracy and gentility—that they do not work for their living. We can readily conceive how such a writer may conscientiously affirm, that he has read Mrs. Trollope's book with "instruction," and that he could bestow upon it "high praise." We trust we shall be deemed to have established the grave charge of ignorance, and of boldness too. Of the latter quality (tinged, indeed, with the former also) we must give one more example:—"the total absence of a national debt" (which is not a fact) is affirmed to be an evil! See *Quarterly Review*, p. 44, which asserts, that "Many persons consider that, as to this point of dissimilarity, the advantages lie entirely with the Americans. We are not of that opinion." We apprehend, that after these specimens, and more might be added, the opinions of the writer in the Quarterly will not add much weight to Mrs. Trollope's book: we shall therefore leave the enamoured reviewer, and this "lady of sense and acuteness," except so far as their observations may illustrate some portions of the subject under consideration.

ladies, very like herself, and takes her place among them; she presents her contribution, which is accepted with a gentle circular smile, and her parings of broad-cloth, her ends of ribbon, her gilt paper, and her minikin pins, are added to the parings of broad cloth, the ends of ribbon, the gilt paper, and the minikin pins, with which the table is already covered; she also produces from her basket three ready-made pin-cushions, four ink-wipers, seven paper matches, and a pasteboard watch-case; these are welcomed with acclamations, and the youngest lady present deposits them carefully on the shelves, amid a prodigious quantity of similar articles. She then produces her thimble, and asks for work; it is presented to her, and the eight ladies all stitch together for some hours. Their talk is of priests and of missions; of the profits of their last sale, of their hopes from the next; of their doubt whether young Mr. This, or young Mr. That, should receive the fruits of it to fit him out for Liberia; of the very ugly bonnet seen at church on Sabbath morning, of the very handsome preacher who performed on Sabbath afternoon, and of the very large collection made on Sabbath evening. This lasts till three, when the carriage again appears, and the lady and her basket return home: she mounts to her chamber, carefully sets aside her bonnet and its appurtenances, puts on her scoloped black silk apron, walks into the kitchen to see that all is right, then into the parlour, where, having cast a careful glance over the table prepared for dinner, she sits down, work in hand, to await her spouse. He comes, shakes hands with her, spits, and dines. The conversation is not much, and ten minutes suffices for the dinner; fruit and toddy, the newspaper and the work-bag, succeed. In the evening the gentleman, being a *savant*, goes to the Wister society, and afterwards plays a snug rubber at a neighbour's. The lady receives at tea a young missionary and three members of the Dorcas Society, and so ends her day.* And who, we say, is most happy—this lady at Philadelphia, or one in Marylebone, who, be the morning ever so beautiful, dares not be so vulgar as to order her carriage before two in the afternoon, then drives in Hyde Park, to be quizzed by all the dandy rakes that infest the place, and in the evening goes to Drury Lane, weeps at a tragedy, instead of compassionating real distress, and then remains till midnight to witness performances which nine American children out of ten would be ashamed to waste their time in? Let Mrs. Trollope, and her pious friend the Quarterly Review, who is so overwhelmed with the “disgusting

and mischievous exhibition” of an American revival of religion, solve the question.—If domestic duties, and the claims of benevolence, are thus attended to by those of high repute, we need not say that in the less wealthy class they are equally so. In all countries, *they* are allowed to be so unfashionable as to be virtuous. “It should be remembered,” says the author of *Notions of the Americans*, “that when an American girl marries, she no longer entertains the desire to interest any but her husband. There is perhaps something in the security of matrimony that is not very propitious to female blandishments, and one ought to express no surprise that the wife who is content with the affections of her husband should grow a little indifferent to the admiration of the rest of the world. One rarely sees married women foremost in the gay scenes. They attend, as observant and influencing members of society, but not as the principal actors. It is thought that the amusements of the world are more appropriate to the young, who are neither burdened nor sobered with matrimonial duties, and who possess an inherent right to look about them in the morning of life, in quest of the partner who is to be their companion to its close.”

One of the differences between European and American manners which strikes the traveller, especially the English, most forcibly, relates to the independence of servants of all kinds. We believe that antipathy to domestic service is carried to an unjustifiable excess; and for once the Quarterly speaks the truth, with but little exaggeration, when it says, “One of the greatest drawbacks to comfort in America appears to consist in the difficulty—almost impossibility—of getting good servants. There exists throughout the country such an inveterate prejudice against menial service, that nothing short of absolute want, or the strong desire of procuring some favourite object for which the funds are not forthcoming, will induce man, woman, or even child, to condescend to this sort of occupation.” It is perfectly amusing, however, to perceive how the writer exhibits the superior condition of servants in this country—he surely must suppose that his readers are ignorant of themselves and of each other, as well as of the affairs of the United States, when he thus writes: “It is in vain to reason with an American on this subject, or to endeavour to show him that if a servant makes his bargain, and does his duty, he is, to all intents and purposes, as independent as his master. It is true that this holds good, in its fullest extent, only in a country like England, where, happily for the poorer classes, the society is divided into ranks, of each of which the rights and privileges are distinctly known,

* *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, vol. ii. pp. 72—75.

and resolutely maintained. We say, decidedly, that this classification is fortunate for those who are less—aye, or least wealthy, as it affords by far the best security they could have against the encroachments of power. Let any gentleman in England treat his servant unjustly or cruelly, and see what a storm he will soon raise about his ears. If, on the other hand, he forgets what is due to his own rank, and even, with a kindly intention, takes any liberty with his servant, he is instantly checked for what, though it be not so called, is considered presumption. The truth is, neither master nor man can venture, with us, to quit his own proper line of duty; and as for obligation, that is strictly mutual, and finds its balance most accurately adjusted by the payment of wages. There are a few, but very few, masters in England who treat their *domestic* servants on these principles: we should say from our own observation, that servants in England are treated much more haughtily than they are in France, and, from competent testimony, we may add, than in any other nation in Europe, except in the dominions of the autocrat of the north. For our own parts, we can see no reason why a domestic servant should not as civilly be asked to perform what may be required, as any tradesman who may be employed; nor why he should not be thanked when he has done his duty willingly. It appears to us, that the disagreeable feelings of the English in the United States, arise, in great measure, from the fact, that each class of English society from the duke to the dustman, is infected with a most contemptible infusion of aristocratic feeling: none so much so, perhaps, as the domestic servants in high life themselves; and from whence they derive the infection is sufficiently manifest. At the same time, we willingly admit that there are more exceptions to this observation among the old nobility than among any other class, and, we may add, fewer among the uneducated, who, by successful traffic, have raised themselves to civic honours.

Friendly and social intercourse, both of a private and public character, exists in the United States in a far higher degree than the present state of Great Britain will now permit to its inhabitants; and the habit of rising early in the morning, and leaving off business early in the evening, tends very much to promote social intercourse, without infringing on other engagements. It is true, in that intercourse, some practical good is generally kept in view; there is often more introduced of mutual improvement in literature or sciences than would please the genteel youth of England, who leave such matters to mechanics' institutions: and, perhaps, there is more of religion in many of their social meetings

than would be agreeable to many of the members of our churches, who, whatever their profession may be, practically appear to consider religion a species of hebdomadal lunacy, the fit asylum for which is a church or chapel: on one day it is all-important—of eternal moment—(the orthodox Quarterly admits this;) but on all other days, to think—to feel—to speak or read about it, especially in company, is “disgusting,” “mischievous,” “profane,” not to say, “blasphemous,” with the Quarterly; and “imprudent,” “unseasonable,” “injudicious,” in the estimation, or, at any rate, inconsistent with the practice, of a large proportion of professing christians.

With respect to “the freedom of intercourse which is admitted between the young of the two sexes in America, and which undeniably is admitted with impunity,” “it is to me,” says Mr. Cooper, “perfectly amazing. That the confidence of parents is sometimes abused in America, is, probably, just as true as it is that their watchfulness is sometimes deceived in Europe; but the intelligence, the high spirit, and the sensitiveness of the American, (who must necessarily be a party to any transgressions of the sort,) on the subject of female reputation, is, in itself, sufficient proof that the custom is attended with no general inconvenience. The chief reason why the present customs can exist without abuse, is no doubt owing to the fact that there is no army, nor any class of idlers, to waste their time in dissolute amusements. Something is, also, due to the deep moral feeling which pervades the community, and which influences the exhibition of vice in a thousand different ways. The language of gallantry is never tolerated: a married woman would conceive it an insult, and a girl would be exceedingly apt to laugh in her adorer's face. I do not mean to say that idle pleasantries, such as are mutually understood to be no more than pleasantries, are not sometimes tolerated; but an American female is exceedingly apt to assume a chilling gravity at the slightest trespass on what she believes, and, between ourselves, rightly believes, to be the dignity of her sex. Here, you will perceive, is a saving custom, and one, too, that it is exceedingly hazardous to infringe, which diminishes one half of the ordinary dangers of the free communication between the young of the two sexes. There is another peculiarity in American manners that should be mentioned: the women of America, of all classes, are much more reserved and guarded in their discourse, at least in presence of our sex, than even the women of the country whence they derive their origin. I think, at all events, no intelligent traveller, can journey through this country without being

struck by the singular air of decency and self-respect which belongs to all its women, and no honest foreigner can deny the kindness and respect they receive from the men. There is something repugnant to the delicacy of American ideas in permitting a lady to come, in any manner, in contact with the world. A woman of almost any rank above the labouring classes is averse to expose herself to the usual collisions, bargainings, &c., of ordinary travelling. Thus, the first thing that an American woman requires to commence a journey, is a suitable male escort; the very thing that with us would be exceptionable.

"Marriages in the United States," says Mr. Bristed, "are earlier than in Europe, there being no constraint by statute, and no fear of not being able to maintain a family in so young a country, whose extensive territory offers an abundant provision to every species of industry, when regulated by discretion. Any clergyman of any sect, or any justice of the peace, may marry any couple without asking any questions. For all the purposes of connubial happiness, early marriages are best fitted, because the youthful pair have time, and opportunity, and power, gradually to mould themselves to each other's temper and disposition and habits and manners; whereas, later marriages require much good temper, good sense, and, above all, confirmed domestic habits on both sides, to render the union happy; because the character of both parties is already fixed, and not capable of that flexible adaptation to the circumstances of life, so characteristic of ardent and ingenuous youth. Marriages in the United States are not only contracted at an early age, but, in general, from disinterested motives. Indeed, owing to our social institutions and habits, individual fortunes are seldom sufficiently large, compared with the overgrown family opulence of Europe, to induce mere money matches, where the estates, not the parties, are united. There is no fear with us of the proverb, so commonly levelled in England against sentimental affection, that 'love in a cottage generally ends in a cottage without love;' because any man, in any calling, if he be industrious, honest, and careful, may make ample provision for his wife and children."

The Americans are not without opportunities of exercising their social feelings upon an extended scale. Their religious associations are certainly the chief scene in which these affections find objects on which to fix themselves. Indeed, in the west, especially at Cincinnati, the people are, according to Mrs. Trollope, completely without amusement. Billiards and cards are forbidden by law—they have no

public balls, except a few at Christmas; and, in fact, it would appear that the only chance of social enjoyment for the good lady was at a prayer-meeting, which she appears to view with as much horror as she would a select party of convicts. The following is her mode of giving the testimony of an enemy to a most pleasing fact: "It is in the churches and chapels of the town that the ladies are to be seen in full costume; and I am tempted to believe that a stranger from the continent of Europe would be inclined, on first reconnoitring the city, to suppose that the places of worship were the theatres and cafes of the place. No evening in the week but brings throngs of the young and beautiful to the chapels and meeting-houses, all dressed with care, and sometimes with great pretension: it is there that all display is made, and all fashionable distinction sought. The proportion of gentlemen attending these evening meetings is very small, but often, as might be expected, a sprinkling of smart young clerks makes this sedulous display of ribands and ringlets intelligible and natural. Were it not for the churches, indeed, I think there might be a general bonfire of best bonnets, for I never could discover any other use for them. The ladies are too actively employed in the interior of their houses to permit much parading in full dress for morning visits. There are no public gardens or lounging-shops of fashionable resort; and were it not for public worship, and private tea-drinkings, all the ladies in Cincinnati would be in danger of becoming perfect recluses." Notwithstanding these observations of Mrs. T. it is a fact that the theatres in the eastern cities are well attended; but it is also a fact, that they are very differently conducted from the theatres of London, and that certain parties who are here admitted free, as attractions to the theatre, would, even in New York, if known, not be suffered to enter the house: and yet we believe the finances of American theatres are generally tolerably prosperous, while those of the great theatres of London are in utter ruin.

Respecting dress, Mr. Cooper says, "I think the secondary classes in this country dress more, and those of the upper less, than the corresponding castes in Europe. The Americans are not an economical people in one sense, though instances of dissolute prodigality are exceedingly rare among them. A young woman of the middling classes, for instance, seldom gives much of her thoughts towards the accumulation of a little dowry; for the question of what a wife will bring to the common stock is agitated much less frequently here than in countries more sophisticated. The facility with which the fabrics of every

country in the world are obtained, the absence of care on the subject of the future, and the inherent elevation of character which is a natural consequence of education, and a consciousness of equal rights, cause all the secondary classes of this country to assume more of the exterior of the higher, than it is common to see with us. The exceptions must be sought among the very poorest and most depressed members of the community. The men, who are no where so apt at imitation as the other sex, are commonly content with garments that shall denote the comfort and ease of their several conditions in life; but the females are remarkable for a more aspiring ambition. Even in the country, though rusticity and a more awkward exterior were as usual to be seen, I looked in vain for those marked and peculiar characteristics of dress and air that we meet in every part of Europe. In but one instance do I remember to have seen any number either of men or women whose habiliments conveyed an idea of provincial costume. The exception was among the inhabitants of a little Dutch village, in plain view of this city, who are said to retain no small portion of the prejudices and ignorance of the seventeenth century, and whom the merry author of the burlesque history of New York accuses of believing they are still subject to the power of the United Provinces. As respects the whole of New England, I saw some attempt at imitating the fashion of the day, in even the humblest individual, though the essay was frequently made on a material no more promising than the homely product of a household manufacture. In the towns, the efforts were, of course, far more successful; and I should cite the union of individuality of air with conformance to custom as a distinguishing feature of the women of the lower classes here. As I stood regarding the mixed assembly before me, I had the best possible illustration of the truth of what I will not call the levelling, for elevating is a far better word, effects of the state of society, which has been engendered by the institutions and the great abundance of this country. Of some three thousand females present, not a sixth of the whole number, perhaps, belonged to those classes, that, in Europe, are thought to have any claims to compose the *elite* of society; and yet so far as air, attire, grace, or even deportment, were concerned, it must have been a sickly and narrow taste indeed that could have taken exceptions."

The manners of the Americans, in the lighter sense of the term, may be truly stated to be a medium between the vulgarity of the lower orders, and the refinement of the highest class of European society; and there are some features of the latter as

desirable to be omitted as of the former. The blustering scion of an aristocratic house may be excused for terming the manly independence of the Americans impertinence; and for dying of a broken heart, because, after swearing at a Yankee, as the southern democrats do at their negroes, he is left to carry his trunk a mile through the broiling sun himself. We know of no obligation that rests on a porter to carry a marquess's trunk, if it does not suit his convenience; but perhaps a majority of the house of lords would be of opinion, that a month at the tread-mill would be a fit compensation to the porter for such an exercise of the freedom of the locomotive faculty. We make these observations not from the slightest disrespect to the aristocracy of England, but only to exhibit plainly some points in which the ideas of the English and Americans come in rather violent contact—doubtless materially to the disadvantage of the latter. There are some points, however, which do not admit of so ready a solution as that of the spirit of independence. One circumstance peculiarly felt by most travellers, especially in the eastern states, is a coldness of manner, which, to a European, appears like indifference or apathy. We have felt the unpleasantness of it ourselves, with one or two exceptions only, in the American gentlemen to whom we have had the pleasure of being introduced: we have, however, invariably found it to be mere manner; and consequently, by being accustomed to it, all unpleasant feelings cease to be excited. There is, however, one custom among the Americans, to which we apprehend English travellers, or emigrants, must feel an insuperable repugnance—the habit of chewing tobacco and spitting, which, though diminishing, still prevails to a considerable extent through the middle class of society. We must join in the unqualified condemnation of a custom so revolting, notwithstanding the plea that it is very improving to the quality of Turkey carpets. To the practice of lolling in chairs as though they were rocking-chairs, we see not so much objection, provided due skill be always exercised to keep clear of the legs of neighbouring parties.

The influence of republican institutions on the general appearance of society is observable, not only in the spirit of individual independence and energy it communicates, but also in the absence of many of the titles and gorgeous equipages which are common in Europe. Still a great number of carriages are kept, and a great number of titles are acquired by holding office. The use of *esquire* to gentlemen, *honourable* to members of congress and public officers, *excellency* to governors, causes every public

meeting to be crowded with titles. Others, which are despised or declined in Europe, are closely adhered to in America. The shopkeeper, or mechanic, who has combined with his trade a commission in the militia, continues to be styled major or colonel, not only during its tenure, but for the rest of his life. The same is the case with the civil functions of judge and magistrate, and even with the ecclesiastical one of deacon. In regard to the titles of Mr. and Mrs. equality is maintained, not by their disuse, but by applying them equally to all, even labourers and beggars: they cease thus to form any distinction. The negroes "*Sir*" and "*Madam*" each other continually; and know no other order amongst themselves than that of "*gentlemen*" and "*ladies*."

If ready resentment, and willingness to fight, is to be taken as the most decisive mark of a man of honour and a gentleman, the Americans, notwithstanding tobacco, &c., bear the palm from the best shots in Europe; for not only are their duels more numerous, but much more indicative of perfect sincerity by their result: while, of late especially, the rencounters of Europe have been of so friendly a character, as to reduce the transaction from a tragedy to a farce—giving hope that such proceedings will soon be left to children, with their sixpenny guns and broken tobacco pipes. The practice is, we believe from a very different cause—the moral force of public opinion, on the decline in the United States; and it would be well if a nation, who can justly boast of its efforts to prevent privateering, could triumph in the abolition of the no less dishonourable practice of duelling. As to the stories of Kentucky drinking and gorging, the combined effects of knowledge and civilization have left them only to the page of history, from which the hand of charity will willingly blot them out.

It remains for us to notice some sectional distinctions of character which may be perceived. The northeastern states, from Maine to Pennsylvania, and the northwestern, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, that are free from slavery, (the one fifth of the Quarterly,) have, in consequence, a characteristic peculiar to themselves. But the subject of slavery, as well as the Indians, we propose to notice in the next chapter; and we shall here refer to the three divisions of the country into northeastern, northwestern, and southern, as it respects their general manners. The first section contains the chief seats of learning, of commerce, and of arts; and is esteemed the most money-getting and most enterprising portion of the union, although some of the states in the others are vying with the eastern. The manners of this section are more cold and reserved than those of the south and

west. The planters of the south are represented as a liberal, almost prodigal, race of men, but as being by no means in such princely circumstances as formerly. It is one of the wise allotments of the Ruler of the world, that what is wrongfully taken from the labourer should not long remain a benefit to the oppressor; and the slave-master, be he individually ever so benevolent, stands in the relation of an oppressor to the slave. The splendid and princely fortunes which some of the planters possessed are reduced within much narrower limits; indications of which, Basil Hall informs us, were very manifest in the race-course at Charleston, where these noble supporters of the turf were no longer to be found. While speaking of the southern section, it is necessary to observe, that the states of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida, having been of French or Spanish origin, differ materially from the other states; but that distinction is being rapidly obliterated by the tide of emigration which incessantly flows into the new states. The western states, from their recent settlement, are, of course, behind the eastern in literature and the arts; but they press rapidly onward, and are daily increasing in physical, intellectual, and moral power. The abundance of provision for all animal wants encourages a degree of hospitality, and ensures a security, unknown to modern Europe. Mrs. Trollope found herself in danger of giving offence by fastening her door, as it might be construed to indicate some suspicion of the honesty of her neighbours.

We shall now mention one characteristic of American society, which, to a benevolent mind, will compensate for many trivial privations—there are no beggars. What can be more appalling and depressing to the mind, than the sight of hundreds of miserable objects sweeping pathways across the streets, to afford a pretext for soliciting alms; besides hundreds of vagrants committed to prison every month to clear the streets, many of whom gladly accept the shelter of the jail; and this in a country where, according to the Quarterly, "*happily for the poorer classes, society is divided into ranks, of each of which the rights and privileges are distinctly known and resolutely maintained?*" Noble right!—inalienable privilege—of being sent to bridewell for one month,—liberated for one day,—and then returned there for a second period! But what is this hopeless wretchedness,—this perpetual memento of the miserable condition of human beings, in comparison with the calamity of meeting hogs in the streets and vicinity of Cincinnati? Poor Mrs. Trollope! "Immense droves of them were continually arriving from the country, by

the road that led to most of our favourite walks ; they were often fed and lodged in the prettiest valleys, and, worse still, were slaughtered beside the prettiest streams. Another evil threatened us from the same quarter, that was yet heavier : our cottage had an ample piazza, (a luxury almost universal in the country houses of America,) which, shaded by a group of acacias, made a delightful sitting-room. From this favourite spot we one day perceived symptoms of building in a field close to it ; with much anxiety we hastened to the spot, and asked what building was to be erected there. " 'Tis to be a slaughter-house for hogs," was the dreadful reply. As there were several gentlemen's houses in the neighbourhood, I asked if such an erection might not be indicted as a nuisance. " A what ? " " A nuisance," I repeated, and explained what I meant. " No, no," was the reply ; " that may do very well for your tyrannical country, where a rich man's nose is more thought of than a poor man's mouth ; but hogs be profitable produce here, and we be too free for such a law as that, I guess." How delighted would thousands of Mrs. Trollope's fellow-subjects have been, to have come in contact with such a " nuisance" as plenty of good bacon, at twopence per pound, and plenty of labour to earn the cents to purchase it wherewithal !

Before we close this chapter, we shall notice one more point in the characteristics of American society, because it will confute, we believe, one of the grossest and most calumnious falsehoods that even the Quarterly, with the " long-wished-to-see" help of Mrs. Trollope, could possibly concoct. In connexion with the awful calamity of the hogs, Mrs. T. remarks :—" The well-disposed, those who own the feeling of justice would prevent their annoying others, will never complain of the restraints of the law. *All the freedom enjoyed in America, beyond what is enjoyed in England, is enjoyed solely by the disorderly at the expense of the orderly.*" " We have taken the liberty," says the writer in the Quarterly, " of putting the concluding remark of the above paragraph in italics, for we desire greatly to call the attention of our readers to a truth which has not before been so distinctly pointed out, but which every page of these interesting volumes, and, indeed, of every other book which we have read respecting America, tends to confirm. We conceive that the inevitable consequence of extending the democratical principle beyond what used to be considered its due limits, must be to degrade the cause of genuine freedom, and even essentially to diminish the amount of personal liberty in any country. In America there

is ample license, with all sorts of liberty of action and speech—but only for one class of society—the democrats ; scarcely a particle, it would seem, for any of the rest. It is true, the democrats form the majority, and a very large majority indeed, not only counted numerically, but reckoned by the scale of influence and intelligence, wealth, talents, or any other element of recognised power elsewhere. Then why find fault with it ? we may be asked ; why, if the system is such as the great body of the people, including the richest, wisest, and best, choose to prefer, why should we quarrel with them for persevering in what they approve of ? To this we reply, that we have no quarrel with them about it at all. We are in no way disposed to begrudge them their universal suffrage—their general dram-drinking—their occasional camp-meetings—their republican institutions—their eternal electioneering, or any thing else which may to them seem fit and proper. But we must take the liberty to point out to our countrymen, that, although this may be all very well for the Americans, (since they like it,) nothing can be more utterly repugnant to the feelings and habits of Englishmen, or more completely unsuited to the geographical, statistical, and moral situation in which this country is placed." A very grand superstructure, truly, to be raised on the foundation of Mrs. Trollope's reflections on a slaughter house for hogs !—when, in fact, it so happens, that the civic order of American cities, so far as the permission of the disorderly to enjoy themselves at the expense of the orderly is concerned, is as far superior to that of English towns, as are the means of existence of the bulk of their population. If the editor of the Quarterly doubts this in sober seriousness, let him send a few of his titled " Tom and Jerry" friends, and see whether they will be allowed to ring at the doors of the " orderly," knock down the charleys, and play up their pranks as they do in this land, where, " happily," all classes so well know and so resolutely maintain their rights. How, with the recently disordered state of the lower classes of the principal towns of Great Britain, and the notoriously orderly state of the American cities, any person capable of writing at all could be hired to write such falsehoods, would be beyond comprehension, if it were not evident that the dangerous " absurdity of comparing the two countries together,"* rendered at the present moment a bold game necessary, even at the risk of being inextricably placed in the condition of propounding a notorious and barefaced calumny.

* See Quarterly Review, vol. xlvii. p. 41.

CHAPTER IV.

INDIANS.

THERE are two very important circumstances connected with, and bearing forcibly on, the state of society in the United States—the practical effect of which it is by no means easy for a European correctly to appreciate: We refer to the presence, in most of the States, of some remains of the aboriginal race—the Indians; and in others, to the existence of, perhaps, a still more unfortunate race—the African negro, whether in a state of freedom, or of slavery. To a brief account of these two branches of the human family, as existing in the United States, and their influence in American society, political, and civil, we propose to devote the present chapter.

The fact of the aboriginal Indians still retaining possession of large portions of the soil in some of the states, in circumstances the most peculiar perhaps that ever occurred to any portion of the human race, has recently given rise to some of the most interesting discoveries which can possibly be presented to the view of the philosopher, the philanthropist, the civilian, or the statesman. In order that the subject may be adequately appreciated, it will be desirable to present a very brief outline of the physical, mental, and moral characteristics of the race; in doing which, we avail ourselves of what ought to be, and we believe is justly considered, standard authority on this and similar subjects,—the *Encyclopædia Americana*. With the exception, perhaps, of the Esquimaux, all the Indians have the same physical characteristics. The bronze or copper colour, the straight, coarse, black hair, the hazel eyes, the high cheek-bones and erect form, are common to them all. There is, in-

deed, some difference in the stature of different tribes. The Osages are very tall, and the Shoshonees are below the middle stature. Each race, and, indeed, each tribe, has its peculiar physiognomy. To a European or Anglo-American, all Indians look alike; but one accustomed to them can distinguish the tribes with almost unerring certainty. Thus a Dahcotah is as readily distinguished from a Chippeway or a Winnebago by his features, as his dress. Yet the difference is not so great as to induce a belief that all the tribes are not descended from the same stock. The Esquimaux of Greenland and the eastern part of the continent differ from the red Indians in complexion, stature, and in the position of the eyes, which are set obliquely in their orbits. The Indians in the northern part of North America are divided into several great families. The Algonquin or Chippeway race is one of the two most numerous now in existence. All the tribes of New England were Algonquins, if we may take identity of language, manners, and customs, as a proof of the fact. The vocabulary of the Narraganset tongue, recorded by Roger Williams, proves them to have been a branch of the Algonquin stock. The Mohegans, considered the progenitors of the other tribes in New England, spoke the same tongue. The tribes in Maine claimed the same origin. The Delaware, or Lenni Lenape, were of the same family, and their language has been pronounced, by competent judges, the most perfect existing. The Iroquois, or Six Nations, once dreaded from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, are Algonquins. This tribe did and still does extend from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, and thence northward to Great Slave Lake; for so far do the Nayheewawkw or Knisteneaux extend their rambles.* On the western side of the

* Many writers, from Father La Hontan down to the present time, have discoursed more or less eloquently on the character of the Iroquois, or Five Nations. They have been emphatically called the Romans of the western world. Governor De Witt Clinton, in his admirable Address before the New York Historical Society, in 1811, thus speaks of the Confederates: an extract must suffice.

"A distinguished feature in the character of the Confederates, was an exalted spirit of liberty, which revolted with equal indignation at domestic or foreign control. 'We are born free,' (said Garangula, in his admirable speech to the governor general of Canada,) 'we neither depend on Onontio or Corlear,' on France, or on England. Baron La Hontan, who openly avowed his utter detestation and abhorrence of them, is candid enough to acknowledge, that 'they laugh at the menaces of kings and governors, for they have no idea of dependence; nay, the very word is to them insupportable. They look upon themselves as sovereigns, accountable to none but God alone, whom they call the Great Spirit.' They admitted of no hereditary distinctions. The office of sachem was the reward of personal merit; of great wisdom, or commanding eloquence; of distinguished services in the cabinet or in the field. It was conferred by silent and general consent, as the spontaneous tribute due to eminent worth; and it could only be maintained by the steady and faithful cultivation of the virtues and ac-

complishments which procured it. No personal slavery was permitted: their captives were either killed or adopted as a portion of the nation. The children of the chiefs were encouraged to emulate the virtues of their sires, and were frequently elevated to the dignities occupied by their progenitors. From this source has arisen an important error with respect to the establishment of privileged orders among the Confederates.

"There is a striking similitude between the Romans and the Confederates, not only in their martial spirit and rage for conquest, but in their treatment of the conquered. Like the Romans, they not only adopted individuals, but incorporated the remnant of their vanquished enemies into their nation, by which they continually recruited their population, exhausted by endless and wasting wars, and were enabled to continue their career of victory and desolation: if their unhappy victims hesitated or refused, they were compelled to accept of the honours of adoption. The Hurons of the Island of Orleans, in 1656, knowing no other way to save themselves from destruction, solicited admission into the canton of the Mohawks, and were accepted; but, at the instance of the French, they declined their own proposal. On this occasion the Mohawks continued their ravages, and compelled a *rescission*: they sent thirty of their warriors to Quebec, who took them away, with the consent of the governor general; he, in fact, not daring to refuse, after having addressed him in the following terms of

Mississippi is another great Indian family, viz. the Sioux or Dahcotah. The Dahcotah proper inhabit the country on the west side of the Mississippi, north of the Wisconsin, to the sources of the Mississippi. Their territory extends westward to the Missouri. This tribe speak a language radically distinct from that of the Algonquin race. Their origin is unknown, and their own traditions are at variance on this point one with another. One account, and the most probable, represents them as having been driven from the confines of Mexico by the Spaniards. The branches of this tribe are the Winnebagoes, the Otoes, the Ioways, the Missouries, the Assiniboin, the Omahaws, the Kansas, and the Osages. All these tribes speak dialects of the Dahcotah tongue. The Assiniboin are known also by the names of Ossinneboins, Ossinuppoiles, Stone Indians, and Hohays. This last is the name they give themselves. The Otoes and Missouries, now united, are renowned among the tribes of the Missouries for their bravery. They can muster about 300 men. The Ioways still dwell on the Mississippi. They have from 100 to 200 men. The Osages are divided into three tribes, and can boast more than 1,000 warriors. The Kansas inhabit the plains about the heads of the Arkansas and Red rivers. Their number is unknown. The Omahaws live high up the Missouri. Besides these

proud defiance; which can not but bring to our recollection similar instances of Roman spirit, when Rome was free. 'Lift up thy arm, Ononchio, and allow thy children, whom thou holdest pressed to thy bosom, to depart; for if they are guilty of any imprudence, have reason to dread, lest in coming to chastise them, my blows fall on thy head.' Like the Romans, also, they treated their vassal nations with extreme rigour. If there were any delay in the render of the annual tribute, military execution followed, and the wretched delinquents frequently took refuge in the houses of the English, to escape from destruction. On all public occasions they took care to demonstrate their superiority and dominion, and at all times they called their vassals to an awful account, if guilty of violating the injunctions of the great council. At a treaty held on the forks of the Delaware, in 1758, by the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, with the Six Nations, several claims of the Munseys, Wappings, and other Delaware Indians, for lands in the latter province, were adjusted and satisfied under the cognizance of the Confederates, who ordered them to deliver up their prisoners, and to be at peace with the English, and who assumed a dictatorial tone, and appeared to exercise absolute authority over the other Indians. At a former conference on this subject, a Munsey, or Minisink Indian, had spoken sitting, not being allowed to stand, until a Cayuga chief had spoken; when the latter thus expressed himself: 'I, who am the Mingoian, am by this belt to inform you, that the Munseys are women, and can not hold treaties for themselves; therefore I am sent to inform you, that the invitation you gave the Munseys is agreeable to us, the Six Nations.'

"War was the favourite pursuit of this martial people, and military glory their ruling passion. Agriculture, and the laborious drudgery of domestic life, were left to the women. The education of the savage was solely directed to hunting and war. From his early infancy, he was taught to bend the bow, to point the arrow, to hurl the tomahawk, and to wield the club. He was instructed to pursue the footsteps of his enemies through the path-

tribes, there dwell on the Mississippi, between the river Des Moines, the Wisconsin and the Missouri, the Sacs and Foxes, a branch of the Chippeway tribe. They speak the Chippeway tongue, and number above 1,000 men. On the Missouri are the Pawnees, divided into three tribes, of which the Arikarees are a branch. They live by hunting the buffalo, and are said to have a language of their own. The Mintarees or Bigbellies, the Mandans, the Crows, and the Blackfeet, also live on the Missouri, and each is said to have a language of its own. Their numbers are unknown. The Shoshonees live between the head waters of the Missouri and Columbia rivers. They are almost constantly on horseback, and are at war with the lower tribes of the Missouri. On the Columbia river are the Cohunnish, the Skilloots, Echeloots, Multnomahs, Clatrops, and other tribes. Their haunts and numbers are unknown. They live by fishing as well as hunting, and differ in manners and customs from the tribes east of the Rocky Mountains. They are neither so well fed nor clad. Most of these tribes have the practice of flattening the heads of infants between boards, whence the general name of Flat-heads. They have some commerce with ships on the northwest coast. Nothing is known of the languages of any of these people. In the south of the United States, there are four

less and unexplored forest; to mark the most distant indications of danger; to trace his way by the appearances of the trees, and by the stars of heaven, and to endure fatigue, and cold, and famine, and every privation. He commenced his career of blood by hunting the wild beasts of the woods, and after learning the dexterous use of the weapons of destruction, he lifted his sanguinary arm against his fellow creatures. The profession of a warrior was considered the most illustrious pursuit; their youth looked forward to the time, when they could march against an enemy, with all the avidity of an epicure for the sumptuous dainties of a Heliogabalus. And this martial ardour was continually thwarting the pacific counsels of the elders, and enthralling them in perpetual and devastating wars. With savages in general, this ferocious propensity was impelled by a blind fury, and was but little regulated by the dictates of skill and judgment; on the contrary, with the Iroquois, war was an art. All their military movements were governed by system and policy. They never attacked a hostile country, until they had sent out spies to explore and to designate its vulnerable points, and whenever they encamped, they observed the greatest circumspection to guard against surprise; whereas the other savages only sent out scouts to reconnoitre; but they never went far from the camp, and if they returned without perceiving any signs of an enemy, the whole band went quietly to sleep, and were often the victims of their rash confidence.

"Whatever superiority of force the Iroquois might have, they never neglected the use of stratagems; they employed all the crafty wiles of the Carthaginians. The cunning of the fox, the ferocity of the tiger, and the power of the lion, were united in their conduct. They preferred to vanquish their enemy by taking him off his guard; by involving him in an ambuscade; by falling upon him in the hour of sleep; but when emergencies rendered it necessary for them to face him in the open field of battle, they exhibited a courage and contempt of death which have never been surpassed."

tribes, viz. the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Cherokees, and Creeks. All these have made some progress in civilization. The Cherokees have a written and printed language, said to be radically different from all others. They number about 15,000 souls. The Choctaws and Chickasaws are each more numerous.

The Indians have hitherto uniformly resisted all attempts to civilize them, where they could support themselves by the chase. Some few tribes, such as the Southern Indians, and the remnants of the Six Nations, having been hemmed in by the whites, and circumscribed in their limits so as to be unable to live by hunting, have turned to agriculture for subsistence; but such a departure from the habits of savage life is not to be found where there has been a possibility of supporting life by other means. The hospitality of Indians is among their most striking qualities. In any of the tribes, a stranger is received with the utmost respect and attention. On his arrival he is served with the best in the wigwam, seated on the best seat, and treated with the utmost respect and attention. His person and property are considered sacred. He may remain as long as he pleases in a wigwam without any questions being asked, and retire unopposed. Feasts are made for him, and though his appetite may be satisfied, to refuse any thing set before him gives great offence. With all, or almost all, the Indian tribes, the sole care of the men is to provide food; the labour is the exclusive lot of the women. The use of the axe or hoe is considered beneath the dignity of the male sex. It belongs to the females to plant corn, to make and mend garments and moccasins, to build, to pitch tents, to cut wood, to bring water, to tend horses and dogs, and, on a march, to carry the baggage. The women do not murmur at this, but consider it a natural and equitable distribution of family cares. But they are regarded as an inferior race, and often transferred as property. Polygamy is general. Every man has as many wives as he can support, and, in marriages, the will of the bride is seldom or never consulted; a man addresses himself directly to the parents of his intended wife, and her fate depends on their will. The custom of dowry is reversed among the Indians; the man makes certain presents to the parents of his wife, instead of receiving a portion with her. The marriage ceremony is always very simple, and, in most tribes, there is none at all. Adultery is punished by cutting off the nose, or otherwise mutilating the offending female; sometimes, though rarely, with death: in some tribes, this crime is regarded as a venial fault, and in many the husband lends his wife to a friend without opposition

on her part. Divorces are frequent, and at the pleasure of the contracting parties: in such cases, the wife is usually left to provide for the children as she may. It is no uncommon thing to see an Indian woman who has been five or six times repudiated before she finally settles in life. In some tribes, especially those of Dahcotah origin, it is held the duty of each man to marry all the sisters of a family, and, to have as many wives as he can support. In most tribes, and we believe in all, incest is held in abhorrence; and instances of devoted attachment are not uncommon.—Every Indian submits in youth to a process of severe mental and corporeal discipline; during the course of which, frequent intervals of long and rigid abstinence are enjoined, by which the system is reduced, and the imagination rendered more susceptible. Dreams are then encouraged: by these the novice is taught both his duty and his destiny; and in them his guardian *manitou*, who is to protect him in life and attend him in death, appears in the shape of some familiar animal, thenceforth to be the object of his adoration. He is taught to despise death, and during his whole life he regards it with indifference. An Indian seldom commits suicide; not because the grave does not offer him a refuge, but because patience and fortitude are the first duties of a warrior, and none but a coward can yield to pain or misfortune. This sternness of purpose is another lesson early taught. He learns also to despise labour, to become a warrior, and a hunter, to associate the idea of disgrace with any other employment, and to leave to the women all the ordinary duties of life. He is a stern and unbending fatalist: whatever of good or of evil may happen, he receives it with imperturbable calmness. If misfortunes press upon him which he cannot resist, he can die; and he dies without a murmur. The opinions, traditions, and institutions of his own tribe, are endeared to him by habit, feeling, and authority; and from early infancy he is taught that the Great Spirit will be offended by any change in the customs of his red children, which have all been established by him. Reckless of consequences, he is the child of impulse; unrestrained by moral considerations, whatever his passions prompt he does. Believing all the wild and debasing superstitions which have come down to him, he has no practical views of a moral superintendence, to protect or to punish him. Government is unknown among them; certainly, that government which prescribes general rules, and enforces or vindicates them. The utter nakedness of their society can be known only by personal observation. The tribes seem to be held together by a kind of family ligament; by the

ties of blood, which, in the infancy of society, are stronger, as other associations are weaker. They have no criminal code, no courts, no officers, no punishments. They have no relative duties to enforce, no debts to collect, no property to restore. They are in a state of nature, as much as it is possible for any people to be. Injuries are redressed by revenge, and strength is the security for right.

All Indians of whom we have any knowledge, believe in one Supreme God, and the immortality of the soul. They attribute all good and all power to the Supreme Being. Many tribes also believe in the existence of an intelligent evil principle, whose ill offices they endeavour to avert by prayer and sacrifice. They never ask the Supreme for any thing, but merely return thanks for benefits received, saying, that he is the best judge of what is for their advantage. They believe in many subordinate deities, two of whom reside in the sun and moon. They attribute supernatural powers to all serpents, especially rattle-snakes, and will kill no animal of the genus. Even the eel escapes on account of its resemblance. They pay religious honours to rocks and venerable objects. They believe that brutes have immortal souls as well as men, and, in short, that all animated nature teems with spirits. In their belief sorcery is blended with the healing art, and their priests are also physicians and jugglers. These priests practise feats of sleight of hand with all their religious ceremonies; but, with a few exceptions, they have no power or influence over the multitude. The future state of the Indians is a material paradise, where they will follow the same occupations, and enjoy the same delights, they have experienced in this world. They have also a vague idea of future punishment for sins committed in the body. Among the superstitions of the Algonquin and Dahcotah tribes, is a very singular one: a man is sometimes devoted, by his parents or himself, to a life of ignominy. In this case, he dresses like a woman, and performs all female avocations; he associates with women only, and sometimes takes a husband; and he is held in utter contempt by all, though his condition be not of his own choice. This condition is frequently owing to a dream of his parents while he is yet unborn. In many tribes men have what they call their *medicine-bags*, which are filled with bones, feathers, and other rubbish; and to the preservation of their medicine-bags they attach much importance. Besides this, each holds some particular animal in reverence, which he calls his *medicine*, and can by no means be induced to kill, or to eat it when killed, for fear of some terrible misfortune. Moreover, the Indians leave tobacco,

worn-out clothing, and other articles, on rocks, as sacrifices to invisible spirits.

We believe it is impossible to estimate the number of the North American Indians with any degree of accuracy. It is, however, very small throughout, in proportion to the extent of their territory; for a hunting people can not be very numerous. Their wars, of which we have heard so much, do not materially affect them. They are carried on in detail by small parties, and, consequently, are not very destructive. They very seldom give quarter; but when a prisoner is spared, he is sure of being adopted by the conquering tribe. The tribes who inhabit the prairies go to war on horseback, and their weapons are spears and bows and arrows. Those who inhabit the forests are generally armed with guns. Their courage is moral and passive, rather than active. They think it cowardice to be affected by calamity, or to give way to passion or emotion. Though they have no laws, there are customs, which every individual scrupulously observes. In cases of murder, for instance, the rule is blood for blood, and the homicide rarely shuns the penalty of his deed. They have chiefs, but the power of these is limited to persuasion, and they can command no one. Sometimes a chief becomes such in virtue of his achievements in war, or his wisdom; in some tribes, there is something like hereditary rank; but even this authority does not descend in a direct line, the son of a chief being often set aside to make room for one more worthy. But in war, implicit obedience is given to the commands of a leader. The tribes that inhabit the prairies all live by hunting the buffalo, mostly on horseback; those who dwell in wooded countries hunt deer and smaller animals. The more primitive savages are the poorest, but at the same time the least dependent, for they have few wants, and can supply those few without assistance. Those who live nearer the whites have more of the comforts of life, but are no whit more civilized or more happy. We may say, that if the Indian trade of the Mississippi were interrupted for five years, all the aborigines of that quarter would be in danger of perishing, as they depend on the whites for clothing and weapons. The Indians can never be dangerous, as there is no union among them. On the whole, we may speak of them as a brave, reckless, generous, and unfortunate people.

Such is the race of human beings, who, from a remote period, occupied—we were going to say, but the term is inapplicable, and has occasioned serious misunderstandings on the subject,—ranged over the northern portion of this vast continent undisturbed, till mercantile adventure, or religious persecution,

brought to their shores the civilized inhabitants of Europe. The right of Europeans to take possession of the soil which formed the vast hunting province of these tribes, has given rise to much discussion. Had they, in any sense, fulfilled the purpose for which the earth was given to the children of men, it would have been difficult to establish a title to any kind of possession contrary to their consent. But to maintain that the fact of a tribe of 1,000 men passing and re-passing through as many square miles of country, and destroying as many of its irrational occupants as might be deemed needful for their support, could give them just claim to have such territory considered exclusively their own, is more than we think the most zealous philanthropist will be willing deliberately to contend for. At the utmost, the only right they could have was to have a sufficiency of land to support them in their own way; and even this, perhaps, could scarcely be maintained in its fullest extent. Nearly this view of the subject, however, was taken by the English colonists; and consequently, with very few exceptions, full compensation to the Indians for their foregoing the right of scouring the country when they thought fit, was made upon terms settled with them as parties to a voluntary treaty. We do not intend to maintain that, in some instances, the aborigines were not unjustly or cruelly treated, but that the principle generally acted on was not unsound. The testimony of Vattel is,—“We cannot help praising the moderation of the English puritans, who first settled in New England,” (and he might have added, the first settlers of the other colonies,) “who, notwithstanding their being furnished with a charter from their sovereign, purchased of the Indians the lands they resolved to cultivate.”*

Whether, however, the space which the Indians had been accustomed to roam over in search of food was diminished by feud, fraud, or equitable agreement, the result to the native tribes was ultimately the same: it tended to limit the only means of subsistence of which they chose to avail themselves, and, consequently, to add to the wretchedness of their condition, and to diminish their numbers. “It is obvious,” says the writer of a long and able article on this subject in the *North American Review*, to which we shall have occasion to make frequent reference, “that the reduction or disappearance of the game, consequent upon the conversion of forests into fields, and the gradual advance of a civilized people, must have soon begun to press upon the means of subsist-

ence on which the Indians mainly depended. Other circumstances co-operated in the work of destruction. Fire-arms were introduced, and greatly facilitated the operations of the hunter. Articles of European merchandise were offered to the Indians, and they were taught the value of their furs, and encouraged to procure them. New wants arose among them: the rifle was found a more efficient instrument than the bow and arrow; blankets were more comfortable than buffalo robes; and cloth, than dressed skins. The exchange was altogether unfavourable to them: the goods they received were dear, and the peltry they furnished was cheap; a greater number of animals was necessary for the support of each family, and increased exertion was required to procure them. We need not pursue this subject further. It is easy to see the consequences, both to the Indians and their game. Herds of buffaloes were once found upon the shore of Lake Erie, and at the base of the Allegany mountains; they have now receded to the plains beyond the Mississippi, and are every year migrating still farther west. A few years since, they were unknown in the Rocky Mountains; they have now passed that barrier, and will ere long reach the Pacific. The beaver has nearly disappeared upon all our borders, and hunters and trappers have followed them to the waters of the Columbia. Even the common red deer, once so abundant, is rarely found east of the Allegany; and is becoming scarce in the western regions. But a still more powerful cause has operated to produce this diminution in the number of the Indians:—ardent spirits have been the bane of their improvement, and one of the principal agents in their declension and degradation. In this proposition we include only those tribes in immediate contact with our frontier settlements, or who have remained upon *reservations* guaranteed to them. It has been found impracticable to prevent the sale of spirituous liquors to those who are thus situated: the most judicious laws are eluded or openly violated. The love of spirits and the love of gain conspire to bring together the buyer and the seller. As the penalties become heavier, and the probability of detection and punishment stronger, the prohibited article becomes dearer, and the sacrifice to obtain it greater. We shall not attempt to investigate the cause of the inordinate attachment displayed by the Indians to ardent spirits; it is probably without a parallel in all the history of man, and is certainly so with very few exceptions, in the whole range of their own society. This predisposition was the subject of observation and regret two centuries ago; and the earlier historians and travellers, while they furnish

* Vattel, book 1. chap. xviii.

the record of its existence, furnish also the evidence of its overpowering influence and destructive consequences. To the operation of the physical causes which we have described, must be added the moral causes connected with their mode of life and their peculiar opinions. Distress could not teach them providence, nor want industry. As animal food decreased, their vegetable productions were not increased. Their habits were stationary and unbending, never changing with the change of circumstances. There is a principle of repulsion in ceaseless activity, operating through all their institutions, which prevents them from appreciating or adopting any other modes of life, or any other habits of thought or action, but those which have descended to them from their ancestors."

That the aboriginal population should decrease under the operation of these causes, can excite no surprise. Whether the tribes upon this continent had attained the maximum of their population before its discovery by Europeans, we have not now the means of ascertaining; it is certain, however, as well from a consideration of their mode of life by Europeans, as from a careful examination of the earlier narratives, that greatly as they exceeded their present numbers, they were yet thinly scattered over the country. The ratio of diminution may have been greater or less; but there is no just reason to believe, that any of the tribes has been increasing in numbers at any period since they became known to Europeans. This opinion is expressed by the superintendents of Indian affairs, in the report submitted to Congress, at its last session, by the war department; and, from the favourable opportunities possessed by those officers of acquiring correct information upon this subject, their opinion must carry with it considerable authority. The whole amount of Indian population within the United States, east of the Mississippi, is estimated in this report at 105,060, and is divided as follows:

Within the states of Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Virginia	2,573
The state of New York	4,820
Pennsylvania	300
North Carolina	3,100
South Carolina	300
Georgia	5,000
Tennessee	1,000
Ohio	1,877
Mississippi	23,400
Alabama	19,200
Indiana	4,050
Illinois	5,900
Territory of Michigan	29,450
Florida	4,000

105,060

It will be seen that, in the original states, the primitive stock has been reduced to 16,093 individuals, and that three fourths of the number now surviving in the whole of the vast country east of the river Mississippi, are found in the states of Alabama and Mississippi, and in the territory of Michigan, where the pressure upon them is now beginning to be felt, and will bring with it the usual process of diminution. In the same report, the number of Indians west of the Mississippi is thus estimated:

Between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains	108,070
Within the ranges of the Rocky Mountains	20,000
West of the Rocky Mountains	80,000

Making a general aggregate of 313,130, within the United States, extending over twenty-four degrees of latitude and fifty-eight degrees of longitude. And these are the remnants of the primitive people, who, only two centuries ago, possessed this vast country, and who found in the sea, the lakes, the rivers, and the forests, means of subsistence sufficient for their wants.

From an early period, their rapid declension and ultimate extinction were foreseen and lamented, and various plans for their preservation and improvement were projected and pursued. Many of them were carefully taught at our seminaries of education, in the hope that principles of morality and habits of industry would be acquired, and that they might stimulate their countrymen by precept and example to a better course of life. Missionary stations were established among various tribes, where zealous and pious men devoted themselves, with generous ardour, to the task of instruction, as well in agriculture and the mechanical arts, as in the principles of morality and religion. The Roman Catholic church preceded the Protestant in this labour of charity; and the *Lettres Edifiantes* are monuments of her zeal and liberality. Unfortunately, they are monuments also of unsuccessful and unproductive efforts. What tribe has been civilized by all this expenditure of treasure, and labour, and care? From the martyrdom of Le Pere Brebeuf, in 1649, upon the shore of Lake Huron, to the death of the last missionary, who sacrificed himself in a cause as holy as it has proved hopeless, what permanent effect has been produced? Year after year sanguine anticipations have been formed, to be succeeded by disappointment and despondency. We are flattered with accounts of success, with explanations for the past, and hopes for the future; and this without the slightest intention to deceive. But the subject itself is calculated to excite these expectations. There are always individuals attending these establishments who give fair

promise of permanent improvement and usefulness. And as these prospects are blighted, others succeed to excite the same hopes, and to end in the same disappointment. The cause of this total failure can not be attributed to the nature of the experiment, nor to the character, qualifications, or conduct, of those who have directed it. The process and the persons have varied, as experience suggested alterations in the one, and a spirit of generous self-devotion supplied the changes in the other. But there seems to be some insurmountable obstacle in the habits or temperament of the Indians, which has heretofore prevented, and yet prevents, the success of these labours. Whatever this may be, it appears to be confined to the tribes occupying this part of the continent. In Mexico and South America, a large portion of the aboriginal race has accommodated itself to new circumstances, and forms a constituent part of the same society with their conquerors. Under the Spanish *regime* they existed as a degraded cast; but still they were sedentary, living under the protection of the laws, and providing by labour for their comfortable subsistence. In other parts of the continent, particularly in California and Paraguay, where the Spanish sway had but a nominal existence, the Jesuits succeeded in collecting the Indians into regular societies, in improving their morals and condition, and in controlling and directing their conduct. In the usual progress of conquest, where permanent possession is retained, the victors and vanquished become connected together, and if they do not form one people, they yet acknowledge obedience to the same laws, and look to them for protection. But from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, under the French, or British, or Spanish, or American rule, where is the tribe of Indians, who have changed their manners, who have become incorporated with their conquerors, or who have exhibited any just estimate of the improvements around them, or any wish to participate in them?

* The Indians are becoming philologists and grammarians, and exciting the wonder of the world, by the invention of letters. The invention of the Cherokee alphabet has excited the astonishment of the philosopher in this country and in Europe; but as I have not as yet seen any satisfactory account of the progress and history of this greatest effort of genius of the present day, I will state what I know of it, from the lips of the inventor himself.

In the winter of 1828, a delegation of the Cherokees visited the city of Washington, in order to make a treaty with the United States, and among them was See-quah-yah, the inventor of the Cherokee alphabet. His English name was George Guess; he was a half-blood; but had never, from his own account, spoken a single word of English up to the time of his invention, nor since. Prompted by my own curiosity, and urged by several literary friends, I applied to See-quah-yah, through the medium of two interpreters, one a half-blood, Capt. Rogers, and the other a full-blood chief, whose assumed English name was John Maw, to relate to

The following statement from Sherwood's Gazetteer of Georgia, published in 1827, gives a more favourable representation of the state of the Cherokees, than the writer in the North American Review will admit. "Within the last twenty years, the Cherokees have rapidly advanced towards civilization. They now live in comfortable houses, chiefly in villages, and cultivate large farms. They raise large herds of cattle, which they sell for beef to the inhabitants of neighbouring states. Many mechanical arts have been introduced among them. They have carpenters and blacksmiths, and many of the women spin and weave, and make butter and cheese. The population, instead of decreasing, as is the case generally with the tribes surrounded by the whites, increases very rapidly. There are now 13,563 natives in the nation; 147 white men and 73 white women have intermarried with them. They own 1277 slaves. Total, 15,060 souls. Increase in the last six years, 3,563. Their government is republican, and power is vested in a committee and council, answering to our senate and house of representatives. The members are elected once in two years. Newtown is the seat of government. Their judges act with authority, and prevent entirely the use of ardent spirits during the sessions of their courts. The mission at Spring Place was established in 1801. Since that time, nearly a dozen have been brought into operation in various parts of the nation. The number of children in the several missionary schools is nearly 500, all learning the English language."

In reference to this and similar statements, the Reviewer observes, "We are as unwilling to under-rate, as we should be to overrate, the progress made by these Indians in civilization and improvement. We are well aware, that the constitution of the Cherokees, their press, and newspaper, and alphabet,* their schools, and police, have sent through all our borders the glad tidings, that the long night of aboriginal ignorance was ended, and that the day of

me, as minutely as possible, the mental operations and all the facts in his discovery. He cheerfully complied with my request, and gave very deliberate and satisfactory answers to every question; and was at the same time careful to know from the interpreters if I distinctly understood his answers. No stoic could have been more grave in his demeanour, than was See-quah-yah; he pondered, according to the Indian custom, for a considerable time after each question was put, before he made his reply, and often took a whiff of his calumet, while reflecting on an answer. The details of the examination are too long for insertion; but the substance of it was this: That he, See-quah-yah, was now about sixty-five years old, but could not precisely say; that in early life he was gay and talkative; and although he never attempted to speak in council but once, yet was often, from the strength of his memory, his easy colloquial powers, and ready command of his vernacular, storyteller of the convivial party. His reputation for talents of every kind gave him some distinction when he was quite young, so long

knowledge had dawned. Would that it were so. None would rejoice more sincerely than we should. But this great cause can derive no aid from exagger-

ago as St. Clair's defeat. In this campaign, or some one that soon followed it, a letter was found on the person of a prisoner, which was wrongly read by him to the Indians. In some of their deliberations on this subject, the question arose among them, whether this mysterious power of the *talking leaf*, was the gift of the Great Spirit to the white man, or a discovery of the white man himself? Most of his companions were of the former opinion, while he as strenuously maintained the latter. This frequently became a subject of contemplation with him afterwards, as well as many other things which he knew, or had heard, that the white man could do; but he never sat down seriously to reflect on the subject, until a swelling on his knee confined him to his cabin, and which at length made him a cripple for life, by shortening the diseased leg. Deprived of the excitements of war, and the pleasures of the chase, in the long nights of his confinement, his mind was again directed to the mystery of the power of *speaking by letters*; the very name of which, of course, was not to be found in his language. From the cries of wild beasts, from the talents of the mocking-bird, from the voices of his children and his companions, he knew that feelings and passions were conveyed by different sounds, from one intelligent being to another. The thought struck him to try to ascertain all the sounds in the Cherokee language. His own ear was not remarkably discriminating, and he called to his aid the more acute ears of his wife and children. He found great assistance from them. When he thought that he had distinguished all the different sounds in their language, he attempted to use pictorial signs, images of birds and beasts, to convey these sounds to others, or to mark them in his own mind. He soon dropped this method, as difficult or impossible, and tried arbitrary signs, without any regard to appearances, except such as might assist him in recollecting them, and distinguishing them from each other. At first, these signs were very numerous; and when he got so far as to think his invention was nearly accomplished, he had about two hundred characters in his alphabet. By the aid of his daughter, who seemed to enter into the genius of his labours, he reduced them, at last, to eighty-six, the number he now uses. He then set to work to make these characters more comely to the eye, and succeeded. As yet he had not the knowledge of the pen as an instrument, but made his characters on a piece of bark, with a knife or nail. At this time he sent to the Indian agent, or some trader in the nation, for paper and pen. His ink was easily made from some of the bark of the forest trees, whose colouring properties he had previously known; and after seeing the construction of the pen, he soon learnt to make one; but at first he made it without a slit; this inconvenience was, however, quickly removed by his sagacity. His next difficulty was to make his invention known to his countrymen; for by this time he had become so abstracted from his tribe and their usual pursuits, that he was viewed with an eye of suspicion. His former companions passed his wigwam without entering it, and mentioned his name as one who was practising improper spells, for notoriety or mischievous purposes; and he seems to think that he should have been hardly dealt with, if his docile and unambitious disposition had not been so generally acknowledged by his tribe. At length he summoned some of the most distinguished of his nation, in order to make his communication to them; and after giving them the best explanation of his discovery that he could, stripping it of all supernatural influence, he proceeded to demonstrate to them, in good earnest, that he had made a discovery. His daughter, who was now his only pupil, was ordered to go out of hearing, while he requested his friends to name a word or sentiment which he put down, and then she was called in and read it to them; then the father retired, and the daughter wrote; the Indians were wonder struck; but not entirely satisfied. See-quah-yah then proposed, that the tribe should select several youths from among their brightest young men, that he might communicate the mystery to them. This was at length agreed to, although there was some lurking suspicion of necromancy in the whole business. John Maw, (his Indian name I have forgotten,) a full-blood, with several others, were selected for

rated representations; from promises never to be kept, and from expectations never to be realized. The truth must finally come, and it will come with

this purpose. The tribes watched the youths for several months with anxiety; and when they offered themselves for examination, the feelings of all were wrought up to the highest pitch. The youths were separated from their master, and from each other, and watched with great care. The uninitiated directed what the master and pupil should write to each other, and these tests were varied in such a manner, as not only to destroy their infidelity, but most firmly to fix their faith. The Indians, on this, ordered a great feast, and made See-quah-yah conspicuous at it. How nearly is man alike in every age! Pythagoras did the same on the discovery of an important principle in geometry. See-quah-yah became at once school-master, professor, philosopher, and a chief. His countrymen were proud of his talents, and held him in reverence as one favoured by the Great Spirit. The inventions of early times were shrouded in mystery. See-quah-yah disdained all quackery. He did not stop here, but carried his discoveries to numbers. He of course knew nothing of the Arabic digits, nor of the power of Roman letters in the science. The Cherokees had mental numerals to one hundred, and had words for all numbers up to that; but they had no signs or characters to assist them in enumerating, adding, subtracting, multiplying, or dividing. He reflected upon this until he had created their elementary principle in his mind; but he was at first obliged to make words to express his meaning, and then signs to explain it. By this process he soon had a clear conception of numbers up to a million. His great difficulty was at the threshold, to fix the powers of his signs according to their places. When this was overcome, his next step was in adding up his different numbers in order to put down the fraction of the decimal, and give the whole number to his next place. But when I knew him, he had overcome all these difficulties, and was quite a ready arithmetician in the fundamental rules. This was the result of my interview; and I can safely say, that I have seldom met a man of more shrewdness than See-quah-yah. He adhered to all the customs of his country; and when his associate chiefs on the mission assumed our costume, he was dressed in all respects like an Indian. See-quah-yah is a man of diversified talents; he passes from metaphysical and philosophical investigation to mechanical occupations, with the greatest ease. The only practical mechanics he was acquainted with, were a few bungling blacksmiths, who could make a rough tomahawk, or tinker the lock of a rifle; yet he became a white and silver smith, without any instruction, and made spurs and silver spoons with neatness and skill, to the great admiration of people of the Cherokee nation. See-quah-yah has also a great taste for painting. He mixes his colours with skill; taking all the art and science of his tribe upon the subject, he added to it many chemical experiments of his own, and some of them were very successful, and would be worth being known to our painters. For his drawings he had no model but what nature furnished, and he often copied them with astonishing faithfulness. His resemblances of the human form, it is true, are coarse, but often spirited and correct; and he gave action, and sometimes grace, to his representations of animals. He had never seen a camel hair pencil, when he made use of the hair of wild animals for his brushes. Some of his productions discover a considerable practical knowledge of perspective; but he could not have formed rules for this. The painters in the early ages were many years coming to a knowledge of this part of their art; and even now they are more successful in the art than perfect in the rules of it. The manners of the American Cadmus are the most easy, and his habits those of the most assiduous scholar, and his disposition is more lively than that of any Indian I ever saw. He understood and felt the advantages the white man had long enjoyed, of having the accumulations of every branch of knowledge, from generation to generation, by means of a written language, while the red man could only commit his thoughts to uncertain tradition. He reasoned correctly, when he urged this to his friends as the cause why the red man had made so few advances in knowledge in comparison with us; and to remedy this was one of his great aims, and one which he has accomplished beyond that

a powerful reaction. We hope that our opinion upon this subject may be erroneous. But we have melancholy forebodings. That a few principal men, who can secure favourable cotton lands, and cultivate them with slaves, will be comfortable and satisfied, we may well believe. And so long as the large annuities received from the United States are applied to the support of a newspaper, and to other objects, more important to the rich than the poor, erroneous impressions upon these subjects may prevail. But to form just conceptions of the spirit and objects of these efforts, we must look at their practical operation upon the community. It is here, if the facts which have been stated to us are correct, and of which we have no doubt, that they will be found wanting.

"The relative condition of the two races of men, who yet divide this portion of the continent between them, is a moral problem involved in much obscurity. The physical causes we have described, exasperated by the moral evils introduced by them, are sufficient to account for the diminution and deterioration of the Indians. But why were not these causes counteracted by the operation of other circumstances? As civilization shed her light upon them, why were they blind to its beams? Hungry or staked, why did they disregard, or regarding, why did they neglect, those arts by which food and clothing could be procured? Existing for two centuries in contact with a civilized people, they have resisted, and successfully too, every effort to meliorate their situation, or to introduce among them the most common arts of life. Their moral and their intellectual condition have been equally stationary. And in the whole circle of their existence, it would be difficult to point to a single advantage which they have derived from their acquaintance with the Europeans. All this is without a parallel in the history of the world. That it is not to be attributed to the indifference or neglect of the whites, we have already shown. There must then be an inherent difficulty, arising from the institutions, character, and condition of the Indians themselves. It is easy, in contemplating the situation of such a people, to perceive the difficulties to be encountered in any effort to produce a radical change in their condition. The *fulcrum* is wanting upon

which the lever must be placed. They are contented as they are; not contented merely, but clinging with a death-grasp to their own institutions. This feeling, inculcated in youth, strengthened in manhood, and nourished in age, renders them inaccessible to argument or remonstrance. To roam the forests at will, to pursue their game, to attack their enemies, to spend the rest of their lives in listless indolence, to eat inordinately when they have food, to suffer patiently when they have none, and to be ready at all times to die,—these are the principal occupations of an Indian. But little knowledge of human nature is necessary, to be sensible how unwilling a savage would be to exchange such a life for the stationary and laborious duties of civilized society. Experience has shown, that the Indians are steadily and rapidly diminishing. And the causes of this diminution are yet in constant and active operation. It has also been shown, that our efforts to stand between the living and the dead," continues the writer before mentioned, "to stay this tide which is spreading around them and over them, have long been fruitless, and are now hopeless. And equally fruitless and hopeless are the attempts to impart to them, in their present situations, the blessings of religion, the benefits of science and the arts, and the advantages of an efficient and stable government. The time seems to have arrived, when a change in our principles and practice is necessary; when some new effort must be made to meliorate the condition of the Indians, if we would not be left without a living monument of their misfortunes, or a living evidence of our desire to repair them."

We hope, we may say we believe, from all we have read on both sides of this controversy, that the North American Review does, in fact, take too unfavourable a view of the improvement which has taken place among the Cherokees; and that christianity and civilization have produced extensively beneficial results, though, probably, not equal to the sincere but sanguine representations of some of the advocates of the Cherokee character.

The attention of the people of the United States, and, in some measure, of Europe, has been attracted to this interesting subject with peculiar force at the present time, in consequence of the controversy car-

of any other man living, or perhaps any other who ever existed in a rude state of nature.

It perhaps may not be known that the government of the United States had a fount of types cast for his alphabet; and that a newspaper, printed partly in the Cherokee language, and partly in the English, has been established at New Echota, and is characterized by decency and good sense; and thus many of the Cherokees are able to read both languages. After putting these remarks to pa-

per, I had the pleasure of seeing the head chief of the Cherokees, who confirmed the statement of See-quah-yah, and added, that he was an Indian of the strictest veracity and sobriety. The western wilderness is not only to blossom like the rose; but there, man has started up, and proved that he has not degenerated since the primitive days of Cecrops, and the romantic ages of wonderful effort and god-like renown.—*Knapp's Lectures on American Literature.*

ried on between the state of Georgia and the Cherokee nation residing within its limits. We have already observed, that the civil and political relations existing between the aborigines and the white inhabitants, are such as the world affords no example of. In other cases, the less civilized inhabitants have either become the subjects of their conquerors, or have been amalgamated with them; but the North American Indians have never intermingled with the whites, and have been permitted by them to exist in a state of almost independence, in the very heart of some of their states. The Cherokees have retained possession of the northwestern portion of the state of Georgia, and not only decline to relinquish their title to it, but have formed a constitutional government, as already stated, among themselves, and claiming an entire exemption from the control of the laws and government of the state, have assumed all the essential attributes of sovereignty, and appealed to the general government to support them in that claim. The establishment of this government, thus claiming to be independent, and the probability that a similar policy will be adopted by the other southern tribes, by which means they may become permanently established in their present possessions, necessarily presents to the states within whose limits they reside, a serious question for consideration. It is evident, that if this pretension be not resisted now, resistance hereafter will be vain. It is one of those questions, eminently practical, which a few years' acquiescence would settle. What might now be the assertion of a just and proper jurisdiction by the civilized communities, might then be an unjust claim, to be enforced only by war and conquest. The following is the argument of the writers already referred to on this point:—"This demand is now made for the first time, since the discovery of the continent. Writers upon natural law, courts of high character and jurisdiction, the practice of other nations, are all adverse to it. We can discern no advantages which either party can reasonably anticipate from such a measure. There can be none to the Indians; for if they are anxious and prepared for a stable government, which shall protect and encourage all, such governments they will find in the states where they reside. What has a Cherokee to fear from the operation of the laws of Georgia? If he has advanced in knowledge and improvement, as many sanguine persons believe and represent, he will find these laws more just, better administered, and far more equal in their operation, than the *regulations* which the chiefs have established, and are enforcing. What Indian has ever been injured by the laws of any state? We ask the

question without any fear of the answer. If these Indians are too ignorant and barbarous to submit to the state laws, or duly to estimate their value, they are too ignorant and barbarous to establish and maintain a government which shall protect its own citizens, and preserve the necessary relations and intercourse with its neighbours. And if there are any serious practical objections to the operation of these laws, growing out of the state of society among the Indians, it would be easy for the state authorities to make such changes and interpose such securities as would protect them now, and lead them hereafter, if any thing can lead them, to a full participation in political rights. New York has acted upon this principle, in authorizing the Brothertown Indians to hold town meetings and elect town officers. No doubt can exist of the disposition of the state legislatures thus to accommodate their laws to the actual condition of the Indians. And in fact it is the criminal, and not the civil code, from which they have any thing to fear. The former extends to them all, and at all times, and in its process, its prohibitions, and its punishments, introduces regulations utterly at variance with all they have seen, or heard, or believed. The rights and remedies secured and provided by the civil code would affect them less, as they have little for them to operate upon, and the obligation of a promise is not wholly unknown to them. But the experiment has already been made, in many of the states, of extending over them the action of the criminal laws; and, as we have seen, the general government has done the same, through the whole vast extent of the Indian country, however rude or barbarous may be the tribes inhabiting it, in all cases where an injury has been committed against a white man. We have yet to learn, that any injustice has resulted from this legislation. But, if it is difficult to perceive the advantages which the Indian tribes would derive from these independent governments, it is not difficult to foresee the mischiefs they would produce to the states and people within whose limits they might be formed. The progress of improvement would be checked. Extensive tracts of land would be held by the Indians in a state of nature. The continuity of settlements, and the communication between them, would be interrupted. Fugitives from labour and justice would seek shelter, and sometimes find it, in these little sovereignties. Questions of conflicting jurisdiction would frequently occur, not easy to be determined; for in vain might we search for principle, analogy, or precedent, by which to adjust them. There is already enough of the *imperium in imperio* in our government.

Another wheel is not wanted to render the machinery still more complicated. In the whole extent of christendom can a single instance be produced, where a state has voluntarily permitted, within its acknowledged boundaries, the establishment of a government independent of, and unconnected with its own?"

While the Cherokees are endeavouring to carry their point with a high hand, making it *death* for any individual, or number of individuals, to agree to sell or exchange any portion of their land without consent of their new government, the legislature of Georgia has intimated its intention not only to extend its laws* over the Indian tribes, but ultimately to compel their removal by force. The president of the United States, however, assures them, that this will not be permitted; while he informs them also, that, if they remain in the state of Georgia, they must submit to its laws. "This is the course," says the *North American Review*, "we had a right to expect, and to which there can be no just objection. Let the whole subject be fully explained to the Indians. Let them know that the establishment of an independent government is a hopeless project, which can not be permitted, and which, if it could be permitted, would lead to their inevitable ruin. Let the offer of a new country be made to them, with ample means to reach it and to subsist in it, with ample security for its peaceful and perpetual possession, and with a pledge, in the words of the secretary of war, 'that the most enlarged and generous efforts, by the government, will be made to improve their minds, better their condition, and aid them in their efforts of self-government.' Let them distinctly understand, that those who are not disposed to remove, but wish to remain and submit to our laws, will, as the president has told the Creeks, 'have land laid off for them and their families, in fee.' When all this is done, no consequences can affect the character of the government, or occasion regret to the nation. The Indians would go, and go speedily, and with satisfaction. A few perhaps might linger around the site of their

council-fires; but almost as soon as the patents could be issued to redeem the pledge made to them, they would dispose of their possessions and rejoin their countrymen. And even should these prefer ancient associations to future prospects, and finally melt away before our people and institutions, the result must be attributed to causes which we can neither stay nor control. If a paternal authority is exercised over the aboriginal colonies, and just principles of communication with them, and of intercommunication among them, are established and enforced, we may hope to see that improvement in their condition, for which we have so long and so vainly looked.

"Impressed with the conviction, that a removal from their present position, and from the vicinity of the settlements to the regions beyond the Mississippi, can alone preserve from final extinction the remnant of the aboriginal population, a number of benevolent men have associated themselves, and established a society, under the appellation of 'The Indian Board, for the Emigration, Preservation, and Improvement of the Aborigines of America,' the objects of which are distinctly indicated by this title. The society avows its intention to afford to the emigrant Indians all the necessary instruction in the arts of life and the duties of religion, and pledges itself to 'co-operate with the federal government of the United States in its operations on Indian affairs, and at no time to contravene its laws.' The plan for their removal, establishment, and gradual improvement, sketched by Colonel M'Kenny, is just to ourselves, and liberal to them; offering a fair exchange of property, ensuring present subsistence and future support, and holding out rational prospects of melioration in their external circumstances and their moral relations. 'It is proposed in the first place to give them a country, and to secure it to them by the most ample and solemn sanctions, suitable in all respects, in exchange for theirs; to pay them for all their improvements, and see them, free of cost to their new homes; to aid them after their arrival, and protect them; to put

* In January, 1828, proceedings were had by the legislature with regard to the course pursued by the United States, on the Indian question, and a report on the subject of the Cherokee lands was made to the legislature, and the committee recommended the adoption of the following resolutions, among others:—

"Resolved, That the United States, in failing to procure the lands in controversy, as 'early' as the same could be done upon 'peaceable' and 'reasonable terms,' have palpably violated their contract with Georgia, and are now bound, at all hazards, and without regard to terms, to procure the said lands for the use of Georgia.

"Resolved, That the policy which has been pursued by the United States towards the Cherokee Indians, has not been in good faith towards Georgia; and that as all the difficulties which now exist to an extinguishment of the Indian title, have resulted alone

from the acts and policy of the United States, it would be unjust and dishonourable in them to take shelter behind those difficulties.

"Resolved, That all the lands appropriated and unappropriated, which lie within the conventional limits of Georgia, belong to her absolutely; that the title is in her; that the Indians are tenants at her will, and that she may, at any time she pleases, determine that tenancy by taking possession of the premises; and that Georgia has the right to extend her authority, and to coerce obedience to them, from all descriptions of people, be they white, red, or black, who may reside within her limits.

"Resolved, That Georgia entertains for the general government so high a regard, and is so solicitous to do no act that can disturb the public tranquillity, that she will not attempt to enforce her rights by violence, until all other means of redress fail."

over them at once the framework of a government, and to fill this up, as their advancement in civilization may require it; to establish schools over their country for the enlightening of the rising generation, and to give them the gospel. In fine, it is proposed to place them in a territorial relation to us in all respects, and in the enjoyment of all the privileges consequent upon such a relation, civil, political, and religious. Thus will they attain an elevation to which, in their present relations, they can never aspire. And then would new influences be created, ennobling in their tendencies, and animating in their effects. Under these the Indian would rise to the distinction to which he has always been a stranger, and live and act with reference to the corresponding honours and benefits of such a state.*"

It appears that there is still an extensive and decided difference of opinion on this subject among the patriotic and benevolent in the United States. On this point, Colonel M'Kenney very candidly observes, "That men, and good men, should differ in their views of what ought to be done for the preservation and improvement of our Indians, is natural. We know there are men, and good men, who are opposed to the emigration of the Indians. We respect them and their motives. They seek to save and civilize these people. We profess to aim at the accomplishment of the same end, and differ only as to the mode. We once entertained similar views of this question with them, and thought it practicable to preserve and elevate the character of our Indians, even in their present anomalous relations to the states, but it was 'distance that lent enchantment to the view.' We have since seen for ourselves, and that which before looked like flying clouds, we found, on a nearer approach, to be impassable mountains. We believe, if the Indians do not emigrate, and fly the causes which are fixed in themselves, and which have proved so destructive in the past, *they must perish*. We might distrust our conclusions, though derived from personal investigation, did not experience confirm them. But, alas! it is the admonition of experience, more than any thing else, that claims and urges us to employ all honourable means to persuade these hapless people to acquiesce in the policy which is proposed to them."

"We cannot enter," says the reviewer, "into a full

* Although the following passages from the interesting pamphlet of Mr. Onley give a very afflicting view of the present state of the Indian tribes in the United States, we apprehend them to be calculated to correct notions which have been taken up on too slight grounds, while they are of a character too descriptive to be omitted:—

"You have your missionaries at Gayhead, Stockbridge, Brothertown, Oneida, among the Tuscaroras, Tonnewantas, Senecas, Wyandots, Ottawas, Potawatamies, Miamies, &c.; but the most

examination of the effect of planting colonies of Indians in the western regions. From the retrospective view furnished by their history, it is evidently the only means in our power, or in theirs, which offers any probability of preserving them from utter extinction. As a *dernier resort* therefore, apart from the intrinsic merits of the scheme itself, it has every claim to a fair experiment. But when viewed in connexion with the peculiar notions and mode of life of the Indians, the prospect it offers is consolatory to every reflecting person. Upon this subject we shall adduce the opinion of an able and dispassionate labourer in the great field of aboriginal improvement. The Rev. Mr. M'Coy has for many years devoted himself, with an industry equalled only by his zeal and disinterestedness, to the life and labour of a missionary. Ten years since, he commenced a school for the instruction of youth, at Fort Wayne, in Indiana, but the progress of the settlements soon compelled him to retire, and he removed his establishment to the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan. He here founded an institution for the benefit of the Indians, and adopted a course of procedure well calculated to be permanently beneficial to them. The youths were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, and also agriculture, the mechanical arts, and domestic duties. Their mental discipline, moral advancement, and progress in the business and occupations of life, went on together. The principal and his coadjutors were indefatigable in their application, and sanguine in their expectations, and for a time every thing promised success. And we ourselves, from a personal examination of the establishment, augured favourably of its permanence and usefulness. We have never seen a similar institution managed with more purity or judgment. But the novelty soon wore off, the Indians became dissatisfied, the institution has declined, and Mr. M'Coy is convinced, that nothing but removal, and speedy and entire removal, can save from utter ruin those who have been taught, or those who are untaught. During the year 1828, he repaired to the country west of the Mississippi, to examine its adaptation to the purposes of the Indians, and has returned, satisfied with the prospect it offers, and he is now directing his efforts to procure their emigration.* Mr. M'Coy, from personal observation, describes the country west of Mis-

they can do in the present posture of affairs is to soften, as it were, the pillow of the dying. They have been instrumental in benefiting a few; nevertheless, in a national point of view, all these tribes, as well as others near at hand, west of Lake Michigan and west of the Mississippi river, continue to dwindle,—they are positively perishing, and perishing rapidly.

souri and Arkansas, as suitable for the colonization and permanent residence of the Indians. 'This country,' he says, 'is generally high, healthy, rich, its extent adequate to the purposes under consideration, and the climate desirable.' He approves the general plan originally submitted by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Calhoun, and recommended anew by the present executive and the secretary of war, of removing, with their own consent, the various tribes to that region, and establishing over them such a government as will protect, and restrain, and improve them. If the conviction of its importance should lead to its adoption, and to the voluntary acquiescence of the Indians, it would be easy to regulate hereafter the practical details of the subject, and to accommodate them to the progress and prospects of the migrating colonists and of the permanent settlements formed by them."

Had the English historian of the United States confined himself to the manners, customs, history and character of the Indians, instead of discussing their treatment, and the policy of it, the whole article would have been more acceptable to his readers on this side of the water. These things are concerns of our own, and should not be interfered with by foreigners. In future ages, the antiquarian may be allowed to call them up, but not while the subjects are agitated among ourselves. We shall call the attention of the reader to a few characteristics of the sons of the forest, and advert to a few passages of their history.

"Prior to their intercourse with Europeans, the weapons of the Indians were bows and arrows, clubs, tomahawks, and spears of wood, curiously wrought with stones, shells, or other sharply-pointed implements. The tomahawks, spears, and arrows, were generally edged with stones, bones, or other materials that could be shaped to an acute point. For the defence of their persons, they had targets, fabricated of the bark of trees and other flexible substances. The bark of the small shrub called *moose wood*, which was plentifully found in the woods, furnished excellent cordage, and a sort of wild hemp was used for the same purpose. After they began to traffic with the Europeans, their rude weapons were laid aside for those of iron or other metals; and before the commencement of the war with Philip, though the trade was strictly restrained by the government of the provinces, the Indians had obtained many fire-arms, and used them with dexterity.

"In the construction of their canoes, which were of the highest importance in many of their expeditions, as well as their ordinary business, they were singularly curious: these were fabricated from the bark of certain trees, generally of the white birch, or hollowed out of the trunks of soft timber, by burning and scraping with their rude

implements. The former, though they required skill in the workman, were not so difficult in their construction as the log canoe; they were ingeniously shaped and curiously sewed together with roots, and besmeared with gums of various trees to render them tight, and strengthened within with ribs, or transverse pieces. A bark of this kind, sufficient for the transportation of five or six Indians, was portable on the back of a single man; and in this manner they were carried with facility over the portages between rivers and lakes.

"The construction of the log canoe required much labour, as well as patience and perseverance. A large tree was to be felled and hollowed out by fire, or by their imperfect tools, or with both united. Roger Williams, who had many opportunities of observing their modes of construction, says, 'I have seen a native go into the woods with his hatchet, carrying only a basket of corn, and stones to strike fire; when he had felled his tree, and made a little house or shed of bark, he puts fire and follows the burning in many places; his corn he boils, and hath his brook by him, and sometimes angles for a little fish; but so he continues his burning and hewing, until he hath, within ten or twelve days, finished his boat.'

"The food of the natives was principally obtained from the game and fish with which the country abounded. But they cultivated in the intervals considerable quantities of corn, beans, pumpkins, and squashes; the forest furnished a great variety of nuts and other fruits, which, in the sale of their lands to the English, they generally reserved for their own use. Indian corn was an important article; this, after being parched and pounded to a coarse meal, and moistened with water, was called *nokehick*, and eaten on all occasions, when animal food could not be procured, or expedition forbid the time necessary for more protracted cookery. On all excursions, parched corn was carried in small baskets, or sacks, and was a sure preservative against famine.

"Various were their devices for taking their large game. One was the constructing of slight fences of brush, in two lines, wide at one extremity, and converging at a point at the other, where was a narrow opening. Here the huntsman placed himself, under some cover, and shot the game as it passed through. Sometimes a curious kind of trap was contrived at the opening, by bending down a flexible staddle, to which was attached a snare for seizing the animal. When caught in this trap, his struggles disengaged the staddle, and suspended him in the air. A mare belonging to one of the early settlers, straying in the woods, was caught in one of these traps and raised into the air; the Indians discovered her, and observing the shoes upon her feet, at once concluded that she belonged

to the English, and running with great rapidity, told them their *squaw horse* was hanging to a tree.

"Fish were an important article of food, and were taken with nets, hooks, and long spears. With the latter they supplied themselves with shad and salmon in abundance, as they ascended the cataracts of the rivers, in the spring season. The contrivance was the following: The extremity of the horn of a deer, or other animal, having a cavity at one end, and sharply pointed at the other, was loosely placed upon the end of the spear; a cord attached to the horn was stretched along the shaft, and held in the hand that directed the stroke. On plunging the point into the fish, the spear was drawn a little back, and the horn, slipping off, turned across the perforation, and the fish was drawn from the water.

"The skill with which the Indians directed their course in the pathless forests, as well as their perseverance and rapidity, were astonishing. 'I have,' says Roger Williams, 'known many of them run between four-score and a hundred miles, in a summer's day, and back within two.' In travelling, 'I have been guided by them twenty, thirty, and forty miles, through the woods, on a straight course, out of any path. When the English first came to this country,' adds he, 'it was admirable to see what paths their naked feet had made in the wilderness, in the most stony and rocky places.'

"For their apparel, the Indians were indebted to the moose, deer, bear, beaver, otter, fox, raccoon, and some other animals. The skin of the deer was an important material: these, when dressed, furnished a pliable cover, and were much worn. But their clothing was but imperfectly fitted to their bodies, and some parts were left uncovered. After the arrival of the English, the natives very readily exchanged their fur dresses for woollen blankets, and other clothes of European manufacture, and in this change the English found a profitable trade.

"For travelling in cold seasons, they wore a rude kind of shoe, called a *mockason*, which was fabricated from moose and deer skins, gathered to shape the feet, by sinews of animals; but they were a poor defence for the feet in wet weather. In travelling in deep snows, they had recourse to *snow-shoes* or *rackets*. A light, flexible piece of walnut, or other wood, was bent into an elliptical form, terminating in a point behind; two light pieces of wood extended across the shoe, for the purpose of strengthening the bow, affording also a rest for the foot, and the whole space included within the bow, was interlaced with thongs of deer or moose hide, in a reticulated manner. The foot, resting upon the cross-bars, was lashed so as to confine it to the shoe. Owing to its elasticity, the strides of the traveller were much greater than those usually made on a firm surface without them. Habituated

from their youth to this mode of travelling, the Indians were dexterous in the use of the snow-shoe, and, in the depth of winter, performed marches truly astonishing.

"In their winter expeditions, their *bivouac*, or night camp, was in a swamp, or other thick wood, where they were shielded from the winds and storms. Usually the snow was cleared away, and their fires kindled upon the earth, around which, boughs of evergreens, such as hemlock and fir, were spread upon the sloping sides of the excavation. Upon these boughs, wrapped in their skins, or blankets, they passed the coldest nights, without suffering any inconvenience. In many cases, they dispensed with their fires, and lay upon the snow with no covering except their furred robes, and not unfrequently, in the morning, found themselves covered with a new supply, fallen in the night; and in this manner it is said they reposed very comfortably."

The eloquence of the Indians is a subject more often talked of than understood. The Indian orators of the wilds of this country have had a wonderful influence on peace and war, and in every thing relating to the welfare of their tribes. I have taken great pains to examine those who have appeared in our cities as the orators of the deputations of different Indian nations, and the superiority of these over others of their tribes was distinctly visible. Seldom was there one among the Indian orators under forty or fifty years of age, and many much older. In general, they were well-made men, of a powerful voice, and of ready delivery. The accounts given by themselves, and by others, of their education, were very similar in the different tribes. Each young warrior, when he had returned from a battle or an embassy, had a right, and in fact was expected, to give a minute account of every thing he had seen or done. From these specimens of speaking, the sagacious sons of the forest judge with great shrewdness of the respective merits of the aspirants for distinction. The best speakers are encouraged, and selected for other enterprises. To improve their minds, they listen hours together to the historical legends of the aged warrior and patriot, and treasure up the events he relates, and the sentiments he utters. The student in oratory is careful to remember the best figures of rhetoric which are used by the aged in illustrating their sentiments; hence a set of phrases have descended among them for ages, such as *to bury the hatchet*, *to smoke the calumet of peace*. These and many other phrases have become fixtures in their language, and have no doubtful meaning. In times of peace, these orators, or rather those preparing to take that high office, travel and visit other tribes. The most intelligent of them were selected for this purpose. The Lenni-Lenapes were, in former times, considered the Athenians of North American In

dians, and many youths of other tribes were found among them, learning their language, and making themselves masters of their traditions. The Foxes are now visited as the Lenni-Lenapes were in past ages, as possessing a language of a more general character than that of other nations.

American history furnishes us with many instances of eloquence among Indian orators. There is a lofty tone in the eloquence of the red man, that surpasses the self-possession and confidence of an orator in the civilized world. Like Logan, they would not turn on their heels to save themselves from martyrdom. Instances of noble bearing are found in every history of their wars. Philip, the king of the Wampanoags, was not only a great warrior, but a great orator. He was the Demosthenes of the woods, who struggled with all his might for his country, and was equally unsuccessful. Philip was surrounded by great men. Nanunthenoo, the head sachem of the Narragansetts, was taken by Captain Dinsmore in the war of 1676. He was son to the patriotic Miantonomoh, and inherited the pride and eloquence of his father. He would not accept his life, when it was offered on the condition that he should make peace with the English. When he was informed that they were determined to put him to death, he said, "I like it well. I shall die before my heart is soft, or shall have spoken any thing unworthy of myself."

The speeches of the Indians of our day are equal to any which have been recorded by our fathers. Specimens of rare eloquence have been witnessed in our times. The Winnebagoes and Minomines have been distinguished by their speeches to the president of the United States. The interview between the Winnebagoes and Mr. Adams (then president) was impressive. The Indians had entertained the president and his cabinet, the day previous to their introduction, with a war dance, which was expressive of the changes and passions of war. The Indians, fifteen or sixteen in number, were led into the hall of audience at the president's house, and introduced to him, and gravely took their seats. After a silence of some time, the aged chief, almost entirely bald, said to have seen ninety winters, rose, and took his stand in front of the president, and made a few remarks respecting his age, and his happiness in seeing his great father, and concluded by observing that the orator of the tribe would address him more largely, and then retired. The orator approached to within thirty feet of the president, threw off his blanket from his shoulders, and took it on his left arm, exhibiting a manly chest and sinewy arms. After looking around for a moment, he began:—"Great father, I was not born a chief, but was made one by my tribe for my abilities. I never was drunk, or ever told a false-

hood. Give me your ear; I will not deceive you. We have come a long journey to say to you that bad men have told lies about the Winnebagoes, and to show you our hearts; look into them; we know you are wise," &c. The whole interview was conducted with great ceremony, each Indian keeping his place with the exactness of the same number of courtiers at a presentation to the king. After the interview, presents of pistols, swords, and rifles, were made to the delegation by the president; and all of them went to their lodgings, and became intoxicated in a carousal, the orator alone excepted; he remained perfectly sober, and assisted the keeper to prevent the Indians from doing themselves any harm. Their ferocity of character is fully developed in their moments of intoxication. I once heard *Red Jacket*, after rising from a fit of inebriation, curse, with most sincere and passionate contrition, the use of ardent spirits. He portrayed the whole race of red men as sinking under it faster than the arms of their enemies could destroy them.

"Few Indians' names have been oftener repeated than that of LOGAN, and yet of scarcely any individual of his race is the history which has reached us less complete. He was a chief of the Six Nations—a Cayuga—but resided during most of his life in a western settlement, either at Sandusky or upon a branch of the Scioto—there being at the former location, a few years before the revolution, about three hundred warriors, and about sixty at the latter.

"Logan was the second son of Shikellimus; and this is the same person whom Heckewelder describes as 'a respectable chief of the Six Nations, who resided at Shamokin (Pennsylvania), as an agent, to transact business between them and the government of the state.' In 1747, at a time when the Moravian missionaries were the object of much groundless hatred and accusation, Shikellimus invited some of them to settle at Shamokin, and they did so. When Count Zinzendorff and Conrad Weiser visited that place, several years before, they were very hospitably entertained by the chief, who came out to meet them (says Loskiel) with a large, fine melon, for which the count politely gave him his fur cap in exchange; and thus commenced an intimate acquaintance. He was a shrewd and sober man,—not addicted to drinking, like most of his countrymen, because 'he never wished to become a fool.' Indeed, he built his house on pillars, for security against the drunken Indians, and used to ensconce himself within it on all occasions of riot and outrage. He died in 1749, attended in his last moments by the good Moravian bishop Zeisberger, in whose presence, says Loskiel, 'he fell happily asleep in the Lord.'

"Logan inherited the talents of his father, but not his prosperity. Nor was this altogether his own fault. He

took no part, except that of peace-making, in the French and English war of 1760, and was ever before and afterwards looked upon as emphatically the friend of the white man. But never was kindness rewarded like his.

"In the spring of 1774, a robbery and murder occurred in some of the white settlements on the Ohio, which were charged to the Indians, though perhaps not justly, for it is well known that a large number of civilized adventurers were traversing the frontiers at this time, who sometimes disguised themselves as Indians, and who thought little more of killing one of that people than of shooting a buffalo. A party of these men, land-jobbers and others, undertook to punish the outrage in this case, according to their custom, as Mr. Jefferson expresses it, in a summary way.

"Colonel Cresap, a man infamous for the many murders he had committed on those much injured people, collected a party, and proceeded down the Kenhawa in quest of vengeance. Unfortunately, a canoe of women and children, with one man only, was seen coming from the opposite shore, unarmed, and not at all suspecting an attack from the whites. Cresap and his party concealed themselves on the bank of the river, and the moment the canoe reached the shore, singled out their objects, and, at one fire, killed every person in it. This happened to be the family of Logan.

"It was not long after this that another massacre took place, under still more aggravated circumstances, not far from the present site of Wheeling, Virginia,—a considerable party of the Indians being decoyed by the whites, and all murdered, with the exception of a little girl. Among these, too, was both a brother of Logan, and a sister, and the delicate situation of the latter increased a thousand fold both the barbarity of the crime and the rage of the survivors of the family.

"The vengeance of the chieftain was indeed provoked beyond endurance; and he accordingly distinguished himself by his daring and bloody exploits in the war which now ensued, between the Virginians on the one side, and a combination mainly of Shawanees, Mingoes, and Delawares, on the other. The former of these tribes were particularly exasperated by the unprovoked murder of one of their favourite chiefs, Silver-heels, who had in the kindest manner undertaken to escort several white traders across the woods from the Ohio to Albany, a distance of nearly two hundred miles.

"The civilized party prevailed, as usual. A decisive battle was fought upon the 10th of October, of the year last named, on Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kenhawa in West-Virginia, between the confederates, commanded by Logan, and one thousand Virginian riflemen, constituting the left wing of an army led by Gov-

ernor Dunmore against the Indians of the North-West. This engagement has, by some annalists,—who, however, have rarely given the particulars of it,—been called the most obstinate ever contested with the natives; and we therefore annex an official account of it, which has fortunately been brought to light within a few years.

"Monday morning, [the 10th,] about half an hour before sunrise, two of Capt. Russell's company discovered a large party of Indians about a mile from camp; one of which was shot down by the Indians. The other made his escape, and brought in the intelligence; two or three minutes after, two of Capt. Shelby's men came in and confirmed the account.

"Col. Andrew Lewis, being informed thereof, immediately ordered out Col. Charles Lewis to take the command of one hundred and fifty men, of the Augusta troops; and with him went Capt. Dickinson, Capt. Harrison, Capt. Wilson, Capt. John Lewis of Augusta, and Capt. Lockridge, which made the first division. Col. Fleming was ordered to take command of one hundred and fifty more, consisting of Botetrou, Bedford and Fincastle troops—viz. Capt. Bufort of Bedford, Capt. Love of Botetrou, and Capt. Shelby and Capt. Russell of Fincastle,—which made the second division. Col. Charles Lewis's division marched to the right, some distance from the Ohio; Col. Fleming, with his division, up the bank of the Ohio, to the left. Col. Lewis's division had not marched quite half a mile from camp, when, about sunrise, an attack was made on the front of his division, in a most vigorous manner, by the united tribes of Indians, Shawanees, Delawares, Mingoes, Ioways, and of several other nations, in number not less than eight hundred, and by many thought to be a thousand. In this heavy attack Col. Lewis received a wound which in a few hours occasioned his death, and several of his men fell on the spot; in fact, the Augusta division was forced to give way to the heavy fire of the enemy. In about a minute after the attack on Col. Lewis's division, the enemy engaged the front of Col. Fleming's division, on the Ohio; and in a short time the colonel received two balls through his left arm, and one through his breast, and after animating the officers and soldiers, in a spirited manner, to the pursuit of victory, retired to camp.

"The loss of the brave colonels from the field was sensibly felt by the officers in particular; but, the Augusta troops being shortly after reinforced from camp by Col. Field, with his company, together with Capt. M'Dowel, Capt. Mathews and Capt. Stuart, from Augusta, and Capt. Arbuckle and Capt. M'Clenahan, from Botetrou, the enemy, no longer able to maintain their ground, was forced to give way till they were in a line with the troops of Col. Fleming, left in action on the bank of Ohio. In

this precipitate retreat Col. Field was killed. Capt. Shelby was then ordered to take the command. During this time, it being now twelve o'clock, the action continued extremely hot. The close underwood, and many steep banks and logs, greatly favoured their retreat, and the bravest of their men made the best use of them, whilst others were throwing their dead into the Ohio and carrying off their wounded.

“After twelve o'clock, the action, in a small degree, abated; but continued, except at short intervals, sharp enough till after one o'clock. Their long retreat gave them a most advantageous spot of ground, from whence it appeared to the officers so difficult to dislodge them, that it was thought most advisable to stand as the line was then formed, which was about a mile and a quarter in length, and had till then sustained a constant and equal weight of the action, from wing to wing. It was till about half an hour of sunset they continued firing on us scattering shots, which we returned to their disadvantage; at length, night coming on, they found a safe retreat. They had not the satisfaction of carrying off any of our men's scalps, save one or two stragglers, whom they killed before the engagement. Many of their dead they scalped, rather than we should have them; but our troops scalped upwards of twenty of those who were first killed. It is beyond a doubt their loss in number far exceeds ours, which is considerable.”

“The Virginians lost in this action two of their colonels, four captains, many subordinate officers, and about fifty privates killed, besides a much larger number wounded. The governor himself was not engaged in the battle, being at the head of the right wing of the same army, a force of fifteen hundred men, who were at this time on their expedition against the towns of some of the hostile tribes in the North-West.

“It was at the treaty ensuing upon this battle that the following speech was delivered,—sufficient to render the name of Logan famous for many a century. It came by the hand of a messenger, sent (as Mr. Jefferson states) that the sincerity of the negotiation might not be distrusted on account of the absence of so distinguished a warrior as himself.

“I appeal to any white man to say, if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if he ever came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said, ‘Logan is the friend of white men.’ I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the

relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one!”

THE ELOQUENCE OF THE PROPHET.

“Father!—It is three years since I first began with that system of religion which I now practise. The white people and some of the Indians were against me; but I had no other intention but to introduce among the Indians those good principles of religion which the white people profess. I was spoken badly of by the white people, who reproached me with misleading the Indians; but I defy them to say that I did any thing amiss.

“Father!—I was told that you intended to hang me. When I heard this, I intended to remember it, and tell my father, when I went to see him, and relate to him the truth.

“I heard, when I settled on the Wabash, that my father, the governor, had declared that all the land between Vincennes and Fort Wayne was the property of the Seventeen Fires.

“I also heard that you wanted to know, my father, whether I was God or man; and that you said, if I was the former, I should not steal horses. I heard this from Mr. Wells, but I believe it originated with himself.

“The Great Spirit told me to tell the Indians, that he had made them and made the world—that he had placed them on it to do good, and not evil.

“I told all the red-skins that the way they were in was not good, and that they ought to abandon it. I said that we ought to consider ourselves as one man, but to live agreeable to our several customs, the red people after their mode, and the white people after theirs. Particularly that they should not drink whisky; that it was not made for them, but the white people, who alone knew how to use it; that it is the cause of all the mischiefs which the Indians suffer; and that they must always follow the directions of the Great Spirit, and we must listen to him, as it was he that has made us.

“Brothers!—Listen to nothing that is bad. Do not take up the tomahawk, should it be offered by the British, or by the Long-Knives. Do not meddle with any thing that does not belong to you, but mind your own business, and cultivate the ground, that your women and your children may have enough to live on. I now inform you

that it is our intention to live in peace with our father and his people forever.

"My father!—I have informed you what we mean to do, and I call the Great Spirit to witness the truth of my declaration. The religion which I have established for the last three years, has been attended to by the different tribes of Indians in this part of the world. Those Indians were once different people: they are now but one: they are all determined to practise what I have communicated to them, that has come immediately from the Great Spirit through me.

"Brother!—I speak to you as a warrior. You are one. But let us lay aside this character, and attend to the care of our children, that they may live in comfort and peace. We desire that you will join us for the preservation of both red and white people. Formerly, when we lived in ignorance, we were foolish; but now, since we listen to the voice of the Great Spirit, we are happy.

"I have listened to what you have said to us. You have promised to assist us. I now request you, in behalf of all the red people, to use your exertions to prevent the sale of liquor to us. We are all well pleased to hear you say that you will endeavour to promote our happiness. We give you every assurance that we will follow the dictates of the Great Spirit.

"We are all well pleased with the attention that you have showed us; also with the good intentions of our father, the president. If you give us a few articles, such as needles, flints, hoes, powder, and other things, we shall be able to take the animals that afford us meat with powder and ball."

SOME PASSAGES IN THE HISTORY OF THE INDIANS.

Philip's War.

"Depredations were made on the eastern towns in Massachusetts, and the war was carried to the interior towns. Philip had roused all the tribes within many hundred miles of his kingdom. Early in the spring of 1676, the Indians were scouring the settlements on Connecticut River. Those tribes that did not come into the views of Philip, were considered by him as enemies, the Mo-hawks among others. Philip and his men were at first successful, but he soon began to meet with reverses; his troops were repulsed at Hadley. Talcot, Turner, and other brave officers, with small forces, cut up the Indians in all directions, and gave Philip no rest. Still the great chieftain was unsubdued.

"Thus hunted and attacked in every direction, and straitened for provisions, the Indians became disheartened; large parties continued to return to Narraganset and the adjacent country, and many came in and surrendered to

the English. But the war continued to rage in the Plymouth quarter, where the veteran Capt. Church now performed the most gallant services. He penetrated the Indian country, destroyed their lodges, captured their women and children, killed their warriors, and spread desolation and terror far and wide.

"Philip, though unable to find a place of safety, still kept up his haughty spirit, and, disdaining submission, continued his hostilities with persevering energy. His allies, who held out at the northward, were less active, and began to flee in various directions; and the people on Connecticut River now found some respite from blood and carnage.

"Major Talcot, after his return from his expedition up the Connecticut, having recruited his force, was ordered to take a station at Westfield, in Massachusetts, and seize any opportunity that might offer, for attacking the fugitives. Not long after his arrival at that place, the trail of about two hundred Indians was discovered in the vicinity shaping towards the Hudson. Talcot immediately took the trail, and pressed on to overtake the Indians, and, on the third day, discovered them encamped on the west bank of Housatonic River, in the most perfect security. Being late in the day, he resolved to postpone an attack until next morning, and, drawing back, lay upon his arms in the most profound silence. Towards the dawn of day, he formed his troops into two divisions, one to pass the river below the Indians, make a detour, and attack them in their rear, while the other was to approach by a direct route opposite to their camp, and open a fire across the river the moment the attack commenced on the opposite side. The plan was partially frustrated. One of the Indians left the camp in the night, and proceeded down the river for the purpose of taking fish, and as the troops who had crossed the river, as had been ordered, were advancing to the attack, he discovered them, and gave the usual cry, *Awanux! Awanux!* on which he was instantly shot. Talcot, now opposite to the Indian camp, hearing the report, instantly poured in a volley, as the Indians were rising from their slumbers. A complete panic ensued, and they fled in confusion into the woods, followed by Talcot; and most who escaped the first fire made good their retreat. The division below was too far distant to share in the victory. Twenty-five Indians were left on the ground, and twenty were made prisoners; and among the former was the sachem of Qua-boag. Talcot lost but one, and he a Mohegan.

"Soon after this affair, most of the remaining Nipmuck, Nashaway, Hadley, Springfield, and Pocumtuck Indians fled from their stations, either to the Mohekannucks, on the Hudson, the Pennacooks on the Merrimack, or to Canada; and a few joined the Schaghticoes, at the

mouth of Hoosack River, in the province of New York.

"Meanwhile the war continued in the south-east quarter of New England, under the desperate Philip; but the gallant Church and other officers gave him little rest. He was hunted and driven from his covert places, his chief men, wife, and children, killed or captured; but he still continued firm, and, secreting himself with a small force in the recesses of deep swamps, refused to submit. At length an Indian, whose brother had been shot by Philip for urging him to make peace, brought intelligence to Capt. Church, who was in Rhode Island, that the chief was in a swamp in Mount Hope Neck, and Church immediately resolved to try his skill upon him. With a small company of English, and a number of friendly Indians, accompanied by several volunteer officers, he passed over to the main, and, conducted by the Indian who brought the intelligence, soon reached the swamp, in which Philip was posted, with a considerable force; but darkness had now commenced. Perfectly acquainted with the ground, Church formed his men in extended order, placing an Englishman and an Indian together, with orders to fire upon any who should attempt to escape from the swamp. Captain Golding, with a party, was to penetrate the swamp, and rouse Philip at the dawn of day. Having made this disposition of his troops, Church was giving further orders, when a shot whistled over his head, followed immediately after by a whole volley from Golding's party, on an advanced guard of the enemy, posted in the margin of the swamp. Day had now dawned, and Philip, on the report of the guns, seized his *petunk*, powder-horn, and gun, left the swamp, and ran towards two of Church's enclosing chain of men; an Englishman levelled his piece against him, but it missed fire; his accompanying Indian, more fortunate, with a quick sight, sent two balls through the body of the chief, one piercing his heart, which laid him dead upon the spot. The important intelligence was immediately communicated to Church, but he kept it to himself, intending to make it known after the remaining enemy were driven from their cover. A terrific voice immediately thundered from the swamp, *Iootash! Iootash!* It was from Annawon, Philip's chief captain, calling to his men to maintain their ground. The English then rushed into the swamp, and, charging closely, threw the Indians into confusion. Annawon, with about sixty of his followers, made his escape, but one hundred and thirty were killed and captured. After the affair was over, Church communicated to his troops the death of Philip, and repaired to the spot where he lay. He had fallen upon his face, in a muddy spot of ground, from which he was drawn; the head taken off, and the body left to be devoured by wild beasts. Thus

fell this great chief, in a struggle, which, had it been in favour of a civilized people, by a civilized commander, and attended with success, would have immortalized his name.

"Remarking upon the fate of this chief, a historian says—'The death of Philip, in retrospect, makes different impressions from what were made at the time of the event. It was then considered as the extinction of a virulent and implacable enemy; it is now viewed as the fall of a great warrior, a penetrating statesman, and a mighty prince. It then excited universal joy and congratulation, as a prelude to the close of a merciless war; it now awakens sober reflections on the instability of empire, the peculiar destiny of the aboriginal race, and the inscrutable decrees of Heaven. The patriotism of the man was then overlooked in the cruelty of the savage; a little allowance was made for the natural jealousy of the sovereign on account of the barbarities of the warrior. Philip, in the progress of the English settlements, foresaw the loss of his territory, and the extinction of his tribe, and made a mighty effort to prevent those calamities. Our pity for his misfortunes would be still heightened, if we could rely on the tradition—that Philip and his old men were averse to the war; that Philip wept with grief, at the news of the first English who were killed; and that he was pressed into his measures by the irresistible importunity of his young warriors.'

"Annawon, Philip's chief captain and counsellor, was now at the head of the hostile Indians. He was an artful and long-experienced warrior, and had often declared that the English should not take him while alive. After the defeat at the swamp where his commander was killed, he, with fifty or sixty of his best men, took post in Squannaconk Swamp, in the south-east part of Rehoboth. Several Indians from his camp were soon after captured, among whom was an Indian with his daughter. By these Church was informed of the situation of Annawon's camp, and by a stratagem, which none but the most daring would have adopted, succeeded in capturing the whole without resistance. At the head of a small party, conducted by the captured Indian and his daughter, who, it appears, readily engaged in the attempt, Church, by a cautious approach in the evening, reached the edge of a rocky precipice, under which Annawon was encamped, and made a critical examination of the position. A tree had been felled close under the precipice, and boughs placed against it, to form a sort of hut; fires were burning near, pots and kettles boiling, and spits turning, loaded with meat; the fire-arms stood near the foot of the rock, resting upon a pole, supported with crotches, and covered with a mat, to keep them dry; the Indians were separated into three parties at small distances, surrounded by a

rude abatis ; and Annawon with his son lay reposing very near the arms.

"Having viewed the camp sufficiently, Church and his party withdrew, and formed his plan for the surprise. Informed by his guide, that no one was allowed to go out, or enter the camp, except by the precipice, he determined to make his effort in that direction. The guide and his daughter, with baskets upon their backs, as if bringing in provisions, were directed to precede Church and his men, while the latter, close in the rear, and covered by the shadows of the guides, were to descend the rocks. The descent was found to be difficult ; but by letting themselves down by the bushes, growing in the fissures of the rock, the party reached the bottom without alarming the Indians. Church, with a hatchet in his hand, seized the arms at the feet of Annawon, who, starting up on end, cried out, *Howah !* and, despairing of an escape, fell back in his couch. After the arms were secured, parties went to the other Indians, informing them their chief was a prisoner, and that if they would submit, their lives should be spared ; the whole readily complied with the terms, and all appeared cheerful. Church now inquired of Annawon what he had for supper ; for said he, 'I have come to sup with you.' The chief in a loud voice ordered his women to prepare one, and inquired of his conqueror whether he would choose *cow*, or *horse beef* ; Church replied, *cow beef*, and the supper was soon prepared, and all ate heartily. After suitable guards were posted, the Indians lay down, and Church attempted a short repose, near his captured chief ; but neither slept : some time had elapsed in silence, when Annawon rose from his couch, and slowly retired into the woods. Church, apprehensive of some hostile design, drew near to Annawon's son, and prepared for the worst. At length the chief returned with a pack, placed it on the ground, and, falling on his knees, said—'Great captain, you have killed Philip, and conquered his country ; I believe that I and my company are the last who war against the English ; I suppose the war is ended by your means.' Then, opening the pack, he drew out a belt, curiously wrought with wampum in various figures, of flowers, birds, and beasts, which, when hung upon the captain's shoulders, reached to his feet. Another belt of wampum was next taken out, wrought in the same manner, which was worn on the head of the warrior, hanging down the back, to which two flags appended, waving behind. A third, with a star, and edged with red hair, was taken out, which, when hung upon the neck, descended to the breast. These, with two horns of glazed powder, and a red cloth blanket, constituting the royal dress of Philip, were presented to Capt. Church, who, Annawon said, had 'won them, and he was happy in having an opportunity of delivering.'

"The remainder of the night was spent in free conversation, in which the captured chief recounted his various exploits in the present, as well as former wars under Philip's father. The next day Church marched his prisoners to Taunton, where he joined those that had been captured when Philip was killed, and had been ordered to that town. Annawon, with another chief, was perfidiously put to death at Boston, not long after. A few more exploits of Capt. Church, in which a number of the Indians were captured, and the few remaining tribes submitted, ended the war in this quarter.

"In this predatory war, it is estimated that about six hundred of the inhabitants of New England were either killed in battle, or otherwise cut off by the enemy ; twelve or thirteen towns entirely destroyed, and about six hundred buildings, chiefly dwelling-houses, consumed by fire. Rarely was a family to be found, who had not lost some of its members or relations. Dr. Trumbull estimates the loss much greater. 'The histories of those times,' he observes, 'rarely mention the barns, stores and out-houses burned ; and sometimes there is notice of the burning of part of a town, and of the buildings in such a tract, without a specification of the number. All the buildings in Narraganset, from Providence to Stonington, a tract of about fifty miles, were burned, or otherwise destroyed by the enemy ; but the number is not mentioned. The loss of buildings must therefore have been much greater than has been mentioned.' And he concludes that about one fencible man in eleven was killed, and every eleventh family burnt out ; or that an eleventh part of the whole militia, and of all the buildings of the *United Colonies*, were swept off by the war.

"The war, though attended with great loss on the part of the English, was not less disastrous to the Indians ; for they not only lost great numbers, but their lodges were destroyed, and, in short, their country conquered. Whether the contest might have been avoided by the English remains a question of doubtful solution. That they were averse to it, and had avoided any new cause of complaint on the part of the Indians, is obvious from a view of the history of prior events. The opinion, therefore, of many of the people of the present day, '*that the lands in New England were taken from the natives by force, and that the war on the part of Philip was just*,' is to be embraced with some limitation. In most cases, the first settled towns were purchased of the sachems residing at the places selected by the English. In many old towns, deeds given by them are now extant, containing considerations for the lands sold, though generally of little value. To prevent injustice, the purchasers were restricted by government. In Massachusetts, none were allowed to take deeds of the Indians, excepting under certain conditions ; and

Plymouth colony put similar checks upon their people. Governor Winslow, in a letter dated Marshfield, May 1st, 1676, makes the following statement: "I think I can clearly say, that before the present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony, but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors: Nay, because some of our people are of a covetous disposition, and the Indians are in straits, easily prevailed with to part with their lands, we first made a law that none should purchase, or receive of gift, any lands of the Indians without the knowledge and allowance of our Court; and a penalty of a fine of five pounds per acre, for all that should be so bought or obtained. And lest yet they should be streightened, we ordered that Mount Hope, Pocasset, and several other necks of land in the colony, because most suitable and convenient for them, should never be bought out of their hands. And our neighbours, at Rehoboth and Swanzy, although they bought their lands fairly of this Philip and his father and brother, yet because of their vicinity, that they might not trespass upon the Indians, did at their own cost set up a very substantial fence quite across that great neck between the English and Indians, and paid due damage, if at any time any unruly horse or other beast broke in and trespassed. And for divers years last past, (that all occasion of offence in that respect might be prevented,) the English agreed with Philip and his, for a certain sum yearly, to maintain the said fence, and secure themselves. And if at any time they brought complaints before us, they had justice impartial and speedily, so that our own people have frequently complained, that we erred on the other hand in showing them our favour.' One question only relating to the titles remains, and this is, whether the sachems who executed the deeds, possessed full power to transfer the lands? But this seems not to have been doubted at that time."

Lovewell's Fight.—1725.

"In the eastern quarter, scouts were also vigilant. Capt. John Lovewell, of Dunstable, raised a volunteer corps, in the early part of the winter 1724, to penetrate the woods in search of the enemy. With a small party he had killed one and captured another, to the northward of Winnipiseogee Lake, and received the bounty from government. The same winter, he made a second expedition into the northern wilderness, surprised and killed ten Indians, as they were sleeping at a fire by the margin of a frozen pond, since known by his name, in the town of Wakefield, in New Hampshire. Lovewell and his party received out of Massachusetts treasury one thousand pounds for the ten scalps.

"Elated with his success, on the twenty-sixth of April, 1725, he marched on his third expedition, with a design of surprising the villages of Pigwacket, on the upper part of the River Saco, in what is now the town of Fryeburg, in the western part of Maine; having under his command forty-six men, including a chaplain, surgeon, and four commissioned officers. On the march, two men, falling sick or lame, were dismissed, with one man to accompany them. Arriving at Ossipee Pond, another man becoming sick, Lovewell built a small stockade fort, and left his surgeon, a sergeant, and seven men, with a quantity of provisions. Reduced now to thirty-four men, Lovewell continued his march for Pigwacket, and encamped on the east side of a pond, not far from his place of destination, on the evening of the seventh of May. Uncommon noises in the night induced a belief that the Indians were about the camp, and in the morning, the report of a gun, and discovery of an Indian on a jutting point of land, convinced Lovewell that his conjecture was not without foundation. Suspecting that the Indian on the point had been placed as a decoy, and that a body of the enemy might be in the front, the men deposited their packs in an open pine wood, near the N. E. angle of the pond, and advanced towards the Indian, distant between one and two miles. Immediately after their departure, forty-one Indians, who were returning from an expedition down the Saco, under two noted leaders, Pagus and Waba, discovered Lovewell's trail, and, following it, found and seized the packs, and, upon counting them, ascertained that his force was numerically inferior to their own; they then planted an ambuscade on the spot, ready for an attack. Lovewell, in the mean time, pressing on towards the Indian, met him returning, who immediately discharged his gun, and wounded Lovewell, and Samuel Whitney, with beaver shot; on which Ensign Wyman fired, killed him, and took his scalp. No other enemy being discovered, Lovewell retraced his march to the place where the packs had been left, and found they were missing; a search was commenced, on which the Indians rose, and with a horrid yell, rushed on and gave their fire; the English met them, and fired nearly at the same time, and a severe conflict ensued, but the Indians were driven a little back. Capt. Lovewell, Ensign Harwood, Sergeant Fulham, John Jeffs, Jonathan Kitridge, Daniel Woods, Ichabod Johnson, Thomas Woods, and Jonah Davis, were killed. Lieut. Farwell, Lieut. Robbins, and Robert Usher, were wounded. The survivors, with the wounded, then fell back to the pond, and took a position where a point of rocks secured the left, and an unfordable brook the right, a morass stretching along part of the front; and covering themselves behind trees, they renewed the attack on the enemy, who had now pressed closely on, and open-

ed their fire with great spirit. Ensign Seth Wyman, who now commanded, resolving to maintain his position to the last extremity, continued his fire with great spirit, and several of his men were soon badly wounded. Every art was essayed by the enemy to induce the English to surrender; but disregarding them, they continued their fire with destructive effect. Towards night, the yells and fire of the Indians became less frequent, from which it was concluded they were about to draw off, and the conjecture proved correct; for, after collecting their killed and wounded, they disappeared about sunset, leaving the bodies of Lovewell and others, who fell in the first attack, unscalped. The loss of the Indians was supposed to be severe; among which, it was afterwards ascertained, was the chief, Pagus.

"On collecting his shattered remnant, Wyman found Lieut. Robbins, Jacob Farrar, and Robert Usher, so badly wounded that they could not be removed. Lieut. Robbins, conscious of his fate, requested his companions to load his gun, that he might despatch another of the enemy, should they return to the spot. Among those who were less severely wounded, were Lieut. Farwell, Mr. Frie, the chaplain, Sergeant Johnson, Josiah Johnson, Timothy Richardson, Samuel Whiting, Elias Baron, John Chamberlain, Isaac Lakin, Eleazer Davis, and Josiah Jones. Solomon Kies had fortunately escaped, though badly wounded. At the rising of the moon, about midnight, the wounded men, conducted by nine others, viz. Ensign Wyman, Edward Lingfield, Thomas Richardson, Eleazer Melvin, David Melvin, Ebenezer Ayer, Abiel Asten, Joseph Farrar, and Joseph Gelson, began their march for Ossipee Pond. After travelling about a mile, Mr. Frie, Lieut. Farwell, Davis and Jones of the wounded, unable to proceed, were left in the woods. The remainder pursued their march. Before arriving at the fort at Ossipee Pond, three Indians were seen, which produced an alarm and some disorder; and Elias Baron, one of the wounded, straggling from his party, was lost in the woods. On arriving at the fort, it was found to be abandoned by the guard; but a small quantity of provisions was fortunately left. It afterwards appeared that one man, at the commencement of the action, had deserted, and, on reaching the fort, informed the garrison that Lovewell and his company had been cut off; on which the guard made a precipitate retreat. Wyman, after refreshing his men, marched for home, but was compelled to leave several others of his wounded. Lieut. Farwell,

and the chaplain, Mr. Frie, perished in the woods; the others arrived home in scattered parties, after enduring the severest sufferings, and several of the wounded afterwards came in. Col. Tyng, of Dunstable, soon after, collecting a party of volunteers, proceeded to the scene of action; found and buried the bodies of the slain, and left their names carved upon trees. A generous provision was made by government for the widows and children of the slain.

"In this desperate affair, Solomon Kies, of Billerica, in Massachusetts, having fought until he had received three wounds, and lost much blood, crept to Ensign Wyman, and stating his situation, told him he was inevitably a dead man; but having strength left to creep along the side of the pond, where he intended to secure himself from the scalping-knife, he fortunately found an Indian canoe, and with much difficulty rolled himself into it, and pushing it off, the wind wafted him several miles towards the fort. He then crept to land, and finding his strength increased, continued his route, and reached the fort, and at last got home and was cured of his wounds.

"Mr. Jonathan Frie, the chaplain, was from Andover, only son of Capt. Frie of that place; he had but recently received his degree of bachelor of arts at Cambridge. Not long after being left by Ensign Wyman, in company with Lieut. Farwell, Davis and Jones, he found himself about to expire, and, unwilling to retard the march of his companions, requested them to leave him to his fate; with which they reluctantly complied. He had kept a journal of the march of Lovewell's company, which was lost with him. Capt. Lovewell, Lieutenants Farwell and Robbins, and Ensign Harwood, belonged to Dunstable; Ensign Wyman to Woburn. Of the seven from Dunstable, all were killed or wounded."

AMERICAN HISTORIANS WHO HAVE TREATED OF THE INDIANS.

Hubbard's History of Indian Wars. Church's History of Philip's War. Penballow's Indian Wars. Symmes' Sermon on Lovewell's Fight. Colden's History of the Five Nations. De Witt Clinton's papers. Hoyt's History of the Indian Wars. Thatcher's Indian Biography. The histories of the several states of the Union abound in notices of the Indians. As objects of philosophical curiosity, they have engaged the pens of many able writers, among whom may be named, with distinction, Duponceau, Pickering, Schoolcraft, M'Kenney, Catlin, and Cass.

BOOK V.

TOPOGRAPHY.

CHAPTER I.

NEW ENGLAND :—NEW HAMPSHIRE—VERMONT—
MASSACHUSETTS—RHODE ISLAND—CONNECTICUT.

It is our design in this, the closing department of our work, to give a concise but clear account of the situation, extent, natural and physical geography, internal improvements, manufactures and commerce, education, religion, civil divisions, and population of each state. We trust the former portions of this volume have conveyed a correct idea of the state of the republic generally, and would enable an inquirer to determine on the propriety of a removal thither; alike correcting unjust prejudices and unreasonable expectations, and preventing disappointment on his arrival in the transatlantic world. The remaining pages will afford, to a considerable extent, such an outline of the local peculiarities of the several states of which the Union is composed, as may in some degree enable the emigrant to select that section of the country most suited to his circumstances and pursuits. We shall commence with the most northern state, deeming a geographical preferable to an alphabetical arrangement. We have not attempted, however, any classification; as we agree with Mr. Darby, when he says, "Many arbitrary subdivisions have been attempted, with a view to simplify the engrouping of the United States, but they have appeared to me in every instance productive of confusion. The artificial lines of the political subdivisions are drawn with so little regard to natural features, that all relative classification into eastern, western, southern, or central states, superinduces so many exceptions as to render the rule worse than dubious."

MAINE.

The State of Maine, is situated between $43^{\circ} 5'$ and $48^{\circ} 3'$ north latitude, and extends from $66^{\circ} 49'$ to $70^{\circ} 55'$ west longitude. It is bounded by Lower Canada on the north, New Brunswick on the east, the Atlantic on the south, and New Hampshire on the west. The map exhibits the positions in controversy between the governments of the United

States and Great Britain, respecting the extension of Maine beyond the sources of the St. Croix river. The decision by his Dutch majesty is generally considered to be unsatisfactory. The greatest length of Maine is, from south-west to north-east, 350; mean breadth, 92; and area, by the rhombs, 22,194 square miles.

The surface of this state differs essentially from any other part of the United States. The coast between Casco Bay and Passamaquoddy is excessively indented by long projecting points, and by innumerable islands, between which are discharged the fine streams of Kennebeck and Penobscot, with many others of less volume, affording an unequalled variety of harbours. Upon this very broken coast is poured a tide of from 20 to 40 feet. So powerful is the ocean swell, as to break the winter ice to fragments, and to preserve open the harbours of Maine, whilst those several degrees more southward are closed. The interior of the state is a congeries of hills of great variety of form, without any mountain ridges of much elevation or mass, with intervening lakes and streams. With Maine, indeed, commences that lake section of North America, which extends to the utmost known northern regions of the continent. Though not very elevated, the interior of Maine rises so rapidly from the sea-coast, as to preclude the flow of the tide far inland, though few other states of the Union are more completely traversed by navigable rivers.

Extending over 5° of latitude, and differing in level at least 800 feet, Maine presents at its extremes great diversity of climate: the air, however, in all parts of the country, is pure and salubrious. The summers in most parts are favourable to the growth of all the vegetable productions of the northern states. In some places, however, Indian corn, and some other plants of a more tender kind, are frequently injured, and sometimes destroyed, by frosts late in the spring and early in the autumn. The cold of winter is severe, yet the serenity of the sky, and the invigorating influence of the atmosphere, during the same season, make amends in some degree for the severity of the weather.

The tract of country along the sea-coast, from ten

to twenty miles wide, embraces all the varieties of sandy, gravelly, clayey, and loamy soils, frequently interspersed at short distances; seldom very rich, in many places tolerably fertile, but generally poor. Of this section, Indian corn, rye, barley, grass, &c., are the principal productions. In the tract lying north of this, and extending fifty miles from the sea in the western, eighty in the central, and ninety in the eastern part, the same kinds of soil are found, but they are less frequently diversified, and generally more fertile. The surface rises into large swells of generally good soil, between which, on the margin of the streams, are frequently rich intervals, and in other places sandy or gravelly pine plains, or spruce and cedar swamps. Of this section also the principal productions are grass, Indian corn, wheat, barley, rye, flax, &c. The country beyond the limits above specified is but little settled. It exhibits great diversities in the appearance of its soil, in the growth of timber, and in climate. The land on the Kennebeck, and between this river and the Penobscot, is accounted the best in the state. It is well adapted to the various purposes of agriculture, and as a grazing country it is one of the finest in New England.

Maine enjoys great facilities for commerce. All the settled parts of the country lie near a market, and the produce of the farmer is readily exchanged for money at a good price. The principal article of export is timber. Vast quantities of boards, shingles, clapboards, masts, spars, &c., are transported to the neighbouring states, to the West Indies, and to Europe. Much of the firewood consumed in Boston, Salem, &c., is brought from Maine. Dried fish and pickled salmon are considerable articles of export. Beef, pork, butter, pot and pearl ashes, and some grain, are also among the exports. Great quantities of lime are an-

nually exported from Thomaston. Limestone and bog-iron ore abound in many places. The principal manufactures consist of cotton and woollen cloths, hats, shoes, boots, leather, iron, nails, distilled spirits, and cordage.

Bowdoin College, in Brunswick, was incorporated in 1794. It has four professors, two tutors, about 120 students, a complete philosophical apparatus, and a library of nearly 5,000 volumes. The college is endowed with five townships of land. The Maine charity school at Bangor, was incorporated in 1814. Its design is to educate young men for the ministry in a shorter time than is usual at other seminaries. It is under the direction of two professors and a preceptor; and in 1818, had nineteen students. There is a Literary and Theological Institution under the direction of the Baptist denomination, at Waterville. It was opened in 1818, with twelve or fifteen theological students. Free schools are kept in every town. By a permanent law, each town is compelled to raise for this object a sum equal to forty cents for each individual, annually. The sum raised and expended is about 120,000 dollars.

The Baptists have 210 churches, 136 ministers, 22 licentiates, and 12,936 communicants; the Congregationalists, 156 churches, 107 pastors, and 9,626 communicants; the Methodists, 56 ministers, and 12,182 communicants; the Free-will Baptists, about 50 congregations; the Friends, about 30 societies; the Unitarians 12 societies, and 8 ministers; the Episcopalians, 4 ministers; the Roman Catholics, 4 churches; the New Jerusalem Church, 3 societies; and there are some Universalists.

Maine has recently turned great attention to science, literature, and the arts, since her incorporation as a distinct state of the union.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population, 1820.	Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Population.	Distance.	
					A.*	W.†
Cumberland, s. w.‡	49,445	60,113	Portland§	12,601	53	542
Hancock, s.	17,856	24,347	Castine	1,155	78	676
Kennebeck, n.	40,150	52,491	Augusta	3,980		595
			{ Wiscasset	2,443	24	569
Lincoln, s.	46,843	57,181	{ Topsham	1,564	31	569
			{ Warren	2,030	44	617
Oxford, w.	27,104	35,217	Paris	2,337	42	581
Penobscot, n.	13,870	31,530	Bangor	2,868	66	661
Somerset, n. w.	21,787	35,788	Norridgewock	1,710	28	623
Waldo, s.	22,253	29,790	Belfast	3,077	40	641
Washington, e.	12,744	21,295	Machias	1,021	143	745
York, s. w.	46,283	51,710	{ York	3,485	99	500
			{ Alfred	1,453	86	513
Total	298,335	399,462				

* From Augusta. † From Washington.

‡ The small capital letters annexed to the counties indicate their situation in the several states; as, E., W., N., S., N. E., N. W., E. M., &c., east, west, north, south, northeast, north of middle, east of middle, &c. The seats of government of the different states are also printed in small capitals.

§ Portland has heretofore been the seat of government; but Augusta becomes the political metropolis this year, 1832.

Portland, the capital of the state, and much the largest town, is situated on a peninsula in Casco Bay. It is well located for commerce, having an extensive and thriving back country, and one of the finest harbours on the continent, being deep, safe, capacious, easy of access, and seldom frozen over. The amount of shipping in 1818, was 27,770 tons. Brunswick is thirty miles north-east of Portland, on the Androscoggin, at the falls; population in 1820, 2,954. Bath is on the west side of Kennebeck river, at the head of winter navigation, sixteen miles from the sea, and thirty-five north-east of Portland. It owns more shipping than any town in the state, except Portland. Wiscasset is on the Sheepscot, eight miles north-east of Bath. The river is navigable to this place for the largest vessels, and the harbour is generally open throughout the winter. Waldoborough, twenty-two miles east of Wiscasset, has a large amount of shipping, employed principally in the coasting trade. Castine is on a promontory, on the east side of Penobscot Bay. It has an excellent harbour for any number of ships of the largest size, and is accessible at all seasons of the year. It has great strength from its natural situation, and, if proper batteries were erected, might almost bid defiance to attack. These circumstances, together with its favourable situation for the entry of prizes, and, above all, its geographical position, enabling it to communicate by a few days' sail with Halifax, and, by a short route up the Penobscot, with Quebec, giving a command of all the intermediate country from the Penobscot to the St. Croix, render it of the highest consequence as a military station. Bangor is a flourishing town, thirty-five miles north of Castine, on the west side of the Penobscot. It is finely situated for commerce, being at the head of the navigation on the largest river in the state. Machias is near the south-east corner of the state, on Machias Bay, at the mouth of the Machias river. It is a thriving town, and exports large quantities of boards, shingles, spars, &c. There are twenty-six saw-mills in the town, which cut on an average upwards of 10,000,000 feet of boards annually. Lubeck, or Eastport, is a new and flourishing town, on a peninsula at the southern extremity of Passamaquoddy Bay. York is an ancient town on the coast, near the south-west extremity of the state. Hallowell is a flourishing town on Kennebeck river, more than forty miles from its mouth. Vessels of 150 tons ascend to this place. Augusta is two miles above Hallowell. The most flourishing towns on the Kennebeck, above Augusta, are Vassalborough, Waterville, and Norridgewock.

Sullivan has written a work on the District of

Maine, and Williamson's history of Maine may be consulted with profit.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

New Hampshire has Canada for its northern boundary, Maine for its eastern, Massachusetts on the south, and Vermont on the west;* the Atlantic washes its south-eastern coast for a distance of twenty-nine miles. The mean length of New Hampshire is very nearly that of its difference of latitude, two and a half degrees, or about 174 statute miles; area, 8,700 square miles; and mean breadth, fifty miles.

This state, for its narrow extent, differs more in relative elevation than any other state of the Union, and, of course, the extremes of temperature are in correspondent excess. The Atlantic border is generally a sandy beach, but followed by so rapid a rise in the surface of the interior country as to arrest the tides within twenty miles from the ocean. The mountains of the state are central, with a zone of finely diversified hill and dale country around. Grand Monadnoc rises to an elevation of 3,254 feet; Moosehillock to 4,636 feet; but some of the summits of the White Mountains attain to 7,300 feet, and are considerably the most elevated masses of the Apalachian system. As a whole, the physiognomy of New Hampshire is bold, prominent, and often sublime. The White Mountains are frequently visited by travellers. Mount Washington is usually ascended from the south-east. After climbing the side of the mountain for some distance, the forest trees begin to diminish in height, till, at the elevation of about 4,000 feet, you come to a region of dwarfish evergreens, about the height of a man's head, which put forth numerous branches, and surround the mountain with a formidable hedge, a quarter of a mile in thickness. On emerging from this thicket, you are above all woods, at the foot of what is called the bald part of the mountain, which is very steep, and consists of a huge pile of naked rocks. After attaining the summit, the traveller is recompensed for his toil, if the sky be serene, by a most noble and extensive prospect: on the south-east there is a view of the Atlantic ocean, the nearest part of which is sixty-five miles distant, in a right line: on the south, Winnipiseogee Lake lies in full view: on the south-west is the lofty summit of Moosehillock and far away in the horizon, is the Grand Monadnoc. The barren rocks which extend a great distance in every direction from the summit add a melancholy cast to the grandeur of the scene. The Notch, or Gap, in the White Mountains, is also frequently

* Longitude, 70° 40' to 72° 28'; latitude, 42° 41' to 45° 11'.

visited as a curiosity. It is on the west side of the mountains, near the source of Saco River. It is a deep and narrow defile, in one part only twenty-two feet wide. The mountain appears as if cloven quite to its base, perpendicularly on one side, and on the other at an angle of forty-five degrees. The road which has been made through this pass is crossed by the river Saco, which rushes rapidly down the sides of the mountain, and gives a picturesque effect to the scenery. Bellow's Falls are in Connecticut River, at Walpole. The whole descent of the river, in the space of 100 rods, is forty-four feet: there are several pitches, one above another, at the highest of which a large rock divides the stream into two channels, each about ninety feet wide. When the water is low, the eastern channel is dry, being crossed by a bar of solid rock; and the whole stream falls into the western channel, where it is contracted to the breadth of sixteen feet, and flows with astonishing force and rapidity. A bridge is built over these falls, under which the highest floods pass without detriment to the structure.

The state of New Hampshire is subject to the extremes of heat and cold, but the air is generally pure and salubrious. Morning and evening fires become necessary from about the middle of September; cattle are housed from the middle of November; and, in the course of this month, the earth and rivers generally become thoroughly frozen, and covered with snow. The open country is usually cleared of snow in April; but, in the woods, it very often lies in the northern part of the state till May.

There is a great variety of soil in this state; a considerable proportion is fertile, and it is generally better adapted to grazing than tillage. The interval lands on the large rivers are esteemed the most valuable; these produce various kinds of grain in great abundance; but the uplands of an uneven surface, and of a rocky, warm, moist soil, are accounted the best for grazing. The principal articles of produce are beef, pork, mutton, butter, cheese, wheat, rye, Indian corn, oats, barley, pulse, and flax. The number of neat cattle, in 1812, was calculated at 211,534; horses, 32,161; sheep, 364,892. Apples are abundant, and no good husbandman thinks his farm complete without an orchard; other kinds of fruit are not extensively cultivated.

The principal articles of export are lumber, fish,

beef, pork, horses, neat cattle, sheep, flax seed, and pot and pearl ashes. The manufactures of New Hampshire have of late greatly increased. There are now upwards of thirty cotton and woollen manufactories, and nine or ten paper-mills; there is a glass manufactory in Keene, incorporated in 1814; there are establishments for the manufacture of iron in Franconia; there are, also, several furnaces for casting iron, hollow ware, &c. Among the towns where the most considerable manufacturing establishments are situated, are Exeter, Dover, Peterborough, Franconia, Pembroke, New Ipswich, Keene, &c.

Dartmouth College, at Hanover, was founded in 1769. Its officers are a president, seven professors, a lecturer on chemistry, a lecturer on anatomy, and two tutors. It has a good chemical apparatus, a philosophical apparatus, a valuable anatomical museum, and a library of about 4,000 volumes, besides two large society libraries belonging to the students. The funds of the college yield about 1,600 dollars a year, which, with the tuition, makes an annual income of about 4,000 dollars. The number of students is usually about 150, besides more than sixty medical students. The college takes its name from the earl of Dartmouth, one of its earliest and most generous benefactors. Phillip's Exeter Academy, at Exeter, was founded by the Hon. John Phillips, LL. D., in 1781. It is one of the oldest and most flourishing academies in New England. It has funds amounting to about 80,000 dollars; a library of about 700 volumes, and a handsome philosophical apparatus. Its officers are a principal, a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, and an assistant. The funds are appropriated, in part, to the support of indigent students.

The Congregationalists have 146 churches, 116 ministers, and 12,867 communicants; Baptists, 75 churches, 61 ministers, and 5,279 communicants; Free-will Baptists, 67 churches, 51 ministers, and 4 or 5,000 communicants; Methodists, 30 ministers, and 3,180 communicants; Presbyterians, 11 churches, 9 ministers, and 1,499 communicants; Christians, 17 ministers; Friends, 13 societies; Universalists, about 20 congregations; Unitarians, 10 ministers; Episcopalians, 8 ministers; Catholics, 2 churches; Shakers, 2 societies; and the Sandemanians, 1 society.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population, 1820.	Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Population.	Distance.	
					C. •	W. †
Rockingham, s. e.	40,526	44,452	{ Portsmouth	8,082	45	491
			{ Exeter	2,759	39	474
			{ Dover	5,449	40	490
			{ Gilmanton	3,816	20	500
Strafford, e.	51,415	58,916	{ Gilford	1,872	30	504
			{ Rochester	2,155	40	500
Merrimack, m.	32,743	34,619	Concord	3,727		474
Hillsborough, s.	35,791	37,762	Amherst	1,657	30	448
Cheshire, s. w.	26,753	27,016	Keene	2,374	55	431
Sullivan, w.	18,628	19,687	Newport	1,913	40	467
Grafton, w.	32,989	38,691	{ Haverhill	2,153	67	509
Doos, n.	5,151	8,390	{ Plymouth	1,175	40	515
			{ Lancaster	1,187	116	558
Total	244,161	259,535				

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Population.	Population.	Increase.	Slaves.
In 1701, 10,000	In 1790, 141,885		158
1730, 12,000	1800, 183,858	From 1790 to 1800, 41,973	8
1749, 30,000	1810, 214,460	1800 1810, 30,602	0
1767, 52,700	1820, 244,161	1810 1820, 39,701	0
1775, 80,038	1830, 269,533	1820 1830, 25,372	0

Portsmouth, the largest town in the state, is on the sea-coast, near the mouth of the Piscataqua. The harbour is one of the best on the continent, having sufficient depth of water for vessels of any size, being easy of access, protected from every wind, and, owing to the rapidity of the tide, never frozen. It is so well fortified by nature, that only a small expense is necessary to render it perfectly secure from attack. On an island in the Piscataqua, opposite the town, a United States navy-yard has been established. Concord, the capital of the state, is a flourishing town on the Merrimack, at the head of navigation, and well situated for trade. Much of the produce of the upper country is brought here, and carried down the Merrimack and the Middlesex Canal, to Boston. Dover is a flourishing town, at the head of the tide on the Cocheco, twelve miles north-west of Portsmouth. Exeter is a manufacturing town, at the head of the tide on Exeter River, fourteen miles south-west of Portsmouth. Keene is a pleasant town, in the south-west part of the state on the Ashuelot. The principal towns on Connecticut River, are Walpole, thirteen miles north-west of Keene; Charlestown, twelve miles north of Walpole; Hanover, the seat of Dartmouth College; Haverhill, twenty-seven miles north of Hanover, and Bath, adjoining Haverhill, at the head of boat navigation.

A valuable history of New Hampshire was written by the excellent Dr. Belknap.

VERMONT.

Like the two preceding states, Vermont is bounded on the north by Lower Canada. Its eastern bound-

ary is the Connecticut River, which divides it from New Hampshire. It has the state of Massachusetts on the south, and of New York on the west.† Its length is 157 statute miles, mean width fifty-nine miles, area 9380 square miles.

Vermont is composed of two not very unequally inclined planes, with a chain of comparatively high mountains, extending the whole length of the state, in a direction north-north-east and south-south-west. Onion, La Moelle, and Massisque rivers, all rise to the east of the high grounds, and pierce the Green Mountains in their western course into Lake Champlain: Otter River, on the contrary, rises west of the main chain, near the south-west angle of the state, and flows north-north-west into Lake Champlain. The water-courses of the eastern slope of Vermont enter the Connecticut River, and have a brief course. Lake Champlain is only ninety feet elevated above the Atlantic tides. It is probable that many cultivated parts of Vermont are at least 1,000 feet; giving a difference in temperature of between two and three degrees of Fahrenheit, from change of level.

The climate is healthy, but subject to great extremes of heat and cold. Winter in its severity commences about the first of December, and continues till about the middle of March. During this season the weather is generally fair, and the cold more uniform and steady than in the other New England states. A large proportion of the soil in this state is fertile, and fitted to the various purposes of agriculture. It is generally deep, of a dark colour, rich.

• From Concord. † From Washington.
‡ Longitude, 71° 33' to 73° 26'; latitude, 42° 44' to 45°.

moist, warm, loamy, and seldom parched with drought. The low lands on the intervals are thought the best: bordering on these is usually a strip one or two miles wide, comparatively poor; beyond which the land recovers a fertility nearly equal to that on the rivers. Much of the land among the Green Mountains is excellent for grazing, and here are found many fine farms. Iron ore of good quality is found in several places. There are quarries of marble at Middlebury, Bennington, Arlington, Shaftsbury, Pittsford, and Swanton. There are also some lead and copperas mines. Wheat is extensively cultivated, particularly on the west side of the mountains. Barley, rye, oats, peas, and flax, flourish in all parts of the state. Corn thrives best on the intervals, but is also raised in abundance on the uplands. Large quantities of maple sugar are made in Vermont for home consumption, and some for exportation.

The exports of Vermont consist of pot and pearl ashes, beef, pork, butter, cheese, flax, live cattle, &c. The trade is chiefly with Boston, Hartford, New York, and Montreal. There are twelve paper-mills in the state. Among the most considerable manufacturing towns, are Middlebury, Bennington, Brattleborough, Burlington, and Montpelier. A company has been recently incorporated, and the stock taken up, for constructing a rail-road from Bennington in this state, to Troy in New York.—Manufactures have greatly increased in Vermont. In 1825 there was

said to be upwards of 100 manufacturing companies. 800 tons of copperas were manufactured at the mines in Stafford, in 1826.

There are two colleges, one at Burlington, the other at Middlebury. The University of Vermont, at Burlington, was incorporated in 1791, and has been liberally patronised by the state. It has a library of about 1,000 volumes, and a philosophical apparatus which is tolerably complete. The funds consist principally of lands, amounting to about 40,000 acres, and yielding at present an income of about 1,200 dollars. On the 27th of May, 1824, the buildings of the college at Burlington were unfortunately destroyed by fire: but the library and part of the philosophical apparatus were saved.—Middlebury College was incorporated in 1800, and has been supported entirely by private bounty. It has a president, five professors, and two tutors, a library of more than 1,200 volumes, a valuable philosophical apparatus, and more than 100 students.

The Congregationalists have 13 associations, 203 churches, 110 pastors, 35 unsettled ministers, 10 licentiates, and 17,236 communicants; the Baptists, 105 churches, 56 pastors, 8 licentiates, and 8,478 communicants; the Methodists, 44 ministers and 8,577 communicants; the Episcopalians, 15 ministers; the Unitarians, 3 societies and 1 minister; and there are some Free-will Baptists, Christians, and Universalists.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population, 1820.	Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Population.	Distance.	
					M.*	W.†
Addison, w.	20,469	24,940	Middlebury	3,468	56	483
Bennington, s. w.	16,125	17,470	{ Bennington	3,419	119	414
Caledonia, n. e.	16,669	20,967	{ Manchester	1,525	98	434
Chittenden, w.	16,055	21,775	Danville	2,631	30	538
Essex, n. e.	3,284	3,981	Burlington	3,526	38	515
Franklin, n. w.	17,193	24,525	Guildhall	481	78	564
Grand Isle, n. w.	3,527	3,696	St. Albans	2,375	64	541
Orange, e.	24,681	27,285	North Hero	638	68	545
Orleans, n.	6,976	13,980	Chelsea	1,958	23	506
Rutland, w.	20,983	31,295	Irasburgh	860	49	568
Washington, m.	14,113	21,394	Rutland	2,753	67	462
Windham, s. e.	28,659	28,758	MONTPELIER	1,193		524
Windsor, e.	38,233	40,623	Newfane	1,441	108	436
			{ Windsor	3,134	59	469
			{ Woodstock	3,044	48	476
Total	225,764	280,679				

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Population.		Increase.		Slaves.
In 1790,	85,539			16
1800,	154,465	From 1790 to 1800,	68,926	0
1810,	217,895	1800	1810,	63,430
1820,	235,764	1810	1820,	17,869
1830,	280,679	1820	1830,	44,915

* From Montpelier.

† From Washington.

‡ The name of the village in which the county buildings are situated is Fayetteville.

Montpelier, the capital, stands in a most picturesque valley on Onion River, near the centre of the state, at the point of intersection of several principal roads. Newbury is a pleasant town on Connecticut River, opposite Haverhill in New Hampshire, and thirty-four miles east-south-east of Montpelier. Windsor is on Connecticut River, sixty miles south of Montpelier. It is a place of considerable business, and contains the state prison. Brattleborough is on Connecticut River, forty-three miles below Windsor, and near the southern boundary of the state. Bennington is near the south-west corner of the state: it is one of the oldest towns in Vermont, and is famous for the battle of August, 1777. Rutland is on Otter Creek, fifty-seven miles north of Bennington, and forty-five west of Windsor. Middlebury, the seat of Middlebury College, is pleasantly situated on Otter Creek, at the falls, twenty miles from the mouth of the river. In the vicinity of the falls are numerous mills and manufacturing establishments. An extensive quarry of fine marble was discovered in 1804, on the bank of the creek, near the centre of the village. It is now wrought into tombstones, mantel-pieces, sideboards, &c., and transported to various parts of the country, to the amount of seven or eight thousand dollars annually. Vergennes is on Otter Creek, at the Lower Falls, six miles from the mouth of the river, and thirteen below Middlebury. It is at the head of navigation, and has several mills and manufactories, and considerable trade. Burlington, the seat of Vermont University, stands on a most beautiful harbour on Lake Champlain, near the mouth of Onion River. It is on elevated ground, commanding a noble view of the lake and the adjacent country. It carries on considerable trade on Lake Champlain. Almost all the vessels which navigate the lake are owned here. St. Albans is a flourishing town on Lake Champlain, near the north-west corner of the state.

See *Letters on Vermont*, by John L. Graham, LL. D. An admirable history of Vermont, in two volumes, 8vo. was published by Dr. Williams. Governor Chittenden, of this state, has also published a *Commentary on the Principles of the Constitution of the United States*, &c.

MASSACHUSETTS.

This state is bounded by New Hampshire and Vermont on the north; by the Atlantic from the north-east to the south-east; by Connecticut and Rhode Island on the south; and by New York on the west.* From Plymouth harbour to the south-west angle is about 145

miles; area, 7,335 miles; mean width, about fifty miles. Massachusetts presents three distinct zones. The first towards the Atlantic Ocean is a marine alluvion, but little elevated above the ocean. This eastern plain is quickly and abruptly followed by a fine hilly tract, which crosses the state from north to south, and from which the rivers are poured in every direction. The second or middle zone includes part of the beautiful valley of Connecticut, and is followed by the mountainous but highly fertile county of Berkshire, which comprises the whole western part of the state. The eastern or sandy border is the least fertile, but also the least extensive of the three sections. Within the sandy tract the country rises by so abrupt an acclivity, as to prevent the tides penetrating in any place more than a few miles. It has been already noticed that the peninsula of Cape Cod, which forms the eastern part of this state, is the great dividing limit of the Atlantic tides, and that a very rapid increase of depth is found within the bay of Massachusetts. Taken at one view, the surface of this state swells from the Atlantic to the hills, then sinks into the richly decorated valley of Connecticut, and again rises into the mountain region of Berkshire.

The climate of Massachusetts, as affected by the elevation of the ground, varies from east to west. The cultivated parts of the county of Berkshire rising to a height of from 500 to 1,000 feet, there is a marked difference between the seasons here, and those on the Hudson and Connecticut rivers in equal latitudes.

"I have seen," says Mr. Darby, "the spring opening at Albany whilst snow covered the vales of Berkshire."

The soil is exceedingly various, comprising every description, from the most fertile to the most unproductive. In the south-eastern part it is mostly light and sandy, interspersed, however, with numerous fertile tracts. In the middle and northern part, towards the sea-coast, it is of a much better quality, though not generally distinguished for natural fertility; but, by excellent cultivation, a great portion of it is rendered highly productive. The middle and western parts have generally a strong, rich soil, excellent for grazing, and suited to most of the purposes of agriculture. The state is almost universally well watered, and the streams of every description are remarkably clear and beautiful. The farms generally consist of from 100 to 300 acres, and are for the most part well cultivated. In no part of the United States have greater advances been made in agricultural improvement, than in Massachusetts. The country is intersected in every direction by roads, which are kept in a good state of repair. The principal productions are, Indian corn, rye, wheat, oats, barley, peas, beans

* Longitude, 69° 50' to 73° 10'; latitude, 41° 23' to 43° 52'.

buckwheat, potatoes, hops, flax, and hemp. Beef, pork, butter, and cheese, are abundant in most parts of the state, and of excellent quality; the county of Berkshire, in particular, is distinguished for its extensive dairies. The state abounds with orchards; and great quantities of cider are annually made, which is the common beverage of the inhabitants. The principal cultivated fruits are apples, peaches, pears, quinces, plums, cherries, and currants. Gardening is an object of attention throughout the state; and all the vegetables suited to the climate, together with a variety of domestic fruits, are extensively cultivated.

The principal mines are those of iron, which is found in various parts; and there are numerous establishments for manufacturing it. The counties of Plymouth and Bristol afford great quantities of this mineral, and there are several rich iron mines in Berkshire. Lead is found at South Hadley, and at some other places. Ochre, and other fossil productions have been found in various places. Quarries of good marble are wrought in Lanesborough, Stockbridge, Pittsfield, Sheffield, and several other places in Berkshire. There are quarries of slate at Lancaster, Harvard, and Bernardston; and of soapstone at Middlefield. Limestone is found in great abundance in the county of Berkshire, and freestone in all parts of the state. Beautiful granite for building is obtained from Chelmsford and Tyngsborough.

Massachusetts has a greater number of inhabitants engaged in commerce than any other state in the union. The greatest part of the fisheries in the United States belong to this state. The principal articles of export are fish, beef, pork, lumber, ardent spirits, flax seed, whale oil, spermaceti, and various manufactures. This state also holds a high rank in point of manufactures. The most considerable are those of cotton cloths, boots and shoes, ardent spirits, leather, cordage, wrought and cast iron, nails, woollens, straw bonnets, hats, cabinet work, paper, oil, and muskets. There is an extensive national establishment for the manufacture of arms at Springfield.

Not having natural facilities of intercourse with the interior country, the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay have long since turned their attention to the formation of artificial channels of communication; one of which, the Middlesex Canal, has been effected, though very imperfectly constructed. The canal, twenty-seven miles long, leaves the Merrimack River above its lower falls, and terminates at Charlestown, opposite Boston. The water in the canal is thirty feet wide at the surface, twenty at the bottom, and

three feet deep. Concord River crosses the line of the canal on the summit-level, twenty-two miles from Charlestown, and five from the junction of the canal with the Merrimack; and thus an ample supply of water is afforded for lockage in both directions. Round the falls in Connecticut River, at South Hadley, there is a canal cut through the solid rock, more than forty feet deep, and 300 feet long. There are other falls on the Connecticut, above and below South Hadley, which have been overcome by canals, dams, and other improvements, so that the river is now navigable for boats through the whole of its course in this state, and as high as Bath in New Hampshire. A canal from Buzzard's Bay to Barnstable Bay, through the isthmus of Cape Cod, has long been in contemplation, and in 1818 a company was incorporated to carry it into execution. It is intended that the canal shall be of a suitable depth for vessels drawing ten feet of water. Several companies have been recently incorporated by the legislature of this state, for the purpose of constructing rail-roads. Most of these are projected from Boston as a centre, and are to extend to Worcester, to the river Hudson, to Connecticut River, to Providence, by Pawtucket, to Taunton, to Lowell, and to Lake Ontario, New York; and one from West Stockbridge to the boundary line of the state of New York.

Harvard University, at Cambridge, three miles west by north of Boston, is the most ancient and the most wealthy literary institution in the United States. It was founded in 1638, less than twenty years after the first settlement of New England. Its officers, in 1825, were a president, sixteen professors, a lecturer on chemistry, mineralogy, and geology, a librarian and an assistant, six tutors, an instructor in French and Spanish, and two proctors. The library is one of the largest in America, containing 26,000 volumes.* The philosophical and chemical apparatus are complete. There is a large and valuable cabinet of minerals belonging to the university, an excellent anatomical museum, and a botanic garden, containing eight acres of land, and furnished with an extensive collection of trees, shrubs, and plants, both native and foreign. A law school, a medical school, and a theological seminary, form part of the university. The whole number of students, in 1825, was 407, of whom thirty-five were engaged in the study of theology; 127 in that of medicine; ten in that of law; and 234 were undergraduates. The whole number educated here, from the establishment of the institution to the year 1818, was 4,442, a greater number than at any other college in the country. Williams College, in Williams-

* A catalogue of the library of Harvard University has recently been published by the overseers of that college, (in 3 vols. 8vo.,)

which presents the most extensive collection of works to be found in any institution in America.



CLARKYAN BUILDING, 1890



UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CLAS.

town, in the north-west corner of the state, was incorporated in 1793. It has a president, three professors, three tutors, a library of about 1,500 volumes, a valuable philosophical and chemical apparatus, and about ninety students. The Theological Seminary at Andover, twenty miles north of Boston, was founded in 1808, and has been very richly endowed, entirely by private bounty. Within the first ten years after its establishment, it received to the value of 300,000 dollars, in donations from seven individuals. It has four professors, and more than 100 students. The library contains about 5,000 volumes. Phillips's Academy, also in Andover, is the best endowed and most flourishing academy in the state. This academy and the theological seminary, are under the same board of trustees. There are numerous other academies in the state, and common schools are universally established. In no part of the Union are literary institutions more liberally patronised by individuals, than in the eastern section of this state. At Amherst, in Hampshire county, is a college, which was incorporated in 1825. It has now a president, six professors, one tutor, and 152 students.

The Congregationalists have 491 churches, and 423 ordained ministers, 118 of whom are Unitarians; the Baptists, 129 churches, 110 ministers, and 12,580 communicants; the Methodists, 71 preachers, and 8,200 members; the Universalists, 46 societies; the Episcopalians, 31 ministers; the New Jerusalem Church, 8 societies; the Presbyterians, 9 ministers; the Roman Catholics, 4 churches; and the Shakers, 4 societies.

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POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Males.	Females.	Coloured.	Total Population.	County Towns.	Population.	Distance.	
							B.*	W.†
Suffolk, E.	28,586	31,693	1,883	62,162	Boston	61,392		432
Essex, N. E.	39,431	42,929	527	82,887	{ Salem	13,886	14	446
					{ Newburyport	6,388	37	466
					{ Ipswich	2,951	27	452
					{ Cambridge	6,071	3	431
Middlesex, M.	38,107	39,348	513	77,968	{ Concord	2,017	17	427
Plymouth, E.	20,905	21,678	410	42,993	Plymouth	4,751	26	439
Norfolk, E.	20,436	21,296	169	41,901	Dedham	3,057	10	422
Bristol, S.	23,366	25,178	770	49,474	{ New Bedford	7,592	52	458
Barnstable, S. E.	13,997	14,363	165	28,525	{ Taunton	6,045	32	431
Nantucket, S. E.	3,339	3,584	279	7,202	Barnstable	3,975	68	466
Dukes, S. E.	1,702	1,768	48	3,518	Nantucket	7,202	100	531
Worcester, M.	41,545	42,449	371	84,365	Edgartown	1,509	97	495
Hampshire, W. M.	14,999	14,995	225	30,210	Worcester	4,172	39	394
Hampden, S. W.	15,288	16,003	349	31,640	Northampton	3,613	91	376
Franklin, N. W.	14,447	14,765	132	29,344	Springfield	6,784	87	363
Berkshire, W.	18,310	18,510	1,005	37,825	Greenfield	1,540	95	396
					Lenox	1,355	133	363
Total	294,449	308,559	7,006	610,014				

POPULATION OF MASSACHUSETTS, BOSTON, AND SALEM, AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Massachusetts.	Boston.	Salem.
In 1701, 70,000	In 1700, 7,000	In 1754, 3,463
1742, 164,000	1722, 10,567	1765, 4,427
1763, 241,024	1742, 16,382	1785, 6,923
1765, 227,926	1752, 17,574	1790, 7,921
1776, 348,094	1765, 15,520	1800, 9,457
1784, 357,510	1790, 18,038	1810, 12,613
1790, 378,787	1800, 24,937	1820, 12,731
1800, 422,845	1810, 33,250	1830, 13,886
1810, 472,040	1820, 43,298	
1820, 523,287	1825, 58,281	
1830, 610,014	1830, 61,392	

There are now no slaves in this state; their number was never considerable. For some years before the declaration of independence, public opinion was strongly against slavery. The first article in the Declaration of Rights contained in the general constitution, is, "All men are born free and equal;" and this was decided by the supreme court of Massachusetts, in 1783, to be an abolition of slavery.

Boston, the capital of the state, and the largest town in New England, is pleasantly situated at the bottom of Massachusetts Bay, on a peninsula of an irregular figure, two miles long, and in the widest part about one broad. The harbour is excellent. It has a sufficient depth of water for vessels of the largest size at all times of the tide, and is accessible at all seasons of the year. It is safe from every wind,

* From Boston.

† From Washington.

and is so capacious that it will allow 500 vessels to ride at anchor ; yet the mouth is so narrow as scarcely to admit two ships abreast. The entrance is defended by two forts. Boston is very extensively engaged in commerce. The amount of shipping owned here in 1815, was 143,420 tons ; a greater amount than belonged to any other port in the United States, except New York. The country in the immediate vicinity is fertile and populous, and connected with the capital by fine roads, while the Middlesex Canal opens a communication with the interior of New Hampshire. There are, probably, few cities in the world where there is so much wealth, in proportion to the population, as in this town ; and the inhabitants have long been celebrated for the liberality with which they support religious, literary, and humane institutions. The appearance of Boston is much admired by strangers, particularly when approaching from the sea. Its streets do not exhibit so great a regularity as those of some other cities ; but its beautiful situation and elegant public and private buildings, together with its richly ornamented promenades, render it altogether a delightful and attractive place. In the south-western part of the city, and in front of the state-house, is the celebrated Common, presenting an area of more than forty-four acres, containing the Mall, a very beautiful public walk, adorned with rows of trees. This is a delightful promenade during the summer months, and is a place of general resort. In the centre of the Common is an eminence still exhibiting marks of the fortification erected by the British during the revolution. North of it is the Crescent Pond, a beautiful sheet of water, surrounded with trees. Near the Mall, in Mason street, is the Medical College, an edifice belonging to Harvard University.

The Boston Athenæum is situated near the head of Pearl-street, and is a very spacious building, containing appropriate rooms. The number of volumes belonging to the institution is about 25,000, and is constantly increasing by purchase and by donation. It also contains nearly 14,000 medals and coins, some of which are very rare and interesting. The rooms are open from eight A. M. to nine P. M., and can be visited by strangers introduced by subscribers. The Gallery of Fine Arts is a handsome structure in the rear of the Athenæum, and is appropriated for scientific lectures, the Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Massachusetts Medical Library, a philosophical apparatus of the Mechanics Institution, and for paintings, which are exhibited in the upper story, and are generally very elegant. The Massachusetts Historical Society have an extensive library in a spacious apart-

ment over the arch in Franklin street. This society has published many volumes of Historical Collections, of indispensable importance to the American historian. The Boston Library Society have a collection of 6,000 volumes, and the Columbian Library contains about 4,500 volumes. There are numerous other libraries of less note. The New England Museum, in Court street, is probably the best in the United States, and should be visited by every stranger. Among the benevolent institutions, are the House of Industry at South Boston, 220 feet long, and forty-three wide ; the Massachusetts General Hospital, founded in 1818, which has been richly endowed, both by the state and by private individuals ; and an Hospital for the Insane, the buildings of which are at Charlestown.

The first houses built in the city were plain, and the streets narrow and crooked ; but a very few years have wrought a striking and almost incredible change. New streets have been laid out, old ones straightened and improved, and neat brick and granite dwellings have been substituted for ill-shapen and decaying houses of wood. The private buildings, and many of the stores recently erected, are more splendid than in any other city in the United States. In 1817, there was erected on each side of Market street, a line of brick stores more than 400 feet in length, and four stories high ; and on Central Wharf another immense pile of buildings was completed the same year, 1,240 feet long, containing fifty-four stores, four stories high, and having a spacious hall in the centre, over which is erected an elegant observatory. Other costly works have been constructed, which do honour to the town ; but the project which exceeded them all in boldness of design, in promise of public benefit, and in energy of execution, is that which within three or four years has been accomplished in the vicinity of Faneuil Hall Market. Extensive rows of granite stores, four stories high, constructed after the best model, are on either hand ; and between these two ranges of stores stands the new market-house, at the distance of 102 feet from those on the south side, and sixty-five feet from those on the north. The centre part of the building is seventy-four by fifty-five feet, having a hall in the second story. The wings are each 231 feet long by fifty wide, and two stories high. They have each a portico of four columns, twenty-three feet high ; the shafts are of granite, and in a single piece. The construction of the whole is of hammered granite of a uniform colour.

Among the public buildings are the State-house, which is built on elevated ground, commanding a fine view of the surrounding country, and containing an elegant statue of Washington, which cost 15,000



THE HOUSE OF COMMONS



VIEW OF FREMONT HOUSE,

BOSTON,





STATE HOUSE, BOSTON.

dollars; the new county Court-house, built at an expense of 92,000 dollars; the municipal Court-house; a new Jail; Fanueil Hall, where all public meetings of the citizens are held; two theatres, one of which (the Tremont) was erected in 1827, at a cost of about 120,000 dollars, being 135 feet in length, and about eighty in breadth,—the front of Hallowell and Quincy granite, in imitation of the Ionic order, with four pilasters supporting an entablature and pediment, and elevated on a basement seventeen feet high; the Custom House, Merchants' Hall, Boylston Market and Boylston Hall; United States Branch Bank; Concert, Julian, Corinthian, Pantheon, Washington, and Chauncey Halls.

There are six bridges connecting Boston with the adjacent towns. Charles River Bridge, which connects it with Charlestown on the north, 1,503 feet long; West Boston Bridge, connecting it with Cambridge Port on the west, 7,810 feet long; Craigie's or Canal Bridge, between these two, connecting it with Lechmere Point, 2,796 feet long; and two bridges uniting it to South Boston. The other avenue is a mill-dam, nearly two miles long and fifty feet wide, across the bay on the south-west side of the city; which not only furnishes a bridge, but puts in operation extensive tide-mills and other water-works.

There are nearly fifty churches in Boston, many of which have been built at a great expense, and are very elegant. On one of the quoins at the south west corner of Brattle-street church, of which Governor Hancock was a benefactor, his name had been inscribed; but it was effaced by the British soldiery during the revolution, and the stone has been permitted to remain as they left it. A shot from the Americans on the night previous to the evacuation of Boston by the British, still remains in the tower which it originally struck. In St. Paul's Church, in Common street, there is an elegant monument to the memory of General Warren, who was slain on Bunker's Hill, and whose remains are entombed in the cemetery beneath this church.

In the Chapel burial-ground, north of the stone chapel, there are several ancient monuments; and among them that of Governor Winthrop, who died in 1649. In the Cop's-hill ground similar monuments are found. In the Granary ground, the cenotaph erected to the memory of Dr. Franklin stands over his tomb, in which the remains of both his parents also repose.

The number of stage-coaches which regularly leave Boston, is much larger than at any other place in the Union. There are between eighty and ninety distinct lines of stages; which, according to their

established arrangements, not including extras, make about 125 departures, and as many arrivals, daily.

The country around Boston is much admired by every traveller of taste. The view from the dome of the State-house surpasses any thing of the kind in England, and is said not to be excelled by that from the castle-hill of Edinburgh, or that of the Bay of Naples from the castle of St. Elmo. Here may be seen at one view—the shipping; the harbour, variegated with islands and alive with business; Charles River and its beautiful country, ornamented with elegant private mansions; and more than twenty flourishing towns. The hills are finely cultivated, and rounded by the hand of Nature with singular felicity.

Charlestown is one mile north of Boston, and connected with it by a bridge over Charles River. Here are the state-prison, an hospital for the insane, and a United States navy yard. Lynn is on the coast, nine miles north-east of Boston. It is famous for the manufacture of ladies' shoes; no less than a million pair were made here in 1811. Marblehead is on a peninsula, sixteen miles north-east of Boston. It is more extensively engaged in the fisheries than any other town in the United States. In 1818, there were eighty vessels employed from this port in the cod fishery, manned by 760 men. The whole amount of shipping, in 1815, was 15,555 tons. Salem is on a peninsula, four miles north-west of Marblehead. It is the second town in New England for commerce, wealth, and population. The harbour has a good anchorage; but is so shallow, that vessels drawing more than twelve or fourteen feet of water must load and unload at a distance from the wharves. The East India trade is carried on from this port with great spirit: in 1818, there were employed in it, fifty-three vessels, carrying 14,272 tons. The whole amount of shipping belonging to this port in 1815, was 34,455 tons. Beverly lies about two miles north of Salem, and is largely concerned in the fisheries. Gloucester is on the peninsula of Cape Ann, sixteen miles north-east of Salem. It is one of the most considerable fishing-towns in the commonwealth. Newburyport, the third commercial town in the state, is on the Merrimack, three miles from its mouth, and thirty-three north-north-east of Boston. The harbour is deep, safe, and spacious, but difficult to enter. The amount of shipping, in 1815, was 25,691 tons. Plymouth is on the coast, thirty-six miles south-south-east of Boston. It is remarkable as the place where the first settlers of New England landed, on the 22d of December, 1620. The harbour is spacious, but shallow. The amount of shipping, in 1815, was 18,875 tons. New Bedford is fifty-two miles south of

Boston, on the estuary of a small river which flows into Buzzard's Bay. It has a safe and commodious harbour, and is extensively engaged in the whale fishery. The amount of shipping, in 1818, was 23,712 tons. The principal towns in the interior, are, Worcester, forty miles west of Boston; and Northampton and Springfield, on Connecticut River. There is an armoury belonging to the United States at Springfield, which employs 250 men, who complete on an average forty-five muskets daily: there are twenty-eight forges and ten trip-hammers connected with the establishment. In Berkshire county, the chief towns are Stockbridge and Lenox, on the Housatonic, and Pittsfield, twelve miles north of Stockbridge.

RHODE ISLAND

Is bounded by Massachusetts on the west and north-east, by the Atlantic on the south-east and south, and by Connecticut on the west.* Exclusive of water, the area is about 1,200 square miles, or 768,000 acres; length, fifty miles; and mean width, twenty-four miles.

Compared with its limited extent, Rhode Island is a very diversified state. The north-west part is hilly and broken, but becomes gradually level towards the Atlantic Ocean. The state is composed of three natural sections; four fifths of it constitute a generally hilly parallelogram, lying west from Narragansett Bay; the second section is composed of the truly delightful Islands of Narragansett Bay, Rhode Island, Prudence, and Conanicut, with a few still smaller; the third section is a small, irregular slip, lying along Massachusetts, and east from Narragansett. Narragansett Bay is at once the ornament and nursing-mother of Rhode Island. At its mouth opens the noble harbour of Newport, which, becoming narrower and shallower for about twenty-five miles inland, terminates, amidst highly attractive scenery, in the convenient, though shallow, harbour of Providence.

The climate of this state is as healthy as that of any part of America, and it is more temperate than that of any of the other New England states, particularly on the islands, where the breezes from the sea have the effect not only of mitigating the heat in summer, but of moderating the cold in winter. The summers are delightful, especially on the island of Rhode Island.

The soil is generally better adapted to grazing than tillage. A large proportion of the western and north-western part of the state has a thin and lean soil, but the islands and the country bordering on Narragansett Bay are of great fertility, and are celebrated for

their fine cattle, their numerous flocks of sheep, and the abundance and excellence of their butter and cheese. Cider is made for exportation. Corn, rye, barley, oats, and, in some places, wheat, are produced in sufficient quantities for home consumption; and the various kinds of grasses, fruits, culinary roots and plants, in great abundance and perfection. The rivers and bays swarm with a variety of excellent fish. Iron ore is found in large quantities in several parts, and some copper; there is, also, an abundance of limestone, particularly in the county of Providence.

In no state in the Union is so large a proportion of the population and capital employed in manufactures as in Rhode Island. The principal article is cotton goods, which are made in large quantities in Providence and its vicinity. There are now more than 100 cotton-mills in the state, many of them extensive establishments. The other manufactures are woollen goods, iron, ardent spirits, &c. The value of the manufactures, in 1810, was 4,106,074 dollars. The exports, in 1825, amounted to 678,467 dollars, of which 158,873 dollars were foreign produce. The amount of shipping, in 1823, was 39,000 tons. There are no fewer than forty-three banks in this state, of which the amount of stock paid in is 4,391,954 dollars.

Brown University, in Providence, derives its name from the liberal donation of Nicholas Brown, Esq., and is a flourishing and respectable literary institution. It was originally established at Warren, in 1764, and was removed to Providence in 1770. It has a president, eight professors, and two tutors, and contains about 120 students. The library contains more than 5,700 volumes, and the philosophical apparatus is extensive. There are two college edifices of brick: University Hall, 150 feet by forty-six, and four stories high, containing forty-eight rooms for students, and eight large rooms for public uses; and Hope College, (the munificent gift of N. Brown, Esq.,) nearly of the same dimensions, with the same number of rooms for students. Its site is elevated, and it commands a fine prospect. The president and a majority of the trustees are required to be of the Baptist denomination. Common schools are not supported by law in Rhode Island, as in the other New England states, except in Providence and Newport; academies, however, are established in all the principal towns, and private schools are maintained during the winter months in every town, and nearly in every town throughout the year.

The Baptists in this state have 16 churches, 12 ministers, and 2,600 communicants; the Methodists, 16 preachers, and 1,100 members; the Congregationalists

* Longitude, 71° 6' to 71° 38'; latitude, 41° 22' to 42° 3'.



DEAF AND DUMB ASYLUM, NEWPORT.

10 churches, 10 ministers, and 1,000 communicants ; the Unitarians, 2 societies, and 2 ministers ; the Sabatarians, about 1,000 communicants ; the Six-principle Baptists, about 8 churches, and about 800 com-

municants ; the Friends are numerous ; and there are some Universalists, and 1 Roman Catholic church. There are at this present time (August, 1834) 14 Episcopal churches in the state.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population, 1820.	Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Population, 1830.	Distance. P.* | W.†	
Providence, N.	35,786	47,014	PROVIDENCE	16,832		394
Newport, S. E.	15,771	16,534	Newport	8,010	30	403
Washington, S. W.	15,687	15,414	South Kingston	3,663	31	389
Kent, M.	10,228	12,784	East Greenwich	1,591	15	406
Bristol, E.	5,637	5,466	Bristol	3,054	15	400
Total	83,059	97,212				

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Population.	Population.	Increase.	Slaves.
In 1701, 10,000			
1730, 17,935	In 1790, 68,825		
1748, 34,128	1800, 69,122		
1755, 46,636	1810, 76,931	From 1790 to 1800, 297	948
1774, 59,678	1820, 83,059	1800 1810, 7,809	108
1783, 51,809	1830, 97,212	1810 1820, 6,128	48
		1820 1830, 14,153	14

Providence, the largest town in the state, and the third in New England in point of population, stands on Providence River, just above the mouth of the Seekhouk, thirty-five miles from the ocean. The town is built on both sides of the river, and the two parts are connected by a handsome bridge. Providence is a wealthy and flourishing town. The principal source of its prosperity is the cotton manufacture, which was introduced about fifteen years ago, and has increased with astonishing rapidity. The commerce of the town has grown with its manufactures : the amount of shipping, in 1826, was 21,000 tons, of which about 4,000 are employed in the East India trade, and 10,000 in the coasting trade with the southern states. About ten vessels are constantly employed in the exportation of cotton goods. Packets ply regularly between Providence and Newport, Bristol, &c., and the southern ports. The population is estimated at about 16,000 persons. Pawtucket village, finely situated on Pawtucket River, at the falls, four miles north-east of Providence, is one of the most flourishing manufacturing villages in the United States. Bristol is on the east side of Narragansett Bay, fifteen miles south-south-east of Providence. It has a safe and commodious harbour, and is a place of considerable trade. Warren is a pleasant town, adjoining Bristol, on the north. Newport is near the south-west extremity of the island of Rhode Island, thirty miles south of Providence. Its harbour is one of the finest in the world, being safe and easy of access, sufficiently capacious to contain whole fleets,

and deep enough for vessels of the largest burden. It is defended by Fort Wolcott, erected on Goat Island, and two other forts, called Fort Adams and Fort Green. The site of the town is a beautiful declivity, which rises gradually from the harbour, presenting a fine view on the approach from the water. The beauty of its situation, and the salubrity of its climate, have made it a place of fashionable resort from the southern and middle states, during the summer months. Newport was formerly more flourishing than it is at present : previously to the American revolution, it was the fourth commercial town in the British colonies, and contained, at one period, more than 9,000 inhabitants. During the revolutionary contest, it was for a long time occupied by the English, and suffered severely. At present it maintains some trade with the East Indies, Europe, and Cuba ; but the most important branch of its commerce is the coasting trade with the middle and southern states. In 1819, the amount of shipping owned here was 10,951 tons. The fisheries are very valuable ; there is, probably, no fish-market in the world which affords a greater variety.

CONNECTICUT.

The boundaries of this state are,—on the north, Massachusetts ; on the east, Rhode Island ; on the south, Long Island Sound ; and on the west, New York.† The length from east to west, is eighty-five miles ; mean width, sixty miles ; and area, 5,050 square miles.

* From Providence.

† From Washington.

‡ Longitude, 71° 20' to 73° 15'; latitude, 41° to 42° 2'.

Though generally hilly, and in part mountainous, no part of Connecticut rises to a great elevation above the level of the ocean. The greatest elevation is a range of small mountains on the west side of Connecticut River, being a continuation of the Green Mountains. The hills are generally of moderate size, and occur in quick succession, presenting to the traveller an ever-varying prospect.

Though exposed to the extremes of heat and cold, and to sudden changes of temperature, the country is very healthful. The north-west winds which prevail during the winter are keen; but the serenity of the sky during the same season makes amends, in some degree, for the severity of the weather. In the maritime towns the weather is particularly variable, changing as the wind blows from sea or land: in the inland country it is less so.

The soil is generally fertile, though intermixed with portions that are comparatively thin and barren; and the whole is well-watered. It is generally in a state of good cultivation, resembling, in many parts, a well-cultivated garden. The principal productions are Indian corn, rye, wheat in many parts, oats, barley, buckwheat, flax in large quantities, some hemp, potatoes, pumpkins, turnips, peas, beans, &c. Orchards are very numerous, and cider is made for exportation. The state is, however, on the whole, better adapted to grazing than tillage; and its fine meadows and pastures enable the farmers to feed great numbers of cattle, horses, and sheep. The quantity of butter and cheese made annually is great, and of well-known excellence. Beef and pork of superior quality are also abundant. The state is for the most part laid out in small farms, of from fifty to 300 and 400 acres. It is intersected by numerous roads, which are generally kept in good repair. Its exports consist of beef, pork, cattle, horses, mules, butter, cheese, maize, rye, flax-seed, fish, candles, and soap. Almost all the produce of the western part of the state is carried to New York.

The manufacturing industry of Connecticut is greater in proportion to the population, than that of any other state in the Union except Rhode Island. The manufactures consist of cotton, and woollen goods, tin ware, iron, gin, glass, paper, snuff, powder, leather, shoes, clocks, buttons, fire-arms, carriages, &c. Mines of different kinds have been opened in this state; but they have not been wrought to any considerable extent, with the exception of those of iron ore, which abounds in Salisbury and Kent, of an excellent quality, and is also found in other places. There is a lead mine on the Connecticut, two miles from Middletown, which was wrought during the

revolutionary war. Copper mines have been discovered and opened in several places, but, having proved unprofitable, they have been neglected. Marble is found in Washington, Milford, Brookfield, and New Milford; porcelain clay in New Milford and Cornwall; black lead in New Milford and Marlborough; cobalt in Chatham; and excellent free-stone in Chatham, Haddam, and East Hartford. There are several mineral springs, but none of much note, except those of Stafford and Suffield; the one at Stafford, is the most celebrated in New England.

Yale College, in New Haven, is one of the oldest and most respectable colleges in the United States. It was founded in 1701: its officers, in 1825, were a president, six professors, and eight tutors, besides four medical professors. The college library contains about 7,000 volumes; and the students have libraries amounting to 2,000 more. The philosophical and chemical apparatus are complete, and the mineralogical cabinet is probably superior to any other in the United States. The medical institution, connected with the college, has an anatomical museum and medical library. The whole number of students, in 1825, was 468; of whom, seventy-five were medical students, twenty-three theological, and sixteen law, and 354 were under-graduates. The American Asylum, for the education of the Deaf and Dumb, established at Hartford in 1817, was the first institution of the kind, in America. The number of pupils, in 1819, was fifty. The Trumbull's Gallery, recently established, is a rich collection of paintings, chiefly illustrative of events memorable in the American revolution, and by the pencil of the distinguished artist whose name it bears. The congress of the United States has made a generous grant to the asylum, of 23,000 acres of land; and the legislatures of several of the states have made appropriations for the support of pupils. A Foreign Mission School was established at Cornwall, in 1817, by the American board of commissioners for foreign missions, for the purpose of educating heathen youth from various parts of the world. After receiving their education they are sent home to instruct their countrymen. In 1820, there were twenty-nine pupils, of whom nineteen were American Indians, and six had come from the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Several natives of the Sandwich Islands, who were educated at this school, have already returned to their native country, well qualified for usefulness. A Law School was established at Litchfield in 1784, which has had great reputation. It has usually about thirty students, and the whole number that have been educated here is more than 600. Bacon Academy, in Colchester

was founded in 1801; it is well endowed and very flourishing. The Episcopal Academy, in Cheshire, is a flourishing institution. Washington College, at Hartford, was incorporated in 1823. There are, also, academies at Plainfield, Litchfield, and almost all the principal towns in the state. Common schools are universally established in Connecticut. The state has a large school fund, which amounted, in 1824, to 1,756,233 dollars. The yearly income, together with 12,000 dollars from the public taxes, is annually devoted to the maintenance of common schoolmasters, in every town in the state. The whole amount paid to the towns from this fund, in 1825, was 72,229 dollars,

and the amount of the state tax, in 1817, was only 48,362 dollars; the income of the fund exceeding the amount of the tax by 22,551 dollars. This, probably, is the only government in the world which gives to the people more than they pay to the treasury.

The Congregationalists have 236 ministers and 36 licentiates; the Baptists 99 churches, 78 ministers, 14 licentiates, and 9,732 communicants; the Episcopalians, 59 ministers; the Methodists, 40 ministers and 7,000 communicants; there are, also, several societies of Friends, several of Universalists, 2 of Unitarians, 1 of Catholics, 1 of Shakers, some Free-will Baptists, and a few Sandemanians.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population, 1820.	Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Population.	Distance.	
					H.*	W.†
Fairfield, s. w.	42,739	46,950	{ Fairfield	4,226	55	289
Hartford, n. m.	47,264	51,141	{ Danbury	4,311	61	290
Litchfield, n. w.	41,267	42,855	HARTFORD	7,076		335
Middlesex, s. m.	22,405	24,845	Litchfield	4,456	31	324
New Haven, s. m.	39,616	43,848	{ Middletown	6,892	14	275
New London, s. e.	35,943	42,295	{ Haddam	3,025	25	335
Tolland, n. m.	14,330	18,700	NEW HAVEN	10,180	34	301
Windham, n. e.	25,331	27,077	{ New London	4,356	42	354
			{ Norwich	3,144	38	362
Total	275,248	297,711	Tolland	1,698	17	352
			Brooklyn	1,413	41	372

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Population.	Population.	Increase.	Slaves.
In 1701, 30,000	In 1790, 237,946		
1749, 100,000	1800, 251,002	From 1790 to 1800, 13,056	2,764
1756, 130,611	1810, 261,942	1800 1810, 10,949	954
1774, 197,856	1820, 275,248	1810 1820, 13,306	310
1782, 209,150	1830, 297,711	1820 1830, 22,463	97

There are five incorporated cities in Connecticut, viz. Hartford, New Haven, Middletown, New London, and Norwich. Hartford and New Haven are the capitals of the state, the sessions of the legislature being held at them alternately. Hartford lies on the west bank of the Connecticut River, fifty miles from its mouth. It is advantageously situated for trade, being at the head of the sloop navigation, and having an extensive, rich, and industrious back country. New Haven lies round the head of a bay, which stretches inwards about four miles from Long Island Sound. The city is regularly laid out on a large plain, which is bounded on the north-east and north-west by mountains. The harbour is well defended from winds, but shallow, and is gradually filling up with mud,—which difficulty has been remedied in part, by the construction of a wharf, about a mile in length, extending into the harbour. Middletown is on the west bank of Connecticut River, thirty-one

miles from its mouth, fifteen miles south of Hartford, and twenty-six north-east of New Haven. It is a pleasant and flourishing town, and has considerable commerce. The amount of shipping in 1815, was 19,499 tons, a greater amount than belonged to any other port in the state. The river is navigable to this place for vessels drawing ten feet of water. New London is near the south-east corner of the state, on the west bank of the Thames, three miles from its entrance into the sound. It is one of the most considerable commercial towns in the state. The harbour is large, safe, and commodious, and has five fathoms water. It is defended by two forts. Norwich is on the Thames, fourteen miles north of New London, and forty south-east of Hartford. It is favourably situated for trade, being at the head of navigation on the river, and having a productive back country. There are falls within the town, which afford seats for various mills and manufacturing establishments

* From Hartford.

† From Washington.

Litchfield is thirty miles west of Hartford, and thirty-six north-north-west of New Haven. Its situation is elevated and healthy. Wethersfield is on the west bank of Connecticut River, between Hartford and Middletown. It is famous for raising great quantities of onions. Saybrook, one of the oldest towns in the country, stands on the west bank of the Connecticut River, at its mouth. Stafford, famous for its mineral spring, is twenty-seven miles north-east of Hartford. Cornwall, the seat of the Foreign Mission School, is ten miles north-west of Litchfield. Fairfield, the chief town in Fairfield county, is twenty-two miles west-south-west of New Haven. Bridgeport, an incorporated borough, and a thriving commercial place, is four miles north-east of Fairfield.

The history of this state was written by the Rev. Dr. Trumbull.

CHAPTER II.

NEW YORK—NEW JERSEY—PENNSYLVANIA.

NEW YORK.

THIS extensive, populous, and flourishing state, extends from latitude $40^{\circ} 30'$ to 45° ; and longitude 73° to $79^{\circ} 55'$. Length from Staten Island, the south-west point, 315 miles, and from the south-west angle of Massachusetts along the line of north latitude 42° , 320 miles. The area is within a fraction of 46,500 square miles, and the mean breadth nearly 110 miles. It is bounded on the north by Lower Canada, on the east by Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, on the south-east by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by New Jersey and Pennsylvania, on the west by Pennsylvania, Lake Erie, and the Niagara River, and on the north-west by Lake Ontario and the River St. Lawrence.

The south-eastern angle of the state, about forty miles above New York, is mountainous, being traversed by several ridges from New Jersey, one of which crosses the Hudson at the Highlands. The Catskill mountains, in the counties of Ulster, Greene, Albany, and Schoharie, are the highest in the state; Round Top, the principal summit, being 3,804 feet above the level of the sea. The country on Lake Champlain

is hilly, and becomes mountainous as you approach the highlands which divide the waters of this lake from those which fall into the St. Lawrence. West of these highlands, a fine country, at first hilly, then level and fertile, extends to the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario. The western part, lying between Lake Ontario and Pennsylvania, is principally level, except near the Pennsylvania boundary, where it becomes hilly and mountainous. From Genesee river, near its mouth, to Lewistown, on the Niagara River, there is a remarkable ridge, running almost the whole distance, which is seventy-eight miles, and in a direction from east to west. Its general altitude above the neighbouring land is thirty feet, and its width, in some places, is not more than forty yards. Its elevation is about 160 feet above the level of Lake Ontario, to which it descends by a gradual slope, and its distance from that water is between six and ten miles. There is every reason to believe that this ridge was once the margin of Lake Ontario. About twenty miles south of this ridge, and parallel with it, there is another which runs from Genesee River to Black Rock. The country between the ridges is called the Tonawanda Valley, and there is some reason to believe that it was once covered by the waters of Lake Erie.

The falls of Niagara are, perhaps, the most wonderful natural object in the world.* They are in Niagara River, about half way between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. This immense river here rushes over a precipice, and falls perpendicularly to the depth of 176 feet. The roar of the waters can sometimes be heard at the distance of forty miles; and the vapour, which continually rises in clouds from below, can be seen at the distance of seventy miles.—In Mohawk River, about two miles from its mouth, are the falls called the Cahoos, or Cahoes, which have been much admired for their beauty and sublimity. The river, which is here between 300 and 400 yards broad, descends, at high water, in one sheet, to the depth of seventy feet. About three quarters of a mile below, a bridge has been thrown across the Mohawk, from which the view of the falls is inexpressibly grand. The Saratoga and Ballston springs are the most celebrated in America. Saratoga is thirty miles north of Albany, and a few miles west of the Hudson. Ballston is twelve miles south-west of Saratoga. These springs, during the summer months, are the resort of the gay and fashionable, as well as

* It was our intention to have given a lengthened description of this grand and magnificent scene from a manuscript with which we have been presented by a recent traveller, but matter of a more important, though not more interesting character, has left so little

room within the limits of our work, that the description of the beautiful scenery of the lakes, the Hudson, &c., which would require a volume to do it justice, must be omitted.



Painted by T. Cole 1837

Engraved on steel by T. S. Woodcock

A DISTANT VIEW OF THE FALLS OF NIAGARA.





VIEW OF THE CANALS



of invalids, from all parts of the United States. The waters afford relief in many obstinate diseases. The warm springs of New Lebanon, twenty-nine miles south-east of Albany, are visited for bathing. Besides these springs may be mentioned the Avon mineral springs, in Livingston county. They have but very lately attracted attention. They are of a sulphureous character, and highly valuable in many diseases of a chronic nature, affections of the skin, &c. Their medicinal qualities have been noticed in a former part of this work, from a medical report by Professor Francis.

The eastern half of Long Island is sandy and barren; the western part is fertile, and in a state of high cultivation. The country on the Hudson, below the mouth of the Mohawk, has a good medium soil. The counties of Westchester and Dutchess are under very good cultivation. The alluvial flats of Columbia and Rensselaer counties are very extensive and rich. A considerable district west of Albany consists of sandy plains, interspersed with marshes. The alluvial flats on the Mohawk are extensive and very fertile. The soil of the elevated plain of the western region, occupied by the small lakes, is a rich mould, equally well adapted to grain and grass. The alluvial flats are here extensive; those on the Genesee river include about 60,000 acres. Wheat is raised in this state in greater quantities than all other grain. Indian corn, rye, oats, flax, hemp, &c., are also extensively cultivated.

As New York stretches from north to south four degrees and a half, passing by the states of Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, the climate of the eastern parts resembles that of these states respectively. In the south-east, towards the sea, the climate is temperate, but subject to very sudden and great changes. After passing the highlands, and going into the western country beyond Utica, the climate becomes milder than it is to the eastward. In the western part, contiguous to Lakes Ontario and Erie, the temperature is moderated by these waters, and does not go to the same extremes as in the south-east. The climate of the whole state is in general healthy, and favourable to cultivation. At Salina, in Onondaga county, about thirty miles from Utica, are the celebrated salt springs and salt works, which yield about 500,000 bushels of salt annually, and the manufacture may be extended to any quantity.

The turnpike roads are numerous: the most important is the great western turnpike, leading from Albany to Canandaigua, a distance of 196 miles. The great canal connecting Lake Erie with the Hudson was completed in 1825, and is 360 miles long. The

route is as follows: beginning at Albany on the Hudson, it passes up the west bank of that river, nearly to the mouth of the Mohawk; then generally along the south bank of the Mohawk, through the counties of Albany, Schenectady, Montgomery, Herkimer, and Oneida, to Rome. From Rome it proceeds in a south-west direction, and crosses Oneida creek into Madison county, where it turns to the west, and passes through Onondaga county, approaching within a mile and a half of Salina, at the south end of Onondaga or Salt Lake. It crosses Seneca River at Montezuma, and, passing by Lyons and Palmyra, strikes the Genesee River at Rochester. West of the Genesee River, it runs on the south side of the Ridge Road, and parallel with it for sixty miles, and then, turning to the south, joins Tonnewanta Creek, eleven miles from its mouth in Niagara River. The channel of the Tonnewanta is made use of for these eleven miles, and the canal then proceeds in a southerly direction from the mouth of the Tonnewanta along the east bank of Niagara River, to Buffalo, on Lake Erie. This route is divided into three sections: the western section extends from Buffalo to Montezuma, on Seneca River, 155 miles; through this distance the level of the canal uniformly descends from the lake, and the whole descent is 194 feet, by twenty-one locks. The middle section extends from Montezuma to Utica, ninety-six miles; through this distance the level of the canal uniformly ascends, and the whole ascent is forty-nine feet, by nine locks. The eastern section extends from Utica to Albany, 109 miles; through this distance the level of the canal uniformly descends, and the whole descent is 419 feet, by fifty-one locks. The aggregate of rise and fall is, therefore, 662 feet, and the difference of levels between Lake Erie and the Hudson, 564 feet. The canal is forty feet wide on the surface, twenty-eight at the bottom, and four feet deep. It was estimated by the commissioners in 1817, that the whole expense would be 4,881,733 dollars. The canal was commenced on the 4th of July, 1817, and on the 4th of November, 1825, the first boat from Lake Erie arrived at New York. For sixty-seven miles of the middle section, the canal proceeds on the summit level without a single lock. The northern canal extends from Lake Champlain to its junction with the western canal, about eight miles north of Albany, and its whole extent is about sixty-four miles, estimating forty-eight miles and a half for artificial navigation, and fifteen miles and a half for natural navigation improved. The actual cost of the Erie and Champlain canals was 9,123,000 dollars. The debt contracted for them is 7,771,000 dollars. The tolls in 1833, amounted to 1,422,695 dollars.

Besides these, there are several other canals: Oswego Canal, completed; length, thirty-eight miles, from Salina to Oswego, connecting the Hudson and Erie Canal with Lake Ontario. Seneca Canal, completed; its length twenty miles, connecting the Seneca and Cayuga Lakes with the Hudson and Erie Canal.

Chemung Canal, from the head waters of Seneca Lake to the Chemung or Tioga River, at the village of Elmira, Tioga county. Crooked Lake Canal, connecting the waters of Crooked and Seneca Lakes, 22 1-2 miles, through a beautiful and fertile country. Delaware and Hudson Canal; length, sixty-five miles, from Delaware, in Orange county, to the Hudson, near Kingston.

The stupendous enterprise of the state of New York, in the successful projection of her canal policy, demands that something more than the present notice of the English editor should find a place in this reprint. Many eminent individuals, at different times, seem to have conceived some idea of the practicability of forming additional communications by water with the lakes and the Hudson river: but it was reserved as a becoming object of the late De Witt Clinton, amidst doubts, uncertainties, and opposition, to persevere in the magnificent measure of effecting a canal navigation from the Hudson to lake Erie. "In this great work of internal improvement, (to borrow the language of Charles King, Esq. in an obituary notice of this illustrious patriot,) Clinton persevered through good report and through evil report, with a steadiness of purpose that no obstacle could divert; and when all the elements were in commotion around him, and even his chosen associates were appalled, HE ALONE, LIKE COLUMBUS, on the wide waste of waters, in his frail bark, with a disheartened and unbelieving crew; remained firm, self-poised, and unshaken." "Is it extravagant or unjust to say, that, like Columbus, he was recompensed by opening new worlds to our intercourse,—vast regions, which the canals of New York must be the means of subduing, civilizing, enriching."

A history of the canal policy of the state has been drawn up with great minuteness and fidelity by a fellow labourer in the great cause—the late Cadwallader D. Colden. From that memoir, the following copious extracts are made. A knowledge of the subject is of too great importance not to receive the additional circulation which this work may give it. Professor Hosack's memoir of De Witt Clinton may also be consulted with peculiar advantage on the subject of the respective merits of different claimants on the canal policy of New York.

Memoir prepared at the request of a Committee of the Common Council of the city of New York, and presented to the Mayor of the city, at the celebration of the completion of the New York canals. By Cadwallader D. Colden.

The oceans and the Mediterranean seas of our continent are united. Canals, extending more than four hundred miles, have been completed in little more than eight years, by the energies and resources of a single state, within the territories of which no white man had set his foot at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Vessels, waterborne from the shores of Lake Erie, over the intervening hills and valleys, will meet ships from the Atlantic, at a point which, two hundred years ago, was surrounded by a wilderness, filled with savage tribes, hostile to each other.

They, like other human beings in the same uncivilized state, seemed to consider war as their natural condition, and had a proneness to treat every stranger as an enemy. Their ignorance and superstition led them to believe every thing supernatural, which was extraordinary. When they discovered the first European vessel approaching the land, apparently growing out of the ocean, and finally saw that there were human forms about it, they thought it their great Manitto, with attending spirits, moving on their waters.

The meeting of the boats from the Lakes, and of vessels from the sea, will be near the spot, where he who discovered, and gives name to our magnificent river, landed in the year sixteen hundred and nine.

The first ground within the territory of this state, which Hudson touched, it is believed, was Coney Island.

How different is the scene now presented, and that which he beheld!

We shall have around us the same great objects of nature: The seas—the beautiful bays—and our magnificent mountain river: But instead of the huts of savages, we shall have the abodes of a civilized, opulent, and a free people:—Instead of uncultivated wilds, we shall be surrounded by a country yielding all that is necessary to the comfort of man:—Instead of savages in their canoes, yelling with amazement, as when they first saw the vessel of Hudson, there will be magnificent barques, gorgeously decorated, bearing thousands of our fellow citizens, exulting in the accomplishment of a work, which is an evidence, how immeasurably civilized, transcends savage man.

To celebrate an event in which the citizens of this state may justly feel so much pride, and which is so

deeply connected with their interests, is to indulge very natural feelings—But it is a higher sentiment, Mr. Mayor, which has induced the honourable body over which you preside, to engage in the proposed celebration with so much zeal and liberality, and which will induce many thousands of our fellow citizens to unite with them on the occasion. The great work of improving or creating inland navigation in the United States has but commenced. In our own state there are a hundred paths over which navigable waters are yet to be led; and within our national territory, the field for such improvements is boundless and almost uncultivated. We shall rejoice in the completion of our canals, not only for our own sakes, but with the hope that the acclamations of our celebration will be heard by all who need encouragement to follow our example.

Nor do I think that we should be unwilling to confess, that upon this occasion we are desirous to attract the attention of foreign nations.—They have told us that our government was unstable—That it was too weak to unite so large a territory—That our republic was incapable of works of great magnitude—That these could only be performed where corporal labour might be commanded and enforced, not where it must be voluntary. But we say to them, see this great link in the chain of our union—in the great bond which is to bind us together irrefragably and for ever.—It has been devised, planned, and executed, by the free citizens of this Republican State. A work merely of pride and ostentation, it is true, could not be executed here. It would be as impossible to build the pyramids of Egypt on our soil, as it would be to float them to our shores; but works that are useful, and connected with the public good, will only have opponents, as we have seen in the progress of this great enterprise, so long as there are doubts and fears as to its character and practicability; but let these be determined, and the suggestions of patriotism will be better stimulants than the sceptres of despots.

Before I proceed in the course which I propose to pursue on this occasion, and which I will indicate, when I shall have the honour to put into your hands this Memoir, permit me to add a few words, in addition to what I have already said, in relation to the state of our country previously to, and at the time the canals were commenced.

It is, comparatively, but a short time since, all here was wild and savage. It is possible that the fourth generation from the discovery of New York, is not yet extinct;—It is possible that the great-grand-child of a man who saw Henry Hudson is yet living.

But short as the time is since there was any set-

tlement of civilized man, on this part of the continent, even in that short time, the progress of civilization has been continually disturbed and retarded.

The Dutch claimed, and took possession of this part of the country, in virtue of its having been discovered by Hudson, while he was in their employ.

The settlements made by the Netherlanders were very insignificant; but new and feeble as they were, they were harassed by continual disputes, and sometimes wars; not so much with the savages, as with their civilized neighbours.

The colony was involved in the contests between its mother country and the English, which terminated in sixteen hundred and seventy-four, when the New Netherlands were finally ceded to Great Britain.

From this time to the commencement of the Revolution, the Province of New York was involved in the wars in which England was almost uninterruptedly engaged, or its peace and prosperity was disturbed by intestine commotions.

The struggles between the French and English, for advantages in the fur trade, kept the colonies continually embroiled with the savages. In the year sixteen hundred and ninety, these remorseless beings sacked and burnt Schenectady, and murdered most of the inhabitants.

At the commencement of the revolution, the population of the territory which now forms the state of New York, amounted to no more than one hundred and eighty thousand.

Notwithstanding the revolutionary war of eight years, the number of inhabitants increased, and at the peace in seventeen hundred and eighty-three, amounted to about two hundred thousand, not much exceeding the present population of the city. Yet in the year seventeen hundred and eighty-eight, when a treaty with the Indians was held at Fort Stanwix, the now beautiful, populous, and cultivated country through which the western canal runs thither, from the shores of Lake Erie, contained not a single white inhabitant.

The nature of the government, previously to our independence, was very unfavourable to the progress of improvements. No great work has been accomplished by colonists, at least in modern times. Perhaps the rule of Great Britain was as little oppressive to those she called her children, as that of any other parent state, yet the colonial restraints and impositions then thought justifiable, were such, that the wonder is not that we shook off our chains so soon, but that we endured them so long. It was not the mere right to tax her colonies without their consent, which Great Britain claimed, that led to their revolt.

The restrictions she imposed for the sake of her commerce were insupportable. The colonies were not allowed to manufacture the produce of their own soil. They were obliged to send raw materials to England, that they might be returned by her manufacturers, charged with whatever they pleased to exact for profit. We can hardly believe at this day, that when we were under the dominion of our mother country, the noise of trip hammers and rolling mills, which are now every where heard in our mountains, would have been considered as treasonable sounds.

The vast and fertile regions of the west, with which we have opened communication by our canals, were doomed to be a perpetual wilderness. The crown, and colonial governors, refused to make grants at any distance from the sea-board, lest they should become inhabited by a people who would feel but little respect for laws so much at enmity with their interest, and who would be out of the reach of coercion.

Ireland, though not a colony, is treated as a dependency of England. Her population, in proportion to her territory, is greater, and her natural advantages are at least equal, to those of the Island of Britain. Yet Ireland has only two or three canals, of no great extent, while England has upwards of one hundred, extending more than twenty-four hundred miles.

Florida was for a long time a colony of a European nation, which owned the mines of Chili, Mexico, and Peru. Had this province continued subject to Spain, there is little reason to believe, that any part of the treasures transmitted from the new to the old world, or the resources which the genial climate and fruitful soil of this beautiful country might have afforded, would have been applied to opening a canal through the Florida Peninsula. Within four years from the cession of this territory to the United States, a project for a canal through it, from the Atlantic, to the Gulf of Mexico, is on foot, and on the point of execution.

Spain had also under its government the Isthmus which separates the Atlantic and the Pacific. Jealous of her colonies, she did not encourage any attempt to form a communication between the oceans.

The spirit of liberty has spread its influence to every part of this continent. Independent governments are hardly established to the south, before it is proposed to unite the two great seas.

Do we not see in these expansions of the minds of men the moment they are set free, how far despotic governments confine the human faculties, and limit the happiness of a people? To use and enjoy the

reason and power with which man is endowed by his Creator, he must have liberty and independence.

There is as much difference between man, the subject of a despotic government, and the citizens of a free representative republic, as there is between waters diverted to some artificial channel, and the deep current of Niagara, pouring through its natural course, irresistible, but by the hand of the Almighty.

Let us suppose these objects accomplished.—Let us suppose the two great oceans united through the Isthmus of Darien—the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico through the Peninsula of Florida. Let us suppose the waters of the Lakes united with the Mississippi, as those of the Lakes are now with the Hudson. These will be the works of republican governments. When they are completed, which probably will be within a few years, we shall not fear to compare them with any thing that has been done in the old world, for the happiness of mankind. We may see in many countries works of the same nature, but their benefits are limited to the narrow spaces which they occupy, or at most, to the territory in which they exist; but the canals we have accomplished, and those on the point of being executed, will affect the whole world. They will make an important change in the arrangement of the lands and waters of the earth, the effects of which will be felt by the whole human species. We know how much wealth is accumulated in Europe. We see “the gorgeous palaces, the cloud cap’t towers,” which are the pride and boast of its inhabitants. We turn to the history of the ages of the existence of its governments; we read of their wars—of the many fields covered with their slain, and of their contests which have dyed the ocean with human blood, but we do not admit that these have given to those who have so long contemned our republican institutions, claims as the benefactors of mankind. But we acknowledge that the scientific institutions of the Europeans, the progress they have made in the arts and sciences, their cultivation of the human mind, deserve admiration. We do not forget that our fathers were from the other side of the great waters, and brought with them that spirit of liberty which has been transmitted through many generations, and has animated the Washingtons and Bolivars of the North and of the South. The historians, poets, men of learning and science, in the old world, are not more admired and revered on the soil which gave them birth, than they are in these distant regions. Whenever we estimate our political freedom and happiness, we remember how much of it we owe to the lessons we have learnt from our transatlantic ancestors; nor shall we ever refuse to

admit, that the great works of art, the completion of which we are about to celebrate, and which seem so much in advance of our age as a nation, could not have been accomplished without the science and examples we derived from abroad.

We date our independence from seventeen hundred and seventy-six. But our existence as a nation must be calculated from the conclusion of the revolutionary war in seventeen hundred and eighty-three. From that time the water communications between the Hudson and the Lakes Champlain and Ontario, seem to have attracted the attention of our citizens, with a view to open and improve them; though long previously the streams of the north and west and of the south, and the facility with which they might be united, had been noticed.

Quebec was founded by the French, the year before the North River was discovered by Hudson. When afterwards the English became possessed of the trading establishments at Albany and Schenectady, the Wood Creek of Lake Champlain, and the Wood Creek of the Oneida Lake, were the routes by which, in peace, there was intercourse between the establishments on the Lakes and the Saint Lawrence, and those on the Hudson River. In times of hostility these water courses, and the intervening portages, were traversed by the armaments of the hostile colonies, and were the war paths of their savage allies. Consequently, though the country between the Lakes, and the Saint Lawrence and the Hudson, was all wilderness, its topographical features were perfectly well known.

In seventeen hundred and twenty-four, the then surveyor general of the province of New York, made a report to the colonial governor, in which he describes the water courses and carrying places between Albany and Montreal, by way of Lake Champlain, and between Albany and the Cataraqui Lake, which is now called Ontario, by the Mohawk River, and the river which runs into the Oneida Lake, with as much accuracy as they could be described at this moment. The carrying place between the Mohawk, and the stream which we now call Wood Creek, he describes as "a portage only three miles long, except," says he, "in very dry weather, when the goods must be carried two miles further." He then describes the passage down the Onondaga River, to the Cataraqui Lake, and shows that goods might be carried from Albany to that Lake by the Mohawk, Oneida, and the Onondaga River, cheaper, and much more conveniently, than as they were then transported, to the mouth of the Oswego River by way of the Hudson, Lake Champlain, Montreal, and the river Saint Lawrence.

At the moment I am writing, I hear the cannon, which, at the termination of a line of five hundred and thirteen miles, repeats the signal, that the first boat from Lake Erie has entered the Western Canal, on her way to this city. Who that has American blood in his veins can hear this sound without emotion? Who that has the privilege to do it, can refrain from exclaiming, I, too, am an American citizen; and feel as much pride in being able to make the declaration, as ever an inhabitant of the eternal city felt, in proclaiming that he was a Roman.

This abrupt digression may be incompatible with the sober character a written memoir ought to preserve; but the excitement which so extraordinary and wonderful a circumstance occasions, I hope will excuse it.

I resume the course I was pursuing, which was to show that long before the subject was brought before the Legislature of this State, and in very remote times, the near connexion of the waters of the Hudson and the Lakes was well understood.

The historian of the Five Indian Nations informs us, that Governor Burnet erected a Fort and trading houses at the mouth of the Onondaga River, on account, says he, "of its water communications with the country of the Iroquois, and for the facility of transportation between the Lakes and Schenectady, there being but three portages in the whole route, and two of them very short." These, no doubt, were the carrying places, at the Little Falls, the Wood Creek, and at the Oswego Rapids.

Kalm, a Swede, who travelled in this country in the year seventeen hundred and forty-eight, speaks of the near approach of the waters of the Hudson and the Saint Lawrence. Indeed, he seems to have supposed that there was a perfect communication from the former to the latter.

Carver, who traversed the Lake country in seventeen hundred and sixty-six, represents that a water passage between the Mohawk and Wood Creek was at that time effected at Fort Stanwix, by sluices.

In seventeen hundred and sixty-eight, Sir Henry Moore, in a Message to the Colonial Assembly, stated that "the obstruction of the navigation in the Mohawk River, between Schenectady and Fort Stanwix, occasioned by the falls of Canajoharie, had been constantly complained of, and that it was obvious to all who were conversant in matters of this kind, that the difficulty could be easily remedied by sluices, upon the plan of those in the great Canal of Languedoc in France, which was made to open a communication between the Atlantic ocean, and the Mediterranean."

I have made these few references to show that at a very early day, not only the Champlain route to Montreal, but what we now call the Ontario route to the Lakes, was perfectly well understood; and that it was well known that the water courses running westwardly and northwardly, and those running southwardly and eastwardly, were separated by low lands of very little extent. Any one that had traversed those portages, or heard them described, and knew that artificial water ways had been constructed in other parts of the world, must have thought of completing these water communications by Canals.

How much in vain, then, must it be to inquire who first thought of connecting the western, and northern, and southern waters? We might as well attempt to ascertain who had the first idea of making a highway between New York and Albany, or between any other important establishments in our country. Many had opportunities of acquiring all the knowledge connected with the subject, and it is probable that the thought of water communications, where they are now made by the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, was common to hundreds at the same time.

Could we pursue this inquiry with any prospect of success, it would be a futile labour. The discovery would be of no benefit to the community, and but little more credit would be due to one to whom the original thought might be traced, if he did nothing towards executing the idea he had conceived, than if it had been a dream.

The revolutionary war had scarcely been concluded, when Washington saw in the improvement of the internal communications of this country, that, which, after her independence, most concerned her prosperity and happiness. The subject had occupied his mind before the revolution, we cannot ascertain at how early a date, but it is extremely probable that he was among those who first thought of the advantages and practicability of navigable water communications between the Lakes and the Atlantic. But no sooner had he sheathed his triumphant sword, and assumed the station of a private citizen, than he devoted himself to this object. In seventeen hundred and eighty-four he personally explored, not only what is now the route of the Champlain Canal, but the route which the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company adopted for their improvements. That is to say, the route by the Mohawk, Wood Creek, Oneida Lake, and Oswego River. This part of the life of General Washington, as written by Chief Justice Marshal, is so interesting, and so immediately connected with the subject which engages our attention,

that I am convinced the following extract will be acceptable.

"To a person looking beyond the present moment, and taking the future in to view, it is only necessary to glance over the map of the United States, to be impressed with the incalculable importance of connecting the western with the eastern territory, by facilitating the means of intercourse between them. To this subject the attention of General Washington had been in some measure directed in the early part of his life. While the American states were yet British colonies, he had obtained the passage of a bill, empowering those individuals who would engage in the work, to open the Potomac, so as to render it navigable, from the tide water to Wills' Creek. The River James had also been comprehended in his plan; and he had triumphed so far over the opposition produced by local interest and prejudices, that the business was in a train which promised success, when the revolutionary war diverted the attention of its patrons, and of all America, from internal improvements, to the great objects of liberty and independence. As that war approached its termination, subjects, which for a time had yielded their pretensions to consideration, reclaimed that place to which their real magnitude entitled them; and the internal navigation again attracted the attention of the wise and thinking part of society. Accustomed to contemplate America as his country, and to consider with solicitude the interests of the whole, Washington now took a more enlarged view of the advantages to be derived from opening both the eastern and western waters: and for this, as well as for other purposes, after peace had been proclaimed, he traversed the western parts of New England and New York. 'I have, lately,' said he, in a letter to the Marquis of Chastellux, a foreigner, who was in pursuit of literary as well as of military fame, 'made a tour through the Lakes George and Champlain, as far as Crown Point; then returning to Schenectady, I proceeded up the Mohawk River to Fort Schuyler, crossed over to Wood Creek, which empties into the Oneida Lake, and affords the water communication with Ontario; I then traversed the country to the head of the eastern banks of the Susquehanna, and viewed the Lake Otsego, and the portage between that Lake and the Mohawk River at Canajoharie. Prompted by these actual observations, I could not help taking a more contemplative and extensive view of the vast inland navigation of these United States, and could not but be struck with the immense diffusion and importance of it: and with the goodness of that Providence who has dealt his favours to us with so profuse a hand.

Would to God we may have wisdom enough to improve them! I shall not rest contented until I have explored the western country, and traversed those lines (or great part of them,) which have given bounds to a new empire."

Scarcely had he answered those spontaneous offerings of the heart, which, on retiring from the head of the army, flowed in upon him from every part of a grateful nation, when his views were once more seriously turned to this truly interesting subject. Its magnitude was also impressed on others; and the value of obtaining the aid which his influence and active interference would afford to any exertions for giving this direction to the public mind, and for securing the happy execution of the plan which might be devised, was perceived by all those who attached to the great work a sufficient degree of importance, and who were anxious for its success. In a letter from a gentleman, (Mr. Jefferson,) who had taken an expanded view of the subject, who felt an ardent wish for its accomplishment, and who relied on funds to be advanced by the public for its execution, a detailed statement of his ideas was thus concluded:—

"But a most powerful objection always arises to propositions of this kind. It is, that public undertakings are carelessly managed, and much money spent to little purpose. To obviate this objection is the purpose of my giving you the trouble of this discussion. You have retired from public life. You have weighed this determination, and it would be impertinence in me to touch it. But would the superintendence of this work break in too much on the sweets of retirement and repose? If they would, I stop here. Your future time and wishes are sacred in my eye. If it would be only a dignified amusement to you, what a monument of your retirement would it be! It is one that would follow that of your public life, and bespeak it the work of the same great hand. I am confident, that would you either alone, or jointly with any persons you think proper, be willing to direct this business, it would remove the only objection, the weight of which I apprehend."

In the beginning of the autumn of seventeen hundred and eighty-four, General Washington made a tour as far west as Pittsburgh; after returning from which, his first moments of leisure were devoted to the task of engaging his countrymen in a work, which appeared to him, to merit still more attention from its political, than from its commercial influence on the union. In a long and interesting letter to Mr. Harrison, then governor of Virginia, he detailed the advantages which might be derived from opening the great rivers, the Potomac and the James, as high as

should be practicable. After stating with his accustomed exactness the distances, and the difficulties to be surmounted in bringing the trade of the west to different points on the Atlantic, he expressed unequivocally the opinion, that the rivers of Virginia afforded a more convenient, and a more direct course than could be found elsewhere, for that rich and increasing commerce. This was strongly urged as a motive for immediately commencing the work. But the rivers of the Atlantic constituted only a part of the great plan he contemplated. He suggested the appointment of commissioners of integrity and abilities, exempt from the suspicion of prejudice, whose duty it should be, after an accurate examination of the James and the Potomac, to search out the nearest and best portages, between those waters and the streams capable of improvement, which run into the Ohio. Those streams were to be accurately surveyed, the impediments to their navigation ascertained, and their relative advantages examined. The navigable waters, west of the Ohio, towards the great Lakes, were also to be traced to their sources, and those which empty into the Lakes to be followed to their mouths. "These things being done, and an accurate map of the whole presented to the public, he was persuaded that reason would dictate what was right and proper." For the execution of this latter part of his plan he had also much reliance on Congress; and in addition to the general advantages to be drawn from the measure, he laboured, in his letters to the members of that body, to establish the opinion, that the surveys he recommended would add to the revenue, by enhancing the value of the lands offered for sale. "Nature," he said, "had made such an ample display of her bounties in those regions, that the more the country was explored, the more it would rise in estimation."

The assent and co-operation of Maryland being indispensable to the improvement of the Potomac, he was equally earnest in his endeavours to impress a conviction of its superior advantages on influential individuals in that state. In doing so, he detailed the measures which would unquestionably be adopted by New York and Pennsylvania, for acquiring the monopoly of the western commerce, and the difficulty which would be found in diverting it from the channel it had once taken. "I am not," he added, "for discouraging the exertions of any state to draw the commerce of the western country to its sea-ports. The more communications we open to it, the closer we bind that rising world (for indeed it may be so called,) to our interests, and the greater strength shall we acquire by it. Those to whom nature af-

fords the best communications, will, if they are wise, enjoy the greatest share of the trade. All I would be understood to mean, therefore, is, that the gifts of Providence may not be neglected."

But the light in which this subject would be viewed with most interest, and which gave to it most importance, was its political influence on the union. "I need not remark to you, Sir," said he, in his letter to the governor of Virginia, "that the flanks and rear of the United States are possessed by other powers—and formidable ones too: nor need I press the necessity of applying the cement of interest to bind all parts of the Union together by indissoluble bonds—especially of binding that part of it which lies immediately west of us, to the middle states. For what ties, let me ask, should we have upon those people, how entirely unconnected with them shall we be, and what troubles may we not apprehend, if the Spaniards on their right, and Great Britain on their left, instead of throwing impediments in their way, as they now do, should hold out lures for their trade and alliance? When they get strength, which will be sooner than most people conceive, what will be the consequence of their having formed close commercial connexions with both or either of those powers? It needs not, in my opinion, the gift of prophecy to foretell. The western settlers (I speak now from my own observations) stand, as it were, upon a pivot. The touch of a feather would turn them any way. Until the Spaniards (very unwisely I think) threw difficulties in their way, they looked down the Mississippi—and they looked that way for no other reason than because they could glide gently down the stream, without considering, perhaps, the fatigues of the voyage back again, and the time necessary for its performance; and because they have no other means of coming to us, but by a long land transportation through unimproved roads." Letters of the same import were also addressed to the governor of Maryland, and to other gentlemen in that state. To a member of the national legislature, he observed, "there is a matter which, though it does not come before congress wholly, is, in my opinion, of great political importance, and ought to be attended to in time. It is to prevent the trade of the western territory from settling in the hands either of the Spaniards or British. If either of these happen, there is a line of separation drawn between the eastern and western country at once, the consequences of which may be fatal. To tell any man of information how fast the latter is settling, how much more rapidly it will settle by means of foreign emigrants, who can have no particular predilection for us, of the vast

fertility of the soil, of the population to which the country is competent, would be unnecessary: and equally unnecessary would it be to observe, that it is by the cement of interest alone we can be held together. If then the trade of that country should flow through the Mississippi or the Saint Lawrence; if the inhabitants thereof should form commercial connexions, which we know lead to intercourses of other kinds, they would in a few years be as unconnected with us, as are those of South America. It may be asked how are we to prevent this? Happily for us the way is plain. Our immediate interests, as well as remote political advantages, point to it; whilst a combination of circumstances, render the present time more favourable than any other to accomplish it. Extend the inland navigation of the eastern waters—communicate them as near as possible with those which run westward;—open these to the Ohio;—open also such as extend from the Ohio towards Lake Erie,—and we shall not only draw the produce of the western settlers, but the peltry and fur trade of the Lakes, also to our ports—thus adding an immense increase to our exports, and binding those people to us by a chain which can never be broken."

At about the time that General Washington was exploring that part of our state, which was so well calculated for the improvement of internal navigation, the attention of the legislature was directed to the same object. Christopher Colles, an inhabitant of the city of New York, who had been previously known for some important but unsuccessful enterprises for the public good, and who had, in the year seventeen hundred and seventy-two, given public lectures in Philadelphia, on the subject of lock navigation, in seventeen hundred and eighty-four, proposed to the legislature to improve the navigation of the Mohawk. His enterprise was thought too mighty for the public resources, but the legislature gave Mr. Colles some encouragement, by offering to secure to him and his associates, for ever, the profits which might arise from transportation on the river. The next year, on the reiterated application of Mr. Colles, the legislature granted him one hundred and twenty-five dollars, to enable him to make an essay towards the execution of his plan. This he seems to have done; and, in the same year, he published proposals for establishing a company to improve the inland navigation between Oswego and Albany. In this publication, Mr. Colles very forcibly anticipated all the advantages which a water communication with the lakes would afford. He evinces his knowledge of the country, by representing that "the Allegany

mountains, which pass through all the states, seem to die away as they approach the Mohawk River ; and the ground," says he, "between the upper part of this river, and Wood Creek, is perfectly level."

Mr. Colles was again before the legislature with his plan, in seventeen hundred and eighty-six, and it seems to have met with their approbation ; but nothing important or effectual was done by Mr. Colles. He lived till within a few years. The difficulties he met with seem to have subdued his enterprise. Though his plan for connecting the northern and southern, and eastern and western waters, was revived in seventeen hundred and ninety-one, it does not appear that Mr. Colles had any connexion with it. We may all remember him as the projector and attendant of the telegraph, erected during the late war, on Castle Clinton. Genius and talents, much above the sphere in which he seems to have moved in the latter part of his life, could not rescue him from obscurity and poverty ; but it would be ungrateful to forget him at this time. No one can say how far we owe this occasion, to the ability with which he developed the great advantages that would result from opening the communications with the lakes ; to the clear views he presented of the facility with which these communications might be made ; and to the activity with which he for some time pursued his object. His contemporaries have not been insensible of his merits, and have preserved a portrait of him, by Jarvis, in the Gallery of the Historical Society.

Governor George Clinton, in his speech to the legislature, on opening the session of seventeen hundred and ninety-one, referred to the subject of internal improvements in the following language. "Our frontier settlements, freed from apprehensions of danger, are rapidly increasing, and must soon yield extensive resources for profitable commerce. This consideration forcibly recommends the policy of continuing to facilitate the means of communication with them, as well to strengthen the bonds of society, as to prevent the produce of those fertile districts from being diverted to other markets."

In the same session the legislature passed "an act concerning roads and inland navigation," by which the commissioners of the land office were directed to cause the grounds between the Mohawk River and Wood Creek, in Herkimer county, and between Hudson River and Wood Creek, in Washington county, to be explored and surveyed. The commissioners were also required by the act, to report an estimate of the expense of making canals between these points. In the same year, the surveys which

the act required were made ; and in January, seventeen hundred and ninety-two, a report of the commissioners was communicated by George Clinton, the then Governor, by a message, in which he considers the practicability of effecting the object of the legislature, at a very moderate expense, as ascertained. He expresses a hope that a measure of such importance, not only to the agriculture and commerce of the state, but even to the influence of the laws, will continue to demand due attention.

The members who appear to have taken the most active part in these legislative transactions, were Mr. Adgate, Mr. Williams, Mr. Livingston, and Mr. Barker.

There were, also, many citizens not in the legislature, who had previously to this time greatly interested themselves in promoting this important measure. These ought to be named on this occasion, but I fear I have not the information which will enable me to do justice to all. General Schuyler deserves to be first mentioned. Distinguished by the force and energy of his character, for his abilities, acquirements, and enterprise, he was one of the earliest, most strenuous, and most able supporters of improvements in our internal navigation. It has been justly said that he was the master spirit which infused life and vigour into the whole undertaking. Mr. Elkanah Watson had, as early as the year seventeen hundred and eighty-eight, attended an Indian treaty at Fort Stanwix. The view he at that time obtained of the country, impressed him with the practicability and advantages of the water communications which Mr. Colles had, several years previously, explored and described in his publication above noticed. Of Mr. Colles's proceedings Mr. Watson appears to have had no knowledge. Mr. Watson transcribed the ideas he entertained on this subject, in a journal he kept at the time, extracts from which he published in eighteen hundred and twenty, in a work entitled, "A History of the Rise, Progress, and existing condition of the Western Canals." This publication is avowedly made by Mr. Watson, with a view to vindicate his claims "to the exclusive honour of projecting the canal policy" of the state of New York.

In the same year that the act of the twenty-first of March, seventeen hundred and ninety-one, was passed, for surveying the contemplated routes, Mr. Watson made a journey in the western part of the state. All his views of the water communications (which had been previously proposed by Mr. Colles) were confirmed and strengthened, and he employed his pen in writing and publishing essays, which, no doubt, had an important influence on public opinion

in favour of canals. He also published, in the work last referred to, his journal of this tour.

These private journals of Mr. Watson, by some means unknown to him, as he states in the preliminary remarks to his History of the Canals, were obtained by the London booksellers, and published by them, previously to seventeen hundred and ninety-five; and were, to the astonishment of Mr. Watson, referred to by Mr. Phillips, in his History of Canals; the first edition of which was published about thirty years ago.

In consequence of the favourable report of the commissioners, appointed by the act of seventeen hundred and ninety-one, and the recommendations of the governor, the act of seventeen hundred and ninety-two, by which the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, and the Northern Inland Lock Navigation Company were incorporated, was passed. This act, it is said, was drawn by General Schuyler. He, and about fifty others of the most respectable and influential citizens, of the state, were members of the company. Mr. Thomas Eddy, who was an early, zealous, and active friend of internal navigation, was not named in the act, but was elected a member and director the year after the company was incorporated. General Schuyler was chosen president, and he, Messieurs Eddy, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Barent Bleecker, Elkanah Watson, and Robert Bowne, were among the most active members.

The object of the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company was to improve the navigation, and to open communications, by canals, to the Seneca Lake, and Lake Ontario. The other company was empowered to open a lock navigation between the Hudson and Lake Champlain. This latter company did something to improve the navigation of the natural water-courses to the north, but was dissolved without having made any canal, and without having effected any thing of great importance.

So Herculean a task did it then appear to construct a Canal, that the Western Company were allowed fifteen years to accomplish their work; though it was known that the canalling which they would have to perform would extend only a few miles.

But the company did not avail themselves of this long indulgence. In the year seventeen hundred and ninety-six, they completed the canal at the Little Falls, of about two miles and three fourths in length, with five locks; and a canal of one mile and a quarter at the German Flats; and in seventeen hundred and ninety-seven, a canal from the Mohawk to Wood Creek, of one mile and three quarters: in all less than seven miles, with nine locks. Some

years afterwards they constructed several wooden locks on Wood Creek. All the works which are above enumerated, and which, at the time, were thought very great, and which were so many years completing, might now be done in six weeks. Our great canals, with all their locks, aqueducts, culverts, bridges, and every thing that belongs to them, have been executed at the rate of more than a mile in a week.

The Western Company, after their principal works had been constructed and once rebuilt, when it was found that they must be again reconstructed, obtained the assistance of Mr. Weston, an engineer, from Europe, of eminence in his profession. He built the existing locks of the Western Company. When their improvements were so far completed as that a boat might pass from Schenectady into the Oneida Lake, they had expended more than four hundred thousand dollars. This great expenditure obliged them to charge such heavy tolls, that their canals were but little used; land carriage, and the natural rivers, being generally preferred.

The old locks, at the Falls, now form part of a communication from the Erie canal, into the Mohawk River. When we stand on the lofty and magnificent stone aqueduct which is thrown over the Falls, or on the terrace which supports the western canal,—midway the precipitous rocks on the south side of the river, we look down on the old canal, passing below the new structure, creeping at our feet, through its narrow channel and straitened locks.

At this point there is a combination of the beauties of nature and of art, seldom to be met with. When the latter excite the admiration of an American citizen, he must find, blended with his feelings, something of pride arising from the reflection that their existence is owing entirely to the genius of his countrymen.

The prospect of a water communication from the Hudson to Lake Ontario, suggested the advantages of a like communication from that lake to Lake Erie. With a view to the establishment of this desirable object, an act was passed in seventeen hundred and ninety-eight, incorporating the Niagara Company.

The design of those who formed this association, was to make a canal, with locks, round the cataract of Niagara.

This project, in preference to that which has been executed, has had its advocates till a very late day. It is impossible to say, when we are looking for the dawns of the idea of an artificial water communication between Lake Erie and the Hudson, whether those who first anticipated such a connexion, and

have mentioned it in their writings, did not contemplate this as the route by which the communication would be effected, rather than that it would be made on the line occupied by the canal which now exists.

But this act of seventeen hundred and ninety-eight, and the project of locking round the Great Falls, to which it was intended to give effect, seem very convincing proofs, that, up to this time, no person had thought of an inland lock navigation, directly from Lake Erie to the Hudson. Indeed, I may say, that up to the time when this act was passed, I have not found, in any thing written upon the subject, a single syllable intimating that the idea of such a canal had been conceived by any human being. It unquestionably had not entered into the minds of either of the companies incorporated in seventeen hundred and ninety-two. The views of the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, certainly, extended no further than to improve the natural water-courses between the mouth of the Onondaga River and the Mohawk, and to connect them by the short cuts which were necessary for that purpose. To use Mr. Watson's own expressions, who was one of the Western Company, "the utmost stretch of their views was to follow the track of nature's canal, and to remove natural or artificial obstructions; but they never entertained the most distant conception of a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson. They would not have considered it," continues Mr. Watson, "much more extravagant to have suggested the possibility of a canal to the moon."

The efforts of this company, on the Mohawk, had proved so expensive, and so little encouraging, that they shrunk from an attempt to complete their original design, by extending their work to Lake Ontario. In eighteen hundred and eight, they surrendered so much of their grant as gave them any privileges beyond the Oneida Lake. And, subsequently, when the legislature had determined on executing the northern and western canals, they ceded to the state, for a sum much less than they had expended, all their privileges and works.

But, although, those who were connected with these navigation companies, and who encouraged and promoted the objects of these associations, can not justly claim, indeed never have claimed, the merit of projecting the great canals, yet we should do them great injustice did we not acknowledge that we owe a great deal to their genius and enterprise. Their ill success, it is true, for some time damped the spirit of improvement, yet their efforts roused the public attention, and induced inquiries and investigations which have led to the great works, the

accomplishment of which we are about to celebrate.

The very peculiar character of the country about our great Lakes was very early known. It was seen that the Saint Lawrence, the Lakes, and the Mississippi, lay in a great valley, extending from the Bay of Labrador, to the Gulf of Mexico.

Monsieur de la Salle, who, in the year sixteen hundred and sixty-nine, first explored the Mississippi from the Lakes, found that the waters of Lake Michigan, and of the rivers which run to the south, nearly approximated. It was afterwards ascertained that at certain seasons they were united, and that the intervening waters might be navigated by boats of considerable burden. The near approach of the western waters of this state and of Lake Erie, was also conjectured, if not known, at a very early day. In the report before mentioned, made by the surveyor general of the province of New York to Governor Burnet, in seventeen hundred and twenty-four, after having mentioned the communication into Lake Ontario by the Onondaga River, he says:—"Besides the passage by the Lakes, there is a river which comes from the country of the Senecas, and falls into the Onondaga River, by which we have an easy carriage into the country, without going near the Cataragui Lake. The head of this river goes near the Lake Erie, and probably may give a very near passage into that Lake, and much more advantageous than the way the French are obliged to take by the great falls of Jagara."

It must be recollected that these, or similar passages, are not cited to prove that there were in the minds of the authors, ideas of a canal over the routes to which they refer; but the object in noticing these speculations, is, to show that, when canals became afterwards more known and practised, such descriptions of the country and its waters, may very naturally have suggested the possibility of making canals in situations so well adapted to them. These ideas might, and probably did, arise in the minds of many contemporaneously; and that, therefore, it would be vain to endeavour to discover who first suggested the practicability of making the western canal; upon which so much is now said, only because it has heretofore been a subject of such earnest inquiry and discussion.

We have seen, from the pamphlet published by Christopher Colles, in seventeen hundred and eighty-five, that as early as at that day, the extraordinary adaptation of the country, on our western borders, for water communications, had been perceived. His expression that "the Allegany mountains died away,

as they approached the Mohawk," shows that he had some idea of the path which nature has provided for the great western canal. It was known too, long before that project was undertaken, that the waters of Lake Erie, lying above the Great Falls, must be higher than the waters of the Hudson. In a communication from Mr. Charles Thompson, who was so long secretary of the continental congress, to Mr. Jefferson, which the latter has appended to his Notes on Virginia, published in seventeen hundred and eighty-seven, Mr. Thompson supposes, that if the barriers of the Niagara River were, by any convulsion of nature, to be torn asunder, the country below would be deluged.

It must have been seen, also, that many of the interior lakes were so high, that their outlets traversed the path which the canal now occupies.

It is worth while to stop here to remark, that the location of several of these minor lakes, gives a character to our western canal, which is very peculiar. Generally, canals have been made to form connexions over ridges, dividing seas, or natural navigable channels, and commonly pass near the sources of the water-courses by which the canals are to be supplied, and, therefore, one of the greatest difficulties in their construction, and one that frequently leads to enormous expenses, is to obtain a sufficient supply of water, and to economize that element. But our western canal passes through a valley, and intercepts, near their points of discharge into the great lakes, water-courses, supplied by inexhaustible sources, and owing to the supplies being drawn from natural reservoirs, of great magnitude, it has not been necessary to construct an artificial one, for either of the canals, through their whole extent of more than four hundred miles.

These very extraordinary features of our country, would very probably suggest to any person acquainted with them, the idea of making water communications over the grounds which are now occupied by the canals. As the country was cleared of forests, and became inhabited, its topography was better known, and very probably from a suggestion that a continued canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson, (in which the person who made it may have had no confidence,) the subject has been revolved in the minds of many, till it was found deserving consideration, and finally, to be worthy of serious examination; the favourable result of which led to the determination to execute the project.

No one seems to have had an earlier or a more vivid conception of the features of the country, between the Hudson and the western lakes, which fitted it so pecu-

liarly for canal navigation, than the late Mr. Gouverneur Morris. The lakes, the rivers, the valleys in which they lie; the advantages and profit to be derived from extensive inland water communications, and their political influence, were subjects suited to the great mind of Mr. Morris, and inspired those enthusiastic anticipations which his pen has left us.

Previously to the year eighteen hundred, he does not appear to have had any definite idea of a canal extending beyond Lake Ontario. In a letter of that time, to Mr. Lee, he seems to fix that as the point to which he thought it was practicable to open a canal. But at about the same period, in a letter to a European correspondent, he expresses his belief in the practicability of enabling ships to sail from London, through the Hudson, into Lake Erie.

In eighteen hundred and three, in a conversation with Simeon De Witt, Esquire, the present surveyor general, who deserves to be ranked among the early and zealous friends of the canals, Mr. Morris spoke of the possibility of "tapping Lake Erie." But yet it is very uncertain whether Mr. Morris's idea was, at these times, that a canal might be made directly from the Hudson to that Lake. He might have conceived, that a ship from London would sail into Ontario by the canal, which had then been so long thought of; and from thence, into Erie by the locks round the falls, which were contemplated by the act of seventeen hundred and ninety-four: and he might have conceived the possibility of tapping Lake Erie, by leading its waters in the same course. But, subsequently, and particularly at about the time the project of making a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson first attracted the attention of the legislature, Mr. Morris became one of its most active and able advocates.

In eighteen hundred and seven, Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States, proposed to congress to devote so much of the national revenue, as the exigencies of the government did not require, which he calculated would be very large, to making roads and canals. That part of the message of the President, which related to these subjects, was referred to the secretary of the treasury, Mr. Gallatin, who, in eighteen hundred and eight, made a very able report; but the possibility of a canal, from Lake Erie to the Hudson, had not occurred to him; or, if it had, he did not perceive its advantages so far as to be induced to mention it among those which he recommended, as deserving the consideration of the government.

This message of the President was well calculated to awaken the attention of the respective states, to the advantages they possessed for internal navigation

Mr. Jesse Hawley, in the fall of eighteen hundred and seven, published a number of pieces under the signature of "Hercules," in which he advocated, with great ability and force, the construction of a canal from Buffalo to Utica, and proposed very nearly the same route which is now occupied by the western canal. We can not doubt but that these able essays had a great influence on the public mind.

Mr. Geddes, who, from the beginning, has had so large and active a part in planning and executing the canals, in the year eighteen hundred and eight, intimated, that it was the opinion of many, that a canal might be made from Erie to Rome. Mr. Elliot, who was afterwards one of the commissioners, in a letter to the surveyor general, written in July, eighteen hundred and eight, very strongly recommends a communication to Lake Erie, in preference to the Ontario route.

In the session of eighteen hundred and eight, Mr. Joshua Forman, a member of the assembly from Onondaga county, proposed, in that body, a concurrent resolution to direct a survey to be made, "of the most eligible and direct route of a canal, to open a communication between the tide waters of the Hudson River and Lake Erie." This is the first legislative proceeding, of which there is any trace, that had reference to a canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie.

This resolution was adopted, and subsequently, by a joint resolution proposed by Mr. Goold, in the senate, the surveyor general was directed to cause the survey, contemplated by Mr. Forman's resolution, to be made; but so limited were the views the legislature, at this time, had of the great work in which they were about to engage, that they appropriated for the object of the resolution, no more than the sum of six hundred dollars.

The surveyor general employed Mr. Geddes, who has been before mentioned, to make this survey. He performed the duty with great intelligence; and, in January, eighteen hundred and nine, made a report in favour of the practicability of a route, directly from Lake Erie, which evinces how fortunately the agent had been selected.

Mr. Geddes conceived the possibility of running the canal on the tops of the ridges which occupy the Irondequot valley; a project which would not have occurred to any but an engineer of great boldness and comprehension.

Mr. Geddes's report was made to the surveyor

general, and was by him communicated to the legislature. But nothing appears to have been done, till in March, eighteen hundred and ten, when Jonas Platt, Esquire, then a member of the senate, who has been among the foremost, on so many occasions, to encourage and support this great enterprise, proposed, in that body, a resolution which was unanimously adopted by the senate, and concurred in by the assembly, to appoint Gouverneur Morris, Stephen Van Rensselaer, William North, Thomas Eddy, and Peter B. Porter, "commissioners to explore the whole route for inland navigation, from the Hudson River to Lake Ontario, and to Lake Erie."

The legislature had before them, at that session, memorials from many citizens in different parts of the state, representing that Canada was attracting the greatest part of our internal commerce, in consequence of the facilities which were afforded by water communications, to transport commodities to her markets. These representations, no doubt, had their influence, but the above resolution, it appears, was brought forward by Judge Platt, at this time, on the suggestion of Mr. Thomas Eddy, the gentleman before mentioned, who had taken so active and leading a part in the concerns of the Inland Lock Navigation Companies, and who was so long the zealous and active friend of the canals. Judge Platt and Mr. Eddy engaged our present governor, De Witt Clinton, who was then also a member of the senate, to support Mr. Platt's proposition. From that time, Mr. Clinton has been the able, constant, indefatigable, and undaunted advocate and supporter of these great works.

They also found, at about this time, an able advocate in the late Doctor Hugh Williamson.

The memory of this distinguished citizen will be preserved, not only by his History of North Carolina, and other works which he published, but by a Biographical Memoir, written by Doctor David Hosack.

Doctor Williamson, in eighteen hundred and ten, wrote an essay, entitled, "Observations on Navigable Canals;" also, "Observations on the means of preserving the Commerce of New York;" and, "Additional Observations on Navigable Canals;" all of which had reference to the canals of New York, and are preserved in Hosack and Francis's American Medical and Philosophical Register.* In his Biography, Doctor Hosack remarks, that "Doctor Williamson was among the first of our citizens who entertained correct views as to the practicability of forming

* The editors of this journal seem to have embarked with no inconsiderable zeal in furtherance of the canal policy of this state, by their publication, with comments, of various reports and docu-

ments in behalf of the measure, at this early period of the undertaking, in a work nominally limited to discussions of a medical and physical character.

a canal to connect the waters of Lake Erie with Hudson River; and the importance of this great work so engaged his feelings, that besides the papers already mentioned on canal navigation, he published a series, on the same subject, under the signature of Atticus. These papers were so well received, that many thousand copies have been circulated through the medium of newspapers, and the pamphlet has itself been several times reprinted."

In the summer of eighteen hundred and ten, the above named commissioners explored the whole route, from the Hudson to Lake Erie; and, at the session of eighteen hundred and eleven, they made their first report, which was drawn up by Mr. Morris, who acted as president of the board.

It proposed a project, which, although the report was signed by all the commissioners, it is understood was entirely his own. It was to bring the waters of the Lake on one continued uninterrupted plane, with an inclination of six inches in every mile, to a basin, to be formed near the margin of the Hudson, from whence there was to be a descent by a great number of locks. This project was thought by many to be impracticable; and its having been presented as a plan, which the commissioners recommended, was calculated to retard the enterprise; but the report bears testimony to the genius and the eloquence of the writer.

Immediately on the receipt of this report, Mr. Clinton brought in a bill, which was passed on the eighth of April, eighteen hundred and eleven. This was the first law passed on the subject of the great canals. It added Robert R. Livingston, and Robert Fulton, to the former commissioners, and charged the Board with the consideration of all matters relating to the navigation between the Hudson and the Lakes. It authorized them to apply to other states, and to congress, for co-operation and aid; to ascertain if loans could be procured; and to treat with the Inland Lock Navigation Companies, for a surrender of their rights and interests.

The legislature was induced to give the commissioners power to apply to congress, because reliance was placed on receiving the assistance which the message of Mr. Jefferson, of eighteen hundred and seven, and the report of Mr. Gallatin, although he had not mentioned the Erie Canal, seemed to promise to enterprises of this nature.

The commissioners, pursuant to the powers given them by the last mentioned act, applied, in the ensuing year, to the general government, to afford some aid to a project, no less interesting to the nation, than to the state in which it was to be executed. Two of the commissioners, Mr. Morris and Mr. Clinton,

attended at the seat of the national government, to promote the success of this application. It was not rejected, but it met with no great favour. It was thought that nothing could be done for New York, that was not done for the other states, and the negotiation of the commissioners ended in a proposition brought before the house of representatives, by a committee of that body, to appropriate to each state certain portions of the public lands, to be applied by the respective states, to the improvements of their internal communications. But the bill reported by the committee, was never acted upon in the house.

There was at that time, however, no question but that congress had power to afford assistance, if it were their pleasure to do so; and there was no little disappointment when, in eighteen hundred and seventeen, it was understood that Mr. Madison conceived that the constitution would not permit an appropriation of any part of the national funds or means to these purposes.

This disappointment was the greater, because no objection had been made by the executive, to several acts of congress, appropriating very large sums of money, for making a road through parts of Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, and for similar objects elsewhere. It was not very well understood how the constitution could allow an appropriation for roads, and not permit it for a water highway.

But most happily for us, this objection prevailed so long as the state of New York needed the aid of the general government; and most happily for every other state in the union, these scruples have since entirely subsided. We have been so fortunate as to complete our canals without any extraneous aid, and we are gratified that the other states, in enterprises similar to ours, will be aided by funds from the national treasury, and will have the assistance of the distinguished foreigners and natives, who are employed in the engineering departments of the general government.

But we have yet one humble petition to make to congress. That having made our canals without their interference, they will be pleased to leave us to enjoy them: and that they will not sanction any such pretension, as was of late made by some of their revenue officers, that our canal boats, traversing our hills and valleys, in an artificial channel made by ourselves, entirely within our own territory, hundreds of miles from the sea, and six or seven hundred feet above its level, were engaged in the coasting trade of the United States; that they must therefore take custom-house licenses, and pay a tax to the general government.

An act of congress has been passed, exempting boats employed wholly on the canals from the necessity of paying this tax, yet the claim of a right to impose it seems to be reserved. But so long as any respect for state sovereignties remains; so long as the confederacy is considered of any value, and so long as there is any regard for the peace of the union, it is hoped there will be no attempt to enforce this, or any similar claim.

The canal commissioners, pursuant to the authority given to them by the Act of eighteen hundred and eleven, made application to other states, and among them to our younger sisters, Vermont, Kentucky, and Ohio, proposing to them that, as they would enjoy the benefits of the contemplated improvements in the means of internal communication, they would also participate in the expense? We are not aware that any answer to this invitation of the commissioners was returned by any state but Ohio. She made a very kind and complimentary answer, in the form of a resolution of her legislature. The substance of which was, that we had her best wishes; that she knew very well she would be greatly benefited if our enterprise should be executed, but that she was well assured we could do it ourselves; that she was very young and not rich; she, however, testified her disposition to serve us so far as her resources would justify, if she approved, when made known to her, the plan we proposed to adopt.

Fortunately we have had no occasion to remind Ohio of this engagement, and every friend of internal improvements, must rejoice that no part of her resources have been diverted from the great work in which she is now so nobly engaged. When it is accomplished, as undoubtedly it will be, in a very short time, she need not fear to compare it with any thing of the same nature which has been achieved in this or any other part of the world. When it is considered that the population of her territory in seventeen hundred and ninety, did not exceed three thousand souls, her canal, when it is completed, will be a stronger evidence, than the world has yet afforded, of what can be done by the moral energies of a free people, guided by wise, enterprising, and magnanimous counsellors.

By opening a channel between Lake Erie and the trans-Alleghany navigable waters, Ohio will render us infinitely a greater service than she could have done by any contribution to our funds. She will not lay out a dollar on her canal, that will not be nearly of as much advantage to us as to herself. It would be to our interest to open the communication on which Ohio is now engaged, at our own expense,

and to let it be a free passage, rather than it should not be done. We could not employ the large surplus funds, which our canals will afford, more to our own advantage, than by anticipating them, and making loans to Ohio, if she should need such assistance.

When there is a canal communication between the waters of the Ohio and the Lakes, a person may travel in a vessel from New Orleans to New York, and pass the Alleghany mountains by water.

Had this been predicted only ten years ago, and the prediction been credited, we should have looked for some great convulsion of nature, by which the lands and the waters on the face of the earth would be displaced. It would never have been believed that the hands of man could effect so mighty a change.

It is not only Ohio that our example has stimulated and our success encouraged, but every state in the union is projecting artificial water communications. Our interest, as well as our feelings, are united in our wishes for their success. We do not forget that the state of New York is but a member of the great political family, and that our welfare is intimately connected with the prosperity of the whole. But as respects our own particular interest, we must wish to promote the improvement of inland navigation in every part of the union; for it is certain that no canal can be opened in the United States, which will not be a benefit to us. However remote, it will be a channel through which commerce will be attracted by our great emporium, the local situation of which precludes a rival. If any part of the produce of our own state should be drawn from us, it will be because elsewhere it will find a more profitable market. The object of all our improvements is the advantage of our citizens, and if some should find the greatest profit in trading to places without our territory, yet it must be for the general good of the state; the prosperity of which depends on the welfare of its inhabitants. If communities can be so connected as that no jealousies or separate interests can arise between them, the Ohio and New York canals are bonds that will unite these two states in perpetual amity.

In eighteen hundred and twelve, a second report was made by the board of commissioners, to the legislature. And at that session an act was passed, authorizing the commissioners to borrow, on the credit of the state, five millions of dollars, to be applied to the execution of the canals.

From this time, till the conclusion of the late war with Great Britain, little appears to have been done towards carrying into effect the then existing canal laws. But in the mean time, that is, in March.

eighteen hundred and fourteen, the commissioners presented another report, in which they reiterated their opinion that the canals were practicable; that the state could command competent resources, and warmly urged the execution of the project. The attention of the legislature, however, was engrossed by the then existing war. In consequence of the disarrangement of the national finances, the state of New York was obliged to employ its funds on objects which properly belonged to the general government; and besides, a very considerable opposition had arisen to the improvement of our inland navigation, upon the great scale which the commissioners had proposed. Many believed in the impracticability of the project; others, who admitted that it might be accomplished, thought the work too mighty for the power and resources of the state.

It was also unpropitious to the adoption of the great design, that the friends of improvements in internal navigation differed in opinion as to the course which ought to be pursued; some thinking that the Ontario route, which has been before explained, should be preferred to carrying the canal directly to Lake Erie. Under the influence of these feelings and opinions, the legislature, in the session of eighteen hundred and fourteen, repealed that part of the then existing law, which empowered the commissioners to borrow five millions of dollars.

However dissatisfied the friends of the canals were with this repeal, it has turned out to be one of those measures which though they appeared unpropitious at the time, we now see were most fortunate. The war prevented the employment of a foreign engineer, and the repeal in question, prevented our making loans abroad. The consequence of this last measure has been, that every cent borrowed on account of the canals was obtained of our own citizens, and the interest is paid to them, or to foreigners who have purchased the stock at an advance.

Perhaps the war itself, discouraging as were its immediate effects, may be set down as one of those events which finally had a tendency to promote the commencement and execution of the canals. The want of a practicable communication, for the conveyance of materiel of war, from the sea-board to the western frontier, was grievously felt. It has been said that the expense of transporting cannon from Albany to the lakes, was at one time, more than double what the pieces cost. The postponement of the project for a few years was also fortunate, inasmuch as it brought the commencement and execution of it to a time when money could be more easily obtained, and on better terms, than it could have been

at, perhaps, any prior, or hitherto, subsequent period.

The retraction of the power to make loans, for a time abated the zeal for improvements in inland navigation. The commissioners made no report in eighteen hundred and fifteen.

But the spirit which had been hushed by the clamours of war, was again heard when peace was restored. At the instigation of Mr. Eddy, Judge Platt, Mr. Clinton, Mr. John Pintard, and some others, a few respectable and influential citizens were convened, in New York, in the latter part of the year eighteen hundred and fifteen.

This meeting appointed a committee to draw a memorial to the legislature in favour of the projected inland navigation.

The duty assigned to this committee was performed by their chairman, Mr. Clinton, who prepared what has been distinguished, and will always be remembered, in the history of the canals, as the New York memorial. Its presentation formed an epocha in the progress of these works, from which their earnest and active pursuit may be dated. Their practicability, usefulness, and advantages, were stated with so much clearness, ability, force, and eloquence, that, from that time, all opposition was unavailing. Petitions of the same character, from different parts of the state, and signed by many thousand citizens, were presented at the ensuing session of the legislature.

Governor Tompkins, in his opening speech, recommended the subject to the attention of the two houses.

The commissioners made a report in favour of an immediate commencement of the work. While they adverted to the great western canal, as an undertaking which combined the honour, interest, and political eminence of the state, they expressed their conviction of the expediency of adopting measures to connect the waters of Champlain with the Hudson.

It appears, that previously to this time, there had been no thought that our own country could furnish engineers of sufficient ability, science, and experience, to execute a work which, in this state, was entirely new. The ill success of the first Inland Lock Navigation Companies was calculated to give us very humble opinions as to the requisite talents of our citizens. But it has been the good fortune of this country, whether in war or in peace, to find men rising from her soil adequate to every emergency. Of this, the execution of these canals, surpassed in no respect by any on earth, is a striking example. When we see them, or read their history, the reflection, that none but native American citizens have had any share in devising, planning, or superintend-

ing, any part of the work, must add to our gratification. We may hope that in time it will be questioned whether the opinion be correct, which has been promulgated by some European philosophers, and seems yet to be entertained by some trans-atlantic statesmen and reviewers, that the human species, by transportation to the new world, has degenerated in mental faculties and physical powers.

The commissioners, under the common impression that they would be obliged to look abroad for assistance, sought in Europe a civil engineer. Had it not been for the intervention of the war, one they had engaged would have shared the credit which is due to Wright, Geddes, White, Thomas, Roberts, and Briggs. Indeed, it seems that the acting commissioners, Messieurs Holley, Young, Seymour, and Bouck, discharged, in a great degree, duties which would properly belong to engineers; while, at the same time, they were united with the other commissioners, in the general direction and superintendence of the works.

In one of their former reports the commissioners mentioned that an English engineer had been engaged, but they now stated that their inquiries, and the intercourse they had had with many of our citizens in exploring the routes of the canals, and making surveys, had induced them to believe, that it was not necessary to go from home to seek the requisite talents and qualifications; and in their report of this year (eighteen hundred and sixteen,) they express their disposition, in giving their employments, to prefer our own citizens. This report was signed by Mr. Van Rensselaer, Mr. Clinton, Mr. De Witt, Mr. North, Mr. Eddy, Mr. Porter, and by Mr. Charles D. Cooper, who had been appointed by Governor Tompkins, to fill a vacancy in the board, occasioned by the death of Robert R. Livingston, Esquire. Mr. Morris did not sign the report, because, it has been said, he was dissatisfied that his idea of an inclined plane was in a great measure abandoned. The signature of one other commissioner was wanting—that of Robert Fulton, who died in the month of February, in the preceding year.

It is impossible to refer to the deaths of Mr. Livingston, and Mr. Fulton, without wishing to pay some tribute to their memories. It is particularly due to them upon this occasion, because they were zealous promoters of the great enterprises, the completion of which we are about to celebrate. Mr. Fulton's opinions had the more weight, as it was well known that he was professedly a civil engineer, and had published a valuable work on internal navigation. His great success in the application of steam to propel vessels, which has given him immortality,

added to the influence of his character,—his plain, unpretending, Franklin-like style of writing, was well suited to the occasion,—his correspondence with Mr. Morris, published on the incipency of the project, had as much influence in disposing the public mind to favour the great national work, which, to use his own expressions, "is to secure wealth, ease, and happiness to millions," as any thing that has been written on the subject. So much was he in favour of canals, that, in a letter to Mr. Morris, he enters into calculations, which appear to demonstrate that the merchandise, transported in sloops on the Hudson, might be conveyed on a canal between New York and Albany for less than they can be carried on the river, including in the estimate the cost of the canal.

But it does not always please Providence that the benefactors of mankind shall live to share the fruits of their labours. Their reward is in the contemplation of the happiness they will be the means of transmitting to posterity, or, perhaps, it is, in being permitted to look down upon the enjoyments of the beings whom they have benefited. If so, we may believe that the spirits of Morris, of Schuyler, of Livingston, and of Fulton, will be with us when we celebrate an event which they contributed so much to produce.

The same incredulity as to the practicability of the western canal, and the same apprehensions as to the capacity of the state, continued to raise an opposition in the legislature. Many attempts were made to arrest, or at least to curtail and postpone the project; but the opposition was unavailing. The act of eighteen hundred and sixteen, to provide for the improvement of the internal navigation of the state, was passed in the assembly, by a majority of seventy-three; and in the senate, by a majority of thirteen.

By this act, Mr. Van Rensselaer, Mr. Clinton, Mr. Young, Mr. Ellicot, and Mr. Holley, were appointed commissioners. They were empowered to devise and adopt measures to effect communications, by canals, between the Hudson and Lake Erie, and Lake Champlain, and to appoint engineers. Twenty thousand dollars were appropriated for the necessary expenses of executing the act; but no power was given to the commissioners to begin the work. On the contrary, a clause, which was in the bill to that effect when it was first reported, was stricken out.

The commissioners met in the city of New York, in May, eighteen hundred and sixteen. They appointed Mr. Clinton, President; Mr. Young, secretary of the board, and Mr. Holley, their treasurer. They divided the Erie Canal line into the western, middle, and eastern sections. The first, extending

from the lake to Seneca River; the middle, from thence to Rome; and the eastern, from Rome to Albany; and appointed engineers to each section. An engineer was also appointed to survey a route, which had been proposed for the canals on the south side of the mountain ridge. This route had many advocates, but was finally relinquished.

Previously to the commencement of the session of eighteen hundred and seventeen, the commissioners, or some of them, with the assistance of the respective engineers, had explored the routes of both the canals, and had caused them to be surveyed and marked.

When the legislature met, a report was presented, of great length and minuteness, with profiles and maps. The report also submitted estimates; those for the western canal amounted nearly to five millions of dollars, and those for the northern canal to about nine hundred thousand. These estimates have been exceeded, but it is owing to the canals having been enlarged; to the substitution of stone, in many instances, where wood was contemplated; and to some unforeseen difficulties; particularly at the mountain ridge, in the hardness and extent of the rock, which it was found necessary to excavate.

Notwithstanding the general government had discovered that the constitution of the United States would not allow it to give any countenance to an enterprise, for internal improvement, in the state of New York, and notwithstanding there was no reason to hope for any aid from our neighbours, the friends of the canals were not disheartened. In April, eighteen hundred and seventeen, the act, "respecting the navigable communications between the great northern and western lakes, and the Atlantic ocean," was passed by large majorities, both in the senate and assembly. It continued the former commissioners, and contained the important fiat, which authorized the commencement of the canals.

By this act, the commissioners were empowered to open the communication between the Hudson and Lake Champlain, but as to the west, they were only authorized to connect, by canals and locks, the Mohawk and Seneca Rivers.

The draft of this bill was prepared by Mr. Clinton, and the act was passed nearly as he drew it. In it was incorporated a financial system, which, at the request of a committee of the legislature, he had digested. Part of this system was the establishment of the board of commissioners of the canal fund, consisting of the lieutenant governor, the comptroller, the attorney and surveyor generals, the treasurer, and the secretary of state. This board was charged with every thing that concerned financial operations in re-

lation to the canals. The bill provided ways and means to pay the interest on loans which might be made, and the debts that would be created. These were donations of lands, which had been promised or made by individuals or companies, who would be particularly benefited by the canals; a small tax on salt manufactured at the salt springs, belonging to the state, and in the western country; a tax on steam-boat passengers; a portion of the duties arising on sales at auction; proceeds from certain lotteries; and a tax of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to be levied, at some future time, on lands lying within twenty-five miles of the canals.

The last mentioned tax never has been, and probably never will be, collected. Nor is it very certain that in justice and equity it ought to be. This partial tax was imposed, upon the supposition that the land holders along the lines of the canal would be particularly benefited by them; but in truth, every part of the state derives advantages from these works, which may, with great propriety, be said to be incalculable. The inhabitants of the city of New York, will derive as much profit from the opening of these water communications, as any other portion of our citizens; and if the expenses of the canals are to be paid in proportion to the local benefits which will be derived from them, New York ought to pay at least as large a share as any part of the state.

Since the supreme court of the United States has decided that the grant to Livingston and Fulton, of an exclusive right to navigate the waters of the state, by steam, was invalid, there has been no attempt to collect the tax on steam-boat passengers. The lotteries have produced nothing; so that the only remaining ways and means are the donations, the salt tax, the auction duties, and the canal tolls. These have afforded all the funds it has been requisite for the state to provide; and these great works will be paid for, in probably less time than it required to construct them, without the imposition of any general tax, and without their cost having been felt by the people in the slightest degree. But, on the contrary, the construction of the canals has been the means of putting in circulation about a million of dollars a year, for the last eight years, in parts of the country, where every thing was stagnant for want of money and a market.

On the fourth of July, eighteen hundred and seventeen, the canal was commenced at Rome—that is, eight years and four months, prior to the day when the first boat, which entered the canal from Lake Erie, will reach the ocean.

This important act, the commencement of the Erie

canal, was performed with some ceremony. Mr. Clinton, the president of the board, who had been chosen governor at the previous election, in eighteen hundred and seventeen, attended with the other canal commissioners and engineers. The anniversary of our independence, since the declaration of which only forty-one years had elapsed, was selected as an auspicious day to begin this great work. The first earth was removed from the canal path, amidst the acclamations of a large concourse of people, exulting in the past, enjoying the present, and anticipating the future.

Governor Clinton opened the session of eighteen hundred and eighteen, with a speech, congratulating the legislature on the auspicious commencement and successful progress of the water communications between the great western and northern lakes, and the Atlantic ocean. He expatiated on the advantages which agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, would derive from the canals, and on the influence which they would have on our political institutions. He assured the legislature that the resources of the state were adequate to the work, and that extraneous aid was unnecessary.

But notwithstanding the encouragement which this speech was calculated to afford, and the eloquent appeal with which it concluded, the project (for what was called by its friends "the great canal," and by its opponents the "big ditch") met with considerable and very able opposition. The strength of its friends and adversaries was tried in the assembly, on an answer reported by a committee, to the governor's speech. Fears were yet entertained that the anticipations of the execution of so great an enterprise, in any reasonable time, and with means which the state could provide, were enthusiastic and visionary. Many adopted an opinion, which one of our greatest statesmen, whose zeal for internal improvements could not be questioned, was known to have expressed, that we had undertaken this great enterprise a hundred years too soon, and that till the lapse of another century, the strength of our population, and our resources, would be inadequate to such a work.

But the part of the Answer which related to this subject, was adopted, without alteration, by a majority of nearly two to one. The Answer expressed, in a few words, the views which were at that time entertained by the friends of the canals. I therefore beg leave to extract some passages from it. I do it the more willingly, because the last paragraph is but an echo of the words in which the governor made the eloquent appeal with which that part of his speech, which related to this subject, concluded.

"The advantages which must result, not only to this state, but to the world, from the completion of the contemplated communications between the inland seas, on our borders, and the Atlantic ocean, are so manifest, that we can not but express the great satisfaction with which we learn, from your Excellency, that they have been auspiciously commenced, and are in successful progress. This satisfaction is greatly increased by the information you have given us, that this stupendous work may be performed at an expense not exceeding, in the aggregate, the estimates of the commissioners, and that our resources are fully adequate to them, without extraneous aid. We believe that no part of the world affords so many natural advantages for the execution of such an undertaking. Inexhaustible reservoirs lying above the level of the canal in every part of its course; a country, not intercepted by ridges or mountains, which commonly separate the heads of water courses, are in themselves advantages, that no work of the same kind has, as we believe, ever before enjoyed. The great causes of expense in the execution of similar projects have been the necessity of passing near the summits, on which were situated the fountains which supplied the water, and the works, on that account necessary, to economize the use of that element. There is reason to believe that the ingenuity and industry of our countrymen, will enable us to do more work of this kind, than has been done elsewhere for the same money, notwithstanding the price of labour is, probably, greater than has been paid to those who have executed similar enterprises.

"The effects of opening these communications can, as yet, be but indistinctly seen in their extent. They will reach every member of the community;—they must be felt by every citizen of the United States; and, indeed, so important an alteration in the natural disposition of the lands and waters of the earth can not but have an influence on the condition of mankind. It will afford the means of easy intercourse with an internal sea-coast, connected with immeasurable tracts of fruitful soil, not inferior in extent to the shores of the Mediterranean. When these works are accomplished, a water communication between the Lakes and the Mississippi, and forty or fifty thousand miles of navigable streams, may be made without difficulty, and at inconsiderable expense. The commerce of an immense space will be led to the Hudson. If this should be the result of the great enterprise in which we are engaged, New York will have advantages infinitely greater than any city has ever had, and she must for ever enjoy them without a rival. The commerce of the Mediterranean is the support

of many great commercial cities, but New York will stand alone at the entrance of this extensive channel, and must be a greater emporium than ever called herself the mistress of commerce.

"Besides the advantages which your Excellency has enumerated, and which it is so obvious, will be the result of the accomplishment of this stupendous work, there is certainly a national glory connected with the enterprise, calculated to excite the pride of every patriot. When we consider that every portion of the nation will feel the animating spirit and vivifying influence of these great works, that they will receive the benedictions of posterity, and command the approbation of the civilized world, we are required to persevere, so far as a prudent regard to the resources of the state will permit, by every consideration which ought to influence the consciences, and govern the conduct of a free, enlightened, and magnanimous people."

The commissioners, Mr. Van Rensselaer, Mr. Clinton, Mr. Young, and Mr. Holley, made a very minute, elaborate, and encouraging report. Among other matters which were very satisfactory, they stated that they had engaged, on the section that they had commenced, Mr. Isaac Briggs, an eminent mathematician, who has rendered important services in the progress of the canals.

The commissioners also stated, that they had begun by dividing the middle section of the canal line into small sections, and procuring the work to be done on these by contract. Perhaps nothing has contributed more to the successful accomplishment of the work than that the commissioners have so generally persevered in this plan. It was gratifying also to learn from the commissioners' report, that the engineers, and the young men they had employed as assistants, had evinced capacity and talents, which left no room to fear that we should be obliged to seek abroad mental or scientific aid.

The session of eighteen hundred and nineteen, was opened by a speech of Governor Clinton, no less satisfactory than that of the last year. He was enabled to reiterate his congratulations on the progress of the work, as well on the northern as on the western canal, and to give assurances that the experience which that progress had afforded, left not a doubt of the feasibility of the work, or of the ability of the state, without any taxes, or any other means than those which had been already provided, to meet the necessary expenditure. He therefore warmly recommended that a law should be passed, authorizing the completion of both canals, as soon as was practicable.

After a very favourable report from the canal commissioners, in which they represented that the works on the middle section, under the superintendence of Benjamin Wright, Esquire, as principal engineer, had been conducted with great success; and after a report from a committee of the assembly, reciprocating the governor's sentiments on the subject, the act of eighteen hundred and nineteen, "concerning the great western and northern canals," was passed.

This law authorized the commissioners to complete both the eastern and western, as well as the middle section of the Erie Canal, and empowered the commissioners of the canal fund to make the necessary loans.

A law was also passed at this session for constructing a harbour at Buffalo Creek.

Mr. Hart, who signed the report as one of the commissioners, had been appointed in the room of Mr. Ellicott, who had resigned. Afterwards Henry Seymour was appointed to fill his place.

Mr. Canvas White, and Mr. Nathan S. Roberts, who had acted as assistant engineers, the commissioners stated, had evinced so much talent and usefulness, that they had assigned them more important duties.

The report is also interesting on account of its announcing the discovery, near the canal line, of what the commissioners call meagre lime. It is that material which, when made into mortar, indurates under water, and has been so essential to the construction of the hydraulic works of the canals. This important discovery was made by Mr. Canvas White, who has obtained a patent for its use. Nature seems not only to have laid out the path for the great western canal, but to have made the most bountiful provision near it, of all the materials necessary for its construction. The massive stones of which the locks are composed, have been obtained without difficulty, wherever they have been requisite. This water lime has already become an article of commerce within the United States, and is said to be so superior to the Roman cement, and the English limes, that no doubt it will soon be exported.

In the report now adverted to, the commissioners gave a description of several labour-saving machines, employed on the canals; among others, they mentioned a machine for prostrating the forest trees, that grew on the canal lines; another, with which the stumps of trees, that had been cut down, were eradicated; and a third, for cutting up roots. These were all the inventions of our own countrymen, and though they may not seem of sufficient consequence to be mentioned on this occasion, yet these, and other

ingenious machines which were contrived for the occasion, were of very great importance in the completion of these works. Indeed, to see a forest tree, which had withstood the elements till it attained maturity, torn up by its roots, and bending itself to the earth, in obedience to the command of man, is a spectacle that must awaken feelings of gratitude to that Being, who has bestowed on his creatures so much power and wisdom.

At the opening of the session of eighteen hundred and twenty, Governor Clinton had the gratification of announcing, in his speech to the legislature, "that the middle section of the western canal, including a lateral cut to Salina, and comprising a distance of nearly ninety-six miles, had been completed. That on the twenty-third day of the preceding October, the commissioners navigated it from Utica to Rome, and found their most sanguine expectations realized in the celerity, economy, and excellence of its execution. That, on the twenty-fourth day of the previous November, the whole Champlain canal was also in a navigable state. That thus, in less than two years and five months, one hundred and twenty miles of artificial navigation had been finished."

The governor was enabled to say, that these works, in their then unfinished state, had given to our internal trade an animation, which could not be duly appreciated, without the advantages of personal observation.

The report of the canal commissioners was equally satisfactory. It contained very long and minute details of what had been done, as well as views and estimates of the work that remained to be executed.

The report was accompanied by surveys, made by Mr. Thomas, of the harbour at Buffalo. Mr. Thomas submitted propositions which he had received, for harbours at Black Rock, and at some other points near what was supposed would be the termination of the Erie Canal.

At this session, a law was passed allowing the canal commissioners a salary of two thousand dollars a year, but it contained a clause that this provision should only extend to three of the commissioners who should be actually engaged in the superintendence of the works. This was intended to meet the arrangement which the commissioners had previously made as to themselves. Mr. Young, Mr. Seymour, and Mr. Holley, had been active and immediate superintendents of the execution of the canals for which they had received a compensation or salary, while Mr. Clinton and Mr. Van Rensselaer's duties were confined to the meetings of the board. Neither of

these gentlemen have ever taken the least compensation for their services.

Hence arose the designation of acting commissioners, which was applied to Mr. Young, Mr. Seymour, and Mr. Holley, and afterwards to Mr. W. E. Bouck, when he was the next year appointed one of the board. These gentlemen have devoted themselves to the management and superintendence of the works, with a zeal and ability to which the speed, efficacy, and economy with which it has been executed, bears the best evidence. When it is considered that the commissioners and engineers could have had no experience in canalling; that the science they acquired must have been in a great measure the result of mental application, while they were constantly employed in the active and anxious duties of their station, they deserve a commendation to which any thing I could say on this occasion, would be very inadequate.

From the time the navigation to Lake Champlain, and between Rome and Montezuma, was opened, all opposition to the completion of the western canal to Lake Erie and the Hudson ceased, or was very feeble.

Those who had entertained honest doubts as to the practicability of the great work, yielded to this evidence of the feasibility of executing the whole of the original plan. Experiments on so large a scale gave confidence in the estimates which had been made before the work was commenced; these estimates were somewhat exceeded by the actual expenditure, owing to circumstances before noticed, and to some other adventitious causes, which the commissioners, in their report, satisfactorily explained.

The advantages, as well as the profit, of these water communications, were immediately felt. The canal from Champlain, and the middle section of the western canal, were covered with boats the moment they were opened; and although no tolls were taken till July, eighteen hundred and twenty, the amount received in the course of the season, gave earnest of what the canals would produce when they were finished. No doubt was longer entertained but that the resources and credit of the state were competent to furnish all the funds that would be required.

From this time the communications from the executive, and the reports of the commissioners, to the legislature, were details of the uninterrupted and fortunate progress of the great work, and the congratulations on the rapidity with which the period was approaching when the state, and the nation, would be in possession of the incalculable advantages which

must result from the completion of the New York canals.

These communications and reports are documents of the most interesting and useful character. They are important, not only as furnishing a detailed and very circumstantial history of these works, in their daily progress, but as affording minute information, which must be of the greatest use to those who may be engaged in similar enterprises. It would not be consistent with the character of this memoir, to swell it with these details; it is not in a production of this nature that practical information will be sought. The state has established an additional claim as the munificent benefactors of mankind, in authorizing, by a law passed in February, of the present year, a collection and publication of "all the laws, reports, and documents relative to the canals, requisite for a complete official history of those works, with correct maps, delineating the routes of the Erie and Champlain canals, and designating the lands through which they pass."

In compliance with this law, two splendid octavo volumes, with plates and charts, and a large atlas, have just been published. They have been completed under the superintendence of a committee of the legislature; but justice would not be done were it not acknowledged that the state owes, to the indefatigable industry and ability of John Van Ness Yates, Esquire, the secretary of state, this splendid history of works which will be for ever connected with her glory.

While these volumes contain much that mere men of letters will not read, he who seeks for minute information as to the origin and progress of the New York canals, would have been satisfied with no abbreviation of the matter they contain; and the practical engineer, who desires instruction, will find nothing which he will think ought to have been omitted. The routes that have been proposed and abandoned; the plans which have been suggested, or tried and relinquished; the experiments which have been made, and proved unsuccessful, will all have their use, and "The Official History" of these works would have been incomplete had any of these things been unnoticed.

By the first of October, eighteen hundred and twenty-three, the eastern section of the canal was completed. In the mean time the western section had progressed from Montezuma towards Erie, so that when the lock which forms the communication between the canals, and the artificial basin in the Hudson River, at Albany, was opened on the eighth of October, eighteen hundred and twenty-three, there

was a continuous canal navigation from the Genesee River, and from White Hall, at the head of Lake Champlain, to Albany.

Such an auspicious event as the passage of the first boats from the west and the north into the tide waters, was celebrated with some ceremony. Large committees from New York, and from other places on the canal route, attended at Albany. The New York committee was headed by Mr. William Bayard. He had presided at the meeting at which the New York memorial, before mentioned, originated. Mr. James was the chairman of the Albany committee of citizens. These gentlemen had on all occasions given the full weight of their long established and respectable characters in favour of the execution of the canals. When the extent of the proposed artificial water-ways, the hills, and valleys, and rivers, over which they were to pass, were contemplated, and the resources of the state were considered, many thought the plan perfectly visionary. By some, the sincerity of its advocates was doubted; they were suspected of sinister designs, or they were regarded as infatuated enthusiasts; but the countenance of many such men as Mr. Van Rensselaer, Mr. Bayard, and Mr. James, whose age and experience, and rank in society, commanded respect, tended to induce a belief that the project was founded on mature reflection and sober calculation, and to give confidence that, notwithstanding its magnitude and difficulties, it might be accomplished.

The pencil could not do justice to the scene presented on the fine autumnal morning when the Albany lock was first opened. Numerous steam boats and river vessels, splendidly dressed, decorated the beautiful amphitheatre formed by the hills which border the valley of the Hudson, at this place; the river winding its bright stream far from the north, and losing itself in the distance to the south;—the islands it embraced;—the woods, variegated by the approach of winter, a beauty peculiar to our climate;—the wreathed arches, and other embellishments, which had been erected for the occasion, were all objects of admiration. A line of canal boats, with colours flying, bands of music, and crowded with people, were seen coming from the north, and seemed to glide over the level grounds, which hid the waters of the canal for some distance, as if they were moved by enchantment.

The first boat which entered the lock was the De Witt Clinton, having on board Governor Yates, the mayor and corporation of Albany, the canal commissioners and engineers, the committees, and other citizens. Several other boats succeeded. One, (not the

MILITARY SCHOOL, WEST POINT, N.Y.





least interesting object in the scene,) was filled with ladies. The cap-stone of the lock was laid with masonic ceremonies, by the fraternity, who appeared in great numbers and in grand costume.

The waters of the west, and of the ocean, were then mingled by Doctor Mitchell, who pronounced an epithalamium upon the union of the river and the lakes, after which the lock gates were opened, and the De Witt Clinton majestically sunk upon the bosom of the Hudson.

She was then towed by a long line of barges, past the steam boats and other vessels to a wharf at the upper end of the city, where those gentlemen, who were embarked on board the canal boats, landed and joined a military and civic procession, which was conducted by a large stage, fancifully decorated, erected for the occasion in front of the capitol. Here the canal commissioners received a congratulatory address from Charles E. Dudley, Esquire, Mayor of Albany, which was answered by Mr. Clinton, as president of the board of commissioners. The Albany committee was addressed by Mr. Bayard, which was returned by Mr. James, and the day concluded with a banquet, at which it may be said with as much propriety as it could be said in relation to any other festive board, that there was "the feast of reason and the flow of soul."

The completion of the eastern section was a matter of great gratification to the friends of the canals, indeed it may be said to every citizen, for, at the time we are speaking of, the canals had ceased to have any opponents; but the difficulties which presented themselves on this section, appeared more formidable than any that were to be met with elsewhere on the route. The cataract of the Cohoes was to be surmounted; a path for the canal was to be found along the abrupt rocky shores, rising generally to a great elevation, and in many places divided only by the narrow bed of the Mohawk; the upper falls of that river were to be overcome. To accomplish this, and preserve a due level, it was necessary to carry the canal upon a ledge twenty and thirty feet above the base of perpendicular rocks. The ingenuity of our countrymen found, by what they called sand blasts, means of blowing off such masses of rock, that a road was made for the canals with much less labour than had been anticipated. In eighty days a work was accomplished, which, before it was commenced, it was calculated would require several years. The canal between Schenectady and Albany, twice crosses the Mohawk River in aqueducts of more than eighteen hundred feet in extent.

In speaking of this section, the canal commissioners,

in their report of eighteen hundred and twenty-four say, "none but those who had examined the line previous to the commencement of the work,—who had seen the rude and undulating surface which is traversed,—the rocks which were to be blasted,—the irregular ledges, filled with chasms and fissures, which were to form the basis of a water-tight canal,—the spongy swamps and gravel beds, and quick sands which were to be made impervious to water,—and, in short, the huge masses of rough materials which, with uncommon labour, were to be reduced to symmetry and form, can duly appreciate the efforts which it has required to surmount these serious obstacles."

The canal commissioners do not hesitate to admit that had this section been commenced originally, while their information as to constructing canals was merely theoretical, probably the attempt to complete it would either have been entirely abortive, or so imperfectly executed, as to have defeated, or perhaps postponed for a century, the accomplishment of the great work of internal improvements.

In the course of the season of eighteen hundred and twenty-three, the Gleaner, and afterwards several other canal boats, from Vermont, arrived in the city of New York, bearing to our market the produce of the forests, the fields, and the mines, of the shores of Lake Champlain.

In November, of the same year, the Sally and Mary, a boat of sixty or seventy tons, from Hector, in Tompkins county, at the head of the Seneca Lake, seventy miles south of the Erie canal, and three hundred and fifty miles from New York, had passed into the canal, by the locks at Waterloo and the Seneca River. She arrived at New York, freighted with the rich productions of the west. So happy an illustration of the advantages of the canals was not suffered to pass unnoticed by our citizens. They gave Messrs. Osborn and Sealy, two farmers of Tompkins county, who were her owners and navigators, a public entertainment.

This vessel was not only received as the precursor of a commerce, which will be unlimited in its extent and importance, but as an interesting evidence of the ingenuity and enterprise of our countrymen. Her timbers grew near where she was built; her proprietors were her architects; her cargo was the produce of the fields from whence she sprung, and she was navigated by those who cultivated them; her sails and rigging even, were emphatically domestic manufactures, for they were grown, and made, at the homes of her owners.

When we look at a map, and see marked out the

many lakes and sheets of navigable water which occupy the centre of our state, and reflect that every place on their shores is, for all purposes of commerce, converted by the canals into a sea-port, and that the trade of all of them must centre in this metropolis, we may have some idea of the advantages which the city and the country will derive from the opening of these water communications.

The completion of the western section, and of course of the whole Erie canal, was announced to us by the sound of cannon, on the twenty-sixth of last month, and to-morrow we shall witness the arrival of a canal boat, from Buffalo, after an internal navigation of five hundred and thirteen miles; she will have passed three hundred and sixty-three miles on one continued uninterrupted artificial canal, forty feet wide on the surface, twenty-eight at the bottom, with four feet depth of water: she will have passed through eighty-three locks, built of massive stone, the chambers of which are ninety by fifteen feet, capable of containing boats of more than a hundred tons burden; and she will, when she arrives at Albany, have descended five hundred and fifty-five feet; but her ascent and descent in the course of her voyage, will have been six hundred and sixty-two feet.

The great embankment across the Ironduquot, over which the western section of the canal passes, is one of the greatest works on the canals. This aerial water-course extends more than a quarter of a mile, on a mound of earth, seventy feet in height, from a stream, flowing through a culvert, at its base. The passenger looks down from the narrow eminence, on the tops of aged forest trees, rooted in the bottom of the valley. There are works upon the canals, which are, undoubtedly, of a more artificial character, and may appear to some more magnificent, but when the length, and height, and magnitude of this embankment is considered, and when, above the tops of the trees, boats are seen passing on its summit, which is but little wider than is necessary for the canal and towing path, it must excite great admiration.

The aqueduct over the Genesee River, at Rochester, is another magnificent object on this section, which deserves notice. It is a structure of ten arches of hewn stone, extending two hundred and two feet.

The deep cutting towards the western extremity of this section has cost more money, and required more labour, than any other work on the canals. To pass the mountain ridge, there has been a necessity for excavating seven miles, to an average depth of twenty-five feet, three miles of which is through hard rock. The combined locks, at the brow of the moun-

tain, the commissioners describe as a work of the first magnitude on the line, and as one of the greatest of the kind in the world.

Upon the middle section there is an uninterrupted level of sixty-nine miles and a half, from Salina to Frankfort; and on the western section, there is another level from Lockport to Rochester, uninterrupted by any lock, of sixty-three miles. The extraordinary length of these levels, evince the correctness of Mr. Colles' idea, which has been before mentioned, that "the Allegany mountains died away as they approached the Mohawk."

There are very many objects on this western section, as well as on other parts of the canals, which deserve attention, but to notice them, would require details which this occasion will not admit. Those who wish information as to these and other particulars, must refer to the volumes before mentioned, published by authority of the state; or to a volume, published in eighteen hundred and twenty, under the direction of the New York Corresponding Association for the promotion of Internal Improvements. It contains a collection of public documents relating to the canals, up to the time of its publication; but it is now more valuable for an introduction, which was written by the late Mr. Charles G. Haines, one of the association, in whose death the cause of internal improvements lost a very warm, able, and active advocate. In the prime of life, he fell a sacrifice to the ardour and unremitting industry, with which he devoted himself to the acquirement of knowledge, the practice of his profession, and to the promotion of almost every plan that was on foot for the public good. His frame was too slender, and his constitution too weak to bear the excitement of his ardent mind. He died just as he had commenced a career, which, had he lived to pursue it, must have led to eminence; but, though his friends regret that he did not live to reap the fruits of his talents and industry, they more deeply regret that, by his death, they have been deprived of one who had gained all that esteem and respect which genius, acquirements, zeal, industry, honour, and benevolence deserve.

At Albany the canal terminates in a basin, formed from the Hudson, by extending a pier, or mole, into the river, and running it parallel to the shore, nearly three quarters of a mile. The communication with the river is at the southern extremity of the mole, by a sloop lock which admits the passage of river vessels, as well as of canal boats, in and out of the basin. Stores are building on the pier, which is seventy-six feet in width, on the top. From one end of these stores, canal boats in the basin may be laden



E. A. Wright



Or unladen; and at the other end, sloops in the river may be loaded or discharged.

This spacious harbour, which will have a superficies of about thirty-two acres, has been made by a private company, incorporated for the purpose, by a law of the state. They are permitted to have the benefit of certain tolls, but it is presumed the state has reserved the right to control the corporation, so far as to oblige it to exercise its powers entirely in subservience to the interests of the public.

The Erie Canal, at its western extremity, at present discharges into an artificial basin, made from the Niagara River, at Black Rock, by connecting the main shore with Squaw Island. In the dam from Squaw Island to the main, there is a sloop lock, which communicates with the river below. If the bridge, which has been thrown over the Niagara River, from the main to Goat Island, at the very brink of the Great Falls, by Judge Porter, did not show us what might be done by great boldness, ingenuity, and enterprise, and convince us that works may be constructed in the river, of sufficient strength to resist its current, where it is most impetuous, we might doubt whether it would be possible to make the mole or piers of the Black Rock harbour stable; if, contrary to predictions, it should stand,—if still water should be produced within the harbour,—and if it should not be injured or obstructed by ice or sands, it cannot be questioned but that it will be of great importance. It will be the more valuable, because without it, there is no harbour in that quarter, except at Buffalo; to which, if the harbour at Black Rock should not be found to answer, the canal will be continued along the margin of the Niagara River, to join what is considered a part of the Erie Canal, extending from the town of Buffalo to the lake.

The rival interests of Buffalo and Black Rock, have created much excitement as to the termination of the canal to the west. There has been a difference of opinion among the canal commissioners, and among the engineers, as to the plan which ought to be adopted. The legislature seems to have pursued a discreet and impartial course, by reserving the grounds for, and the right to make, the canal along the margin of the Niagara River, if, after the works at Black Rock are completed and tested, the public good requires the canal to be uninterruptedly continued to Buffalo harbour.

To mention all who have been concerned in the immediate execution of these great works, as they deserve, would require a list, which, if an attempt were now made to present it, there is reason to fear would not be perfect. It would also require information

which I do not possess, and which no time is allowed to acquire. All the commissioners have been mentioned; those who have been designated as the acting commissioners, and who in some measure performed the duties of engineers, as well as of advisers and superintendents, are Mr. Holley, Mr. Young, Mr. Seymour, and Mr. Bouck. The principal engineers are Mr. Wright, Mr. Geddes, Mr. White, and Mr. Thomas. In one of their reports the commissioners say, "in looking back to the numerous difficulties and responsibilities, some of them of an aspect the most disheartening, which surrounded the canals, especially on their commencement, we feel compelled, by common justice, to commend the aid which has, at all times, been afforded by our engineers. In the selection of all the persons who are now employed by us under this character, we have been eminently fortunate. But to the Honourable Benjamin Wright and James Geddes, the state is mostly indebted. Possessing much local information, competent science, long experience in many kinds of business, bearing some analogy to canal operations, and well established characters for industry and fidelity, these gentlemen have rendered the most essential services in all the duties of their department. They were first appointed engineers. They have unceasingly, and with improving fitness, devoted their best faculties to the great cause in which they were engaged; and they have hitherto been found equal to the high trusts confided to them."

But no eulogy could do so much justice to the commissioners and engineers as an appeal to their works. It has been said, and it is believed truly, that they have completed, in the shortest time, and at the least expense, the longest uninterrupted canal in the world.

The official reports of the canal commissioners, of the commissioners of the canal fund and the engineers, are calculated to do them infinite credit: but it is impossible to take any particular view of the merits of these documents on this occasion: nor is it now so necessary, as they are before the public in the volumes before mentioned, published by authority of the state.

From the time that the great canal project was brought before the legislature, by Judge Platt, in eighteen hundred and ten, Mr. Clinton has bestowed his time and talents to promote the commencement, progress, and completion of these great works, with an entire devotedness. The constancy with which he met all opposition;—the extent of the information he communicated,—his encouragement as to the resources and capacity of the state, although she was

left alone to perform so great a work ; the unrivalled eloquence with which, in his speeches to the legislature, as well as in those canal reports which he drew, he appealed to the honour, the pride, and the patriotism of his native state, it must be admitted contributed greatly to the accomplishment of the great works, in celebrating the completion of which all hearts now join.

Many of those who thought the canals impracticable, till a large portion of them were finished, and who supposed that their failure would overwhelm with disgrace all who were connected with their execution, did not hesitate to charge Mr. Clinton with being answerable for engaging the state in so great and so expensive an undertaking. Surely they who would have censured him so severely if the canals had failed, will not, in justice, refuse to give him due credit now that they have succeeded.

His exertions were not confined to his official duties, as president of the board of canal commissioners, and as governor ; his able pen was constantly employed in promoting an enterprise which, as he said, was identified not only with the prosperity, happiness, and honour, of his own state, but with that of his country. He had so large a share in the accomplishment of these great works, that his name will always be intimately connected with them, and will not be forgotten while they endure.

The history of the canals is one of the proudest monuments that the present age will transmit to posterity : but now, when the agitations of the times are past, when no passion is mixed with our feelings, there is one page which many will wish blotted out. It is that which records the legislative vote by which Mr. Clinton, on the last day of the session, of the year eighteen hundred and twenty-four, when the canals were on the point of being finished, was removed as a canal commissioner.

But these great canals will not be regarded as the work of individuals. They will be attributed to the state of New York ; every citizen deserves a share of the credit connected with them. In the language of the commissioners it will be said, " their labours could not have been perfected without the support of a wise foresight, and just liberality, in several successive legislatures. To us, it appears, that these legislatures have afforded a spectacle, most animating, encouraging, and delightful, in reference to the sagacity of the people to understand, and their wisdom to provide for their most substantial interests. They exhibit the most impressive example which the United States have yet produced, since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, of the beneficent effects of a free government, upon the character of a community. They

are intimately connected with the best hopes of the republic. Rising above all fugitive and partial interests, and with a full detail of the costs of these works before them, the immediate representatives of the people have so clearly discerned the benefits which they would introduce, as to apply to them from year to year a greater portion of their funds than was sufficient to defray the expenses of the state government."

The well-meaning opposition which the canals for a certain time encountered, as well in as out of the legislature, was not without its good effects. It induced a circumspection, economy, and system of rigid accountability, which might not have been observed, if all had been as unanimously and zealously in favour of canals, as they are at the present moment.

It has been said, in this memoir, that the Erie Canal is the longest in the world. It is believed that it is so ; but it must be recollected that we speak of it as one continuous uninterrupted artificial canal, for upwards of three hundred and sixty miles.

As has been mentioned, England has more than a hundred canals ; but she has no one, which, independent of branches, extends a hundred miles.

The largest canal in France is the Canal of Languedoc, which is one hundred and fifteen miles.

The inland navigation of Russia is so extensive, that it is said to be possible to convey goods by water near four thousand five hundred miles, but this is by using her lakes, and natural water-courses, which are connected by canals, no one of which is more than half as long as the Erie canal.

Besides innumerable canals spread over the whole surface of China, she has an inland navigation, extending from Canton to Peking, a distance of eight hundred and twenty-five miles, but this navigation is not formed by an uninterrupted canal. On the contrary, the artificial works are connected by lakes and natural water-courses. But it is extraordinary that the Chinese do not use locks, at least not generally. They pass from one level to another by means of sluices. This renders the descent dangerous, and the ascent so difficult and laborious, that it requires the united exertions of many men to drag a vessel from a lower to a higher level.

But if we consider the extent of the internal navigation which is opened by the formation of the New York canals, we shall find it greatly beyond that which any other country in the world affords. Within our own state we have a navigation into the minor lakes, and upon several navigable streams, that can not be less than a thousand miles.

From the embouchure of the canal at Lake Erie, to the head of Lake Superior, is more than one thou-

sand miles, but with slight interruption the water communications extend to the Arctic Sea.

Had Captain Franklin, and his party, who are now exploring those regions for a north-west passage, commenced his expedition, so as to have arrived here a few months later than he did, he would have found that he could have been transported from London five thousand miles towards his destination, without being obliged to set his foot on land.

By the Erie canal, and the Oswego River, there is a communication with the Lower Saint Lawrence, and thus an inland navigation is opened through the whole extent of that river, which, added to the lakes, gives a line of navigable waters extending not less than two thousand miles.

The lake coast, including Lake Michigan and Green Bay, extends nearly four thousand miles, besides there are many navigable rivers falling into the lakes and the Saint Lawrence, with which a perfect water communication from the city of New York is formed by opening the Erie and Champlain canals.

It is curious to observe, that by these artificial water-ways, the continent of America will be divided into great islands.

One, bounded by the Champlain Canal, the Sorel, the Saint Lawrence, the Atlantic, and the Hudson. Another, by the Champlain Canal, Lake Champlain, the Sorel, the Saint Lawrence, Ontario, the Niagara, Lake Erie, and the western canal. And a third, is bounded by the Hudson, the Erie Canal, the lakes, the water communication which exists between them at certain seasons, and the waters of the Mississippi, the Mississippi, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Atlantic. A canal, of not more than one mile and three quarters, between the Ouisconsin, which falls into the Mississippi, and the Fox River, which empties into Lake Michigan, streams that are now constantly navigated, will form another immense island, that will have Lake Superior for its northern, and the Mississippi for its western boundary.

Indeed, every canal that may be opened, and make a communication between the waters of the lakes, and of the Mississippi, will form a new subdivision of the continent into islands, with the immeasurable shores of which the city of New York may have commercial intercourse, with more certainty, facility, and advantage, than if they were washed by the sea.

But, supposing no other communication to be completed than that with the Mississippi, which will be formed by the canal that Ohio is now executing, we shall then have a perfect line of internal navigation, from the city of New York, by the Hudson, the Erie

Canal, Lake Erie, the Ohio Canal, the Ohio, Mississippi, Missouri, and Jefferson Rivers, to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, a distance of nearly five thousand miles; and with less interruption than there is in the great China canals. By Lewis River and the Oregon, we shall have an internal navigation from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

From Astoria at the mouth of the Oregon, to China, would, in a steamboat, on the Pacific Ocean, be a passage of some fifteen or twenty days. And thus, will be formed a northwest passage to India, for which Hudson was searching when he discovered the river which bears his name.

It is possible that the route above indicated may be that which will hereafter be pursued by travellers between the western shores of the European and the eastern shores of the Asiatic continents. New York, Albany, Utica, Buffalo, Cleveland, and St. Louis, may become post towns on the common high road to India. This route would hardly be half as long as that which is now pursued by sea; and though a journey to China, through our canals, lakes, and rivers, and over the North Pacific, would be longer than the route over the European and Asiatic continents, yet the former could be accomplished with much the greater ease. A person embarking on the Thames, by pursuing always a westerly course, with some deviations to follow the sinuosities of the rivers and canals, might arrive at China, without setting his foot on land, except to cross the Rocky Mountains, over which we shall in time, if a canal be impracticable, have a turnpike road.

The principal navigable rivers, west of the Alleghany Mountains, which are tributary to the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri, with which, (supposing the Ohio canal to be opened,) we shall have an internal water communication, extend more than six thousand miles; and thus, if we take the northern rivers, the shores of the lakes, the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the other principal tributary rivers above mentioned, we shall have an internal navigation, connected with the city of New York, by the canals of this state, of more than fifteen thousand miles. If we take into the account the innumerable minor navigable streams, which are branches of the great water-courses above enumerated, and the rivers discharging themselves into the Gulf of Mexico, independently of the Mississippi, such as the Apalachicola, the Alabama, the Tombekbee, Pearl River, and others, the estimate made, by the assembly, in their answer to the governor's speech, in eighteen hundred and eighteen, that the internal navigation which would be connected with the Hudson, by the

canals, would amount to forty or fifty thousand miles, will not appear exaggerated.

The canals of New York and Ohio will make a change in the course of waters on the American continent, which it could hardly have been believed the power of man could have effected. From the summit level of the Champlain Canal, waters, which used to find their way to the Atlantic through the Hudson, will be turned back, and will now mix with the sea in the Straits of Belleisle. Streams on the summit level of the Ohio Canal, which now swell the cataract of Niagara, will be conducted to the Gulf of Mexico, by the channels of the great river.

When we consider that the immense regions surrounding the lakes, and bounded by the great rivers, water-courses, and canals, to which we have adverted, are all within the temperate zone,—that they are all capable of sustaining man;—that they are populating with astonishing rapidity,—that the greatest part of the soil is fruitful, and much of it as rich and productive as any on earth, we must be impressed with ideas of the importance of the great works we have accomplished.

Though New York can not expect to attract more than a part of the commerce of these vast countries, yet till other communications are opened between the west and the east, a large portion of it will be drawn to her great market. New channels may divert some of the trade of the west from New York, but her position on the confines of the sea, at a point nearer to the lakes than any other on the whole American coast;—her beautiful, spacious, and secure harbour,—her constantly uninterrupted navigation to the ocean,—and her healthful climate, are advantages which are combined at no other spot in the United States. New York must largely share in the fur trade of the north, for which so much human blood has been shed. The water communications between Hudson's Bay and the Mississippi, and Lake Superior, are almost perfect. The inhabitants of the shores of all the great lakes will find their natural market at the mouth of the Hudson: the upper Mississippi, the Ohio, and all their tributary streams, will send produce, and receive returns from this mercantile emporium. When the boundless regions of the Missouri are populated, and the fruits of their cultivation are deposited at St. Louis, there are many circumstances which will induce a transportation of a part of them, at least, to this metropolis, through the Ohio and New York canals.

Although all these anticipations should not be realized, yet we may be sure that, before the close of

the present century, New York, which, at the conclusion of the revolutionary war, contained less than twenty-five thousand inhabitants, and now has one hundred and seventy thousand, will be one of the greatest commercial cities in the world.

I am aware that these estimates of the effects of our canals will appear to be exaggerated or enthusiastic. Possibly they may be so. The occasion does not require accurate measurements and precise calculations of distances. If there be error in any of those which have been presented, they may be corrected by reference to a map of the United States, from a view of which they are made. As to the future advantages of the water communications, the opening of which we are about to celebrate, we may be permitted to mix our hopes and wishes and the feelings of the moment with our speculations. Were this a work that would ever be resorted to for practical information, it would be necessary to employ time, not now allowed, for mature reflection, and it would be proper to subdue the excitement which success in so great an enterprise must, for a time, create in any breast not preternaturally cold.

It has been said that we Americans, not content with the consideration to which our actual condition entitles us, indulge a boastful disposition in anticipations of future greatness. If this be so, it is at least as pardonable as the weakness of those who pride themselves on the greatness of their ancestors. Our former predictions, however extravagant they may have appeared, have been more than realized. Around us every object is new, youthful, and vigorous: it is natural that we should indulge and express hopes of continued prosperity, and of a rich and powerful maturity. Did we live amidst ruins, which mark former greatness;—were we always presented with scenes indicating present decay, and foreboding constant deterioration, we might be as little inclined as others, to look forward. But we delight in the promised sunshine of the future, and leave those who are conscious that they have passed their grand climacteric, to console themselves with the splendour of the past.

After the views we have taken of the advantages which will result from the canals, it seems almost unnecessary to descend to estimates of their costs, and of what will be their money produce to the treasury of the state. But something on this topic will be expected.

The canals not having been completed when the commissioners made their last report, there are not now documents before the public which will show precisely what has been the cost of these works.

There are, however, data which enable us to ascertain the amount very nearly.

In the annual report of the commissioners of the canal fund, made in eighteen hundred and twenty-five, they state that all the moneys paid for the canals, up to the first of January, of that year, after deducting the tolls received, amounted to eight millions eight hundred and twenty-nine thousand and fifty dollars. We find that the tolls received to the last mentioned date amounted to four hundred and ninety-one thousand four hundred and fifteen dollars; and, according to the last report of the canal commissioners, it then required to complete the canals, and to satisfy all claims for damages, eight hundred thousand dollars. These sums added together amount to ten millions one hundred and twenty thousand four hundred and sixty-five dollars, which may be taken as the whole amount which has been disbursed on account of the canals.

The Erie canal is three hundred and sixty-three miles in length, and on the Champlain route there are eighteen miles of canal. The extent, therefore, of canalling is three hundred and eighty-one miles, which gives an average of twenty-six thousand two hundred and forty-one dollars a mile.

But there are, connected with the Champlain canal, forty-six miles of improved navigation in the Hudson, and in Wood Creek. The expense of these improvements has been very great: so that, in estimating the cost of the canals per mile, these forty-six miles ought to be taken into the calculation. This makes the whole length four hundred and twenty-seven miles, and the cost, per mile, twenty-three thousand four hundred and twenty dollars.

But, it must be recollected, that when the question is, how much the canals have actually cost the state, they must have credit for the amount of the tolls they have yielded.

The last mentioned report of the canal commissioners states, that from the opening of the navigation in the spring of eighteen hundred and twenty-four, till it was closed by the winter, late in December, of the same year, although only two hundred and eighty miles of the Erie Canal were navigable, and "although the regions west of Buffalo, had hardly begun to pay their contribution to the western canal," amounted to three hundred and fifty thousand, seven hundred and sixty-one dollars. The commissioners calculate that the tolls for the present year, will amount to five hundred thousand dollars; and that for the nine years succeeding January eighteen hundred and twenty-six, they will increase at an average of seventy-five thousand dollars a year.

That the tolls, with the revenue pledged by the constitution of the state, adopted in eighteen hundred and twenty-two, to the canal fund, till the canal debt be extinguished, will in ten years, besides meeting all necessary expenses for repairs and superintendence pay off the whole of the canal debt which, it is estimated, will on the first of January next, when the canals will be entirely completed, amount to seven millions six hundred and ninety-three thousand seven hundred dollars; and will, at the expiration of the period last mentioned, leave the state in the receipt of a clear, unincumbered revenue, from the canal fund, of more than a million and a half of dollars.

But when the canal debt is paid, the salt tax, and the state duties on sales at auction may be, and the former probably will be, repealed. The steam-boat tax, it is presumed, can not, or will not, be collected. If, then, we deduct, after January, eighteen hundred and thirty-six, from the proceeds of the canal fund, four hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars; for these objects (they now amount only to three hundred and fifty thousand dollars,) and make a further deduction of one hundred thousand dollars for repairs, collection, and superintendence; the state will then have a net revenue, arising from the canals, free of all charges, of one million of dollars, which is more than equal to four times the ordinary annual expenses of her government.

So that if the expectations of the canal commissioners, as to the tolls, be realized, and the financial scheme they have proposed, or any other as effectual be adopted, and firmly and faithfully pursued, this state will, after the expiration of ten years, exhibit to the world the novel spectacle of a community of between two and three millions of people, (for our population will be at least as extensive in ten years,) not only maintaining their government without taxes, but deriving a large surplus revenue from property of the state.

We shall, it is true, be still liable to pay the imposts which the general government, may think proper to impose, on such foreign goods as we may choose to consume; but the independent farmer, who raises on his own lands, and manufactures all that he eats, drinks, wears, and uses, may live, without paying to the state or to the national government, any kind of tax, either direct or indirect.

It is worthy of remark, that in the eight years, during which the state of New York has been expending between nine and ten millions in the construction of her canals, there have been collected, for duties of impost and tonnage, at the custom-house,

in the city of New York, and paid into the treasury of the United States, more than sixty-four millions of dollars; besides other moneys collected at the custom-houses of the United States in other parts of the state, the amount of which there is now no opportunity to ascertain.

Within the period just mentioned, more than nine millions of dollars have been raised in the state, and applied to the support of common schools; besides, very large sums have been bestowed on colleges, and for the promotion of science and literature.

The commissioners say, that their calculations, as to the receipt of tolls for the time to come, have been estimated so much within the probable proceeds, that they presume no contingency can take place, which will reduce the aggregate amount of the canal fund, at the end of ten years, below the sum specified. There is the more confidence due to their estimates, because, it is certainly true, as they remark, that hitherto their anticipations, in reference to the receipt of tolls, have uniformly fallen short of the reality. They add, that they have no doubt but that the same fate awaits the calculations which are presented in the report to which we now refer, and they express a confidence that the canal tolls are destined to a much more rapid increase than the commissioners have made the basis of their calculations as to the extinguishment of the debt. They suppose, that there is now within the sphere of the operation of the Erie canal alone, a population of one million of inhabitants; and that that population will continue to increase at a ratio, which will double it in ten years; that the tolls will be annually augmented in proportion to the increase of the population. Then, in the year eighteen hundred and forty-six, the Erie canal will, of itself, produce a revenue of two millions of dollars; and in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-six, four millions of dollars.

The anticipations of the canal commissioners, as to the time in which the canal debt may be paid off, are supported by the report of the commissioners of the canal fund, and by a report of a joint committee of the senate and assembly on canals, to which the reports of both these boards were referred.

The committee, in their report, say, "that the productiveness of the canals is established, and the income derivable from them far beyond the anticipations of the most sanguine. The canals will pay for themselves, as the committee believe, in a shorter period of time than estimated by the commissioners of the canal fund, in their highly interesting and valuable report made to the legislature, at the present session."

What will be the augmentation of revenue from the Erie canal, now that it is entirely opened, and becomes the high road for the commerce of the shores of the Lakes, and of the rivers of the north and west, it is impossible to predict.

Hitherto, persons using the western canal have been almost entirely inhabitants of our own state, living near it. But, no doubt, as the commissioners say, the time will arrive, within fifty years, when the number of the people of this state, who will use the canal, will form but an inconsiderable fraction of the whole number whose property will float upon it; when nine tenths of the produce and merchandise transported upon the western canal, will pay toll for the whole length of the line.

It seems certain that, in a short time, the receipts of toll will be limited by nothing but the capacity of the canals to admit the passage of boats. Ten thousand boats passed at the junction locks the last season, which is at the rate of about forty a day, for two hundred and fifty days, during which time we may calculate that the canal, in ordinary seasons, will be free from ice.

One hundred and twenty boats are probably as many as can be passed through the locks in twenty-four hours. Though a single boat may be passed in less than twelve minutes, yet there would be so many circumstances to create delay, when boats come to be continually passing, night and day, that ten or twelve minutes is as little as should be allowed for the passage of each boat.

In the course of a few years after the Ohio canal is opened, more boats will be struggling for a passage than can get through without great delay. Double locks, at least at the junction, and a canal on the north side of the Mohawk river, which is already in contemplation, must be made.

These anticipations, as to the condition of the state, in eighteen hundred and thirty-six,—in regard to the debt,—and as to the revenue the canals will produce, are founded on the supposition that no new debts are created for similar or other purposes.

The faith of the state as to the revenue pledged by the constitution to the canal fund, and as to the tolls of the canals now completed, should, and no doubt will, be held sacred to the extinguishment of the debt created for the construction of these canals; but it does not follow that the large surplus revenue the state will receive, after the present canal debt is paid, may not be regarded as the basis of a new credit, on which to raise moneys to be applied to further internal improvements, which, though they may not yield as large a revenue as the existing canals, will be of great

advantage to large portions of our population, who, till other communications be opened, will feel no other benefit from what has been done, than that they share in the general prosperity.

It is the duty of a government to distribute its favours as equally as possible. Canals should be made "to pass through every vale, and wind round every hill," if it can be done with a due regard to the present and future resources of the state.

No maxim in political economy is so dangerous as that a public debt is a public blessing. When we reflect that the debts of the European governments, which doom most of them to an eternal bankruptcy, have been created to support wars, that determined nothing but who should be the people's masters, and impose upon them new burdens, it is not wonderful that such a precept should be odious. It could only have been adopted where governments require other support than the affections of their subjects.

But, if it would not be as pernicious, it would, at least, be unwise and unjust to maintain that government should contract no debt, however beneficial the object may be for the present, or in relation to the future.

Had this state been, and were she always to be, governed by such a determination, the great works from which we, and our most remote descendants will derive such incalculable advantages, would not have been, and could never be, executed. In truth, there seems no reason of policy or justice that ought to restrain a government from referring to posterity the payment of some portion of a debt, created more for their benefit than for that of the existing generation; particularly when those of future times will have augmented means, arising not only from the object itself, for which the debt was incurred, but from increased population. For example: to pay the canal debt, at this moment, would require from each citizen of the state, about five dollars. Supposing our population to double, in eighteen years, it would require, from each citizen, a contribution of only two dollars and a half, to pay the debt at the expiration of that time. This is supposing that the canals will yield only enough to pay the interest of the money borrowed on their account. But we have seen that they will do a great deal more.

These reflections are not made so much in reference to the canals already completed, as with a view to the great number of internal improvements which we see, by the public papers, are contemplated.

We have yet to consider the canals in more interesting and important relations. They are intimately connected with our social and political institutions.

The important act of eighteen hundred and seventeen, which established the canal fund, constituted a board of commissioners to manage it, and authorized the canal commissioners to commence the canals, is prefaced by a declaration of the legislature, which is an evidence that they did not engage in these important works, without correct and enlarged views of the advantages that would result from their completion. In the preamble to the above mentioned act, it is said that "navigable communications between lakes Erie and Champlain, by means of canals connected with the Hudson, will promote agriculture and commerce, mitigate the calamities of war, and enhance the blessings of peace,—consolidate the union, advance the prosperity and elevate the character of the United States."

Already have these anticipations been realized. The money spent in the construction of the canals has enriched the inhabitants of the great portions of the state through which they pass.

But their permanent influence on agriculture is much more important. The difference between what would have been the price of transporting a ton of wheat to the New York market before the canals were made and what it now costs, all goes to the profit of the agriculturist. The farmer of Le Roy, in Genesee county, who, in eighteen hundred and nineteen, sold his wheat at thirty cents a bushel, now obtains a dollar, there, for the same quantity.

There are, too, many products of the soil, which, unless they can be cheaply transported, are of no value; but now, that the canals are open, the distance from market may be almost computed by the distance from the canal, or the distance from the water communications with it: so that the farmer at Cleveland, or Detroit, as to all beneficial purposes, is as near to the city of New York as an inhabitant of Otsego county was four years ago.

It is for this reason that farms near the canal lines have not as yet increased in price, as it was expected they would do. Owners of these lands have been selling them for less than it was thought they would at this time have commanded, because they found that for what they could obtain for an acre on the canal, they could purchase five or six acres equally good in Ohio, the Michigan territory, or further west; and that the price at home of the produce of the one, would be nearly equal to the price of the produce of the other, because the difference of the cost of transportation to market would be inconsiderable.

There is no fact that can more forcibly illustrate the advantages of canal navigation to the agriculture of a country, than that which is related of the effects

of the canals in Ireland, although they are on so limited a scale. To ensure a competent supply of corn for the consumption of the city of Dublin, the government paid, before the inland navigation to that city was opened, a bounty of one hundred thousand pounds Irish, for the transportation of corn to that capital; "but, in place of this being the case, that city has now become one of the first corn ports of Europe; and Ireland, in general, which half a century ago imported corn to half a million per annum, has now a surplus produce in that article to the value of four millions of pounds sterling per annum."

The author of the article on inland navigation, in the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, seems to impute this astonishing change in the condition of Ireland, to the improvement of her internal water communications. Possibly it is owing to the same cause that Ireland has of late been able to supply us with cargoes of potatoes. Probably we shall soon have it in our power to return the favour by sending her some from the county of Niagara or Green Bay. A cargo of bricks for building, from Antwerp, which is now landing on our wharves, we hope is among the last that will be brought to us across the Atlantic. Our supply of this article will undoubtedly be increased from the canal countries, where, on account of the abundance of fuel, it can be manufactured at comparatively little cost. Besides, the use of bricks will, in some measure, be superseded by marble, of which there are such quantities and varieties on the canals, and of which, already, so many private as well as public buildings are erected in our city.

As an additional evidence of the advantages that canals will be to agriculture, and at the same time to show that their produce will be beyond any thing that was anticipated in their origin, because they will be used for purposes not then contemplated, the commissioners mention, in one of their reports, that leached ashes, for manure, were transported from Fort Edward, on the Champlain Canal, to Long Island. The distance is near two hundred miles.

As a further evidence that the Canals are used for purposes which, it is probable, never entered the minds of their projectors, it may be mentioned here, though somewhat out of the course we were pursuing, that there are floating stores and taverns on the Erie Canal. Among other things the traveller will unexpectedly meet, are a book store and circulating library, and a museum of living, as well as of inanimate natural curiosities. These floating establishments remove from place to place on the canal, as the owners think may be most to their advantage.

The public papers apprize us, that there will arrive to-morrow, with the first canal boat, a vessel called Noah's Ark, from the yet unbuilt city of Ararat, which is to arise on an island, near the western termination of the canal. She will bring, it is said, to our metropolis, to gratify the curiosity of its inhabitants, specimens of all manner of living things, to be found in the forests that surround the falls of Niagara.

The canals have been more used, by travellers, than was anticipated. There are upon the western canal, a great number of boats, elegantly fitted up, which are entirely employed in carrying passengers. They travel at the rate of four miles an hour, a speed which the law, to prevent injury to the banks of the canals, does not allow them to exceed.

The fare is four cents a mile, for which excellent provisions and comfortable lodgings are provided on board the boats. The price of a passage from New York to Albany, one hundred and fifty miles, in the best steam packets, is four dollars: in other steam-boats it is less, and in the steam tow-boats, as low as one dollar. So that a person may travel from New York to Buffalo, with the utmost comfort, and without fatigue, for about eighteen dollars. Indeed, for much less, if he chooses to take the inferior steam-boats on the river, and the freight boats, on the canal, which carry passengers at a lower rate than the passage boats. This journey, of five hundred and thirteen miles, may be accomplished, by steam-boats and canal boats, in six days.

Great complaints are made of the lowness of the bridges which cross the canal, and which, to accommodate the inhabitants whose farms are frequently divided by it, are very numerous, and oblige passengers to leave the deck as often as they occur. But, it must be recollected, that the object of these canals was not to accommodate passengers: they were not necessary for this purpose, when we have turnpike roads over which a person may travel, with much greater speed, than can be permitted on the canals. They were intended for the transportation of produce and merchandise. The bridges could not be made higher without much further expense, and great inconvenience to the farmers, for whose accommodation they were designed. On the other hand, bridges, not permanent, would subject the boats to great interruption and delay. When the canals are as much occupied by freight boats as unquestionably they will be in a very short time, they must be abandoned by all travellers, except those of mere curiosity. The interruptions in passing the locks, when the canals are full of boats, will be so great, that those

who wish to travel with any expedition, will prefer another mode of conveyance.

The inexhaustible sources of living waters, from which the canals are supplied, afford, in almost every part of their lines, a surplus, which, wherever they are raised above the level of the country, can be applied to move machinery. The privilege of using this water power is leased or sold by the state, and so will materially augment the revenue from the canals. But this is an inferior consideration compared to the advantages which agriculturists and manufacturers must derive from being furnished with these means of moving their mills and machinery. Manufacturing establishments, of great importance, are starting up throughout the extent of the canals.

There are some manufactures which the traveller may observe near the canals, which, though apparently of no great consequence, yet are so new and ingenious, as not to be undeserving of notice.

The city of New York, and indeed most parts of the state, are now supplied with pails and tubs, and wooden ware of that description, made by turning lathes, and other machinery moved by water. In our neighbouring county of West Chester, there are fields, enclosed by fences curiously put together, in panels, on the borders of our artificial rivers, and, after being transported several hundred miles, were purchased for much less than any other fence, equally good, could be made for, near where they are used.

Those who apprehended that the canals would be injurious to the farmers living near the city, and making no use of them, and who supposed that the value of the produce of the southern counties would be depreciated by supplies which would, by means of the canals, be brought cheaply to the market from a distance, find that their fears, in these respects, were groundless. The increase of the population of the city, keeps pace with the increase of supplies. There is already another New York grown up from that which existed before the canals were commenced, and the demand for the provisions of the southern farmers is as great as it was when they had the monopoly of the market. At the same time the money they receive is increased in value by the diminution of the price of labour and of commodities. The wives and daughters of Delaware county, will sell their butter and cheese for as much as they could have obtained if there were no canals, and will buy American cottons, their ribands, and gowns, at a less price; while their husbands and fathers will find the expenses of cultivation diminished.

The vast quarries of marble, and beds of gypsum, — the inexhaustible mines of iron ore, and the im-

measurable forests, which are contiguous to the canals, indicate how advantageous they would be, even if their effects were confined to our own state: but when we see the connexions they will form with boundless fields producing raw materials, and with markets, the human mind is hardly capable of comprehending the extent to which they will promote agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.

We see with astonishment, the progress already made in populating regions which only yesterday, it may be said, were uninhabited. Already the whole canal line is occupied. Almost at every turn in its course the traveller will find a village presented to his view, about which every thing indicates, by the newness of its appearance, that it is but the growth of a few months. He will frequently see, on the borders of the canal, a large excavation for a basin, intended for the port of a town, which he will perceive by the scale on which the streets are laid out, by the preparations for public buildings, and private stores and warehouses, is considered as the foundation of a great city, the founders of which may fancy that they, or their posterity, will date "*ab urbi condita*," though the site is still overshadowed by the forests, which there has not been time to clear from the back grounds. It is indeed curious to observe, in some places, houses of no mean appearance, erecting and marking the lines of spacious streets, from which the stumps of the trees, on which the timber employed in the buildings may have grown, are not eradicated.

The founders of each of these nascent cities, anticipate that the spot they have selected, has advantages which will ensure it a growth and prosperity equal to other places whose origin is similar: Utica, Rochester, and Buffalo, now of importance, and commanding a great trade, were but a few years ago as new as any of those which are starting with a hope to rival the elder offspring of the canals.

The effects that facilitating communications will have on the social habits and feelings of our citizens, is not one of the least advantages we shall derive from these works. Formerly the inhabitants of our seaboard, and of our northern and western territory, were almost strangers to each other. We thought and spoke of the borders of the lakes as of some distant territory, a journey to which was not so often made as a voyage across the Atlantic. But the great commercial relations, which at present exist between every part of the state, oblige our citizens to have frequent personal intercourse; and, out of this, grow kindly sentiments, that never can exist between those

who have no common interest, and have no intimacy. Now, a citizen of New York thinks much less of a journey to Buffalo, than he did formerly of going to Albany; and persons who never would have known each other, daily mix in our familiar circles, with mutual good feelings.

All the great and wise men who have been concerned in projecting and executing these works, and others, of a similar nature, have made the important effects, which the improvement of the means of internal intercourse would have on our political institutions, a theme of their writings. We have seen with what zeal Washington devoted himself to forming water communications between the west and the south, with a view to their political effects:—the territory we now possess, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific: from Key West to the Saint Croix, more than twenty-six degrees of latitude, and embracing two millions of square miles, could not have been retained under one government, if we had no other means of water communication than existed twenty years ago. Natural barriers must have divided us into as many distinct governments, as there would have been distinct interests. Why should the trans-Allegany states have remained united with those on the Atlantic, when the mountains rendered all profitable intercourse between them impracticable? Nay! the different sections of our own state were becoming estranged from each other: we may all remember when a division of this state was the subject of familiar conversation. The Saint Lawrence was the high road to the only market the inhabitants of our western territory could reach; and Montreal, if not under her present form of government, under some other, would soon have been to them, what New York now is.

But the establishment of steam navigation, and the opening of canals, have not only consolidated the interests of our own state, but indissolubly united every part of the union. It is impossible to dwell on this part of the subject, without repeating language which has been used by those who have been the advocates of the canals. Governor Clinton, in his speech, at the opening of the session, in eighteen hundred and nineteen, presents the subject to the legislature in the following eloquent words. "In the United States our liberty and our union are inseparably connected; a dismemberment of the republic into separate confederacies would necessarily produce the jealous circumspection, and hostile preparations, of bordering states: large standing armies would be immediately raised,—increasing and vindictive wars would follow,—and a military despotism

would reign triumphant on the ruins of civil liberty; a dissolution of the union may, therefore, be considered as the natural death of our free government, and to avert this awful calamity, all local prejudices and geographical distinctions should be discarded. The people should be habituated to frequent intercourse and beneficial intercommunication, and the whole republic ought to be bound together by the golden ties of commerce, and the adamant chains of interest.

"When the western canal is finished, and a communication is formed between Lake Michigan and Illinois River, or between the Ohio and the waters of Lake Erie, the greater part of the United States will form one vast island, susceptible of circumnavigation, to the extent of many thousand miles. The most distant parts of the confederacy will then be in a state of approximation, and the distinction of eastern and western, and southern and northern interests, will be entirely prostrated. To be instrumental in producing so much good, by increasing the stock of human happiness—by establishing the perpetuity of free government,—and by extending the empire of improvement, of knowledge, of refinement, and of religion, is an ambition worthy of a free people. The most exalted reputation is that which arises from the dispensation of happiness to our fellow-creatures; and that conduct is most acceptable to God, which is most beneficial to man. Character is as important to states, as to individuals, and the glory of a republic, founded on the promotion of the general good, is the common property of all its citizens."

Among those who have written on this subject, no one appears more clearly to have seen, or more forcibly to have urged the advantages of navigable communications in relation to our government and union, than the late Robert Fulton.

When Mr. Gallatin was about forming the report before mentioned, which he made to congress, in eighteen hundred and eight, he addressed one of the circulars, by which he sought information, to Mr. Fulton, who, after having enumerated, in his answer, the economical advantages of roads and canals, says, "numerous have been the speculations on the duration of our union, and intrigues have been practised to sever the western from the eastern states. The opinion endeavoured to be inculcated was, that the inhabitants beyond the mountains were cut off from the market of the Atlantic states; that, consequently, they had a separate interest, and should use their resources to open a communication of their own; that remote from the seat of government, they could not enjoy their portion of advantages arising from the

union, and that sooner or later they must separate, and govern for themselves.

"Others, by drawing their examples from European governments, and the monarchies which have grown out of the feudal habits of nations of warriors, whose minds were bent to the absolute power of the few, and the servile obedience of the many, have conceived these states of too great an extent to continue united under a republican form of government; and that the time is not distant when they will divide into little kingdoms, retrograding from common sense to ignorance, adopting all the follies and barbarities which are every day practised in the kingdoms and petty states of Europe.

"But those who have reasoned in this way, have not reflected that men are the creatures of habit, and that their habits, as well as their interests, may be so combined as to make it impossible to separate them without falling back into a state of barbarism.

"Although, in ancient times, some specks of civilization have been effaced by hordes of uncultivated men, yet it is remarkable, that since the invention of printing and the general diffusion of knowledge, no nation has retrograded in science or improvements; nor is it reasonable to suppose that the Americans, who have as much, if not more information in general, than any other people, will ever abandon an advantage which they have once gained.

"England, which was at one time seven petty kingdoms, has by long habit been united into one. Scotland, by succession, became united to England, and is now bound to her by habit, by turnpike roads, canals, and reciprocal interests.

"In like manner, all the counties of England, or departments of France are bound to each other; and when the United States shall be bound together by canals, by cheap and easy access to a market in all directions, by a sense of mutual interests arising from mutual intercourse and mingled commerce, it will be no more possible to split them into independent and separate governments, each lining its frontiers with fortifications and troops, to shackle their own exports and imports to and from the neighbouring states, than it is now possible for the government of England to divide, and form again into seven kingdoms. But it is necessary to bind the states together by the people's interests, one of which is to enable every man to sell the produce of his labour at the best market, and purchase at the cheapest. This accords with the idea of Hume, 'that the government of a wise people would be little more than a system of civil police:' for the best interest of man is industry and a free ex-

change of the produce of his labour, for the things which he may require.

"On this humane principle, what stronger bonds of union can be invented, than those which enable each individual to transport the produce of his industry, twelve hundred miles, for sixty cents the hundred weight? Here, then, is a certain method of securing the union of the states, and of rendering it as lasting as the continent we inhabit."

At the conclusion of a work on canals, which Mr. Fulton published in England, in seventeen hundred and ninety-six, he subjoins a letter addressed by him, at that time, to the governor of Pennsylvania, (Thomas Mifflin, Esq.) in which he urges that state to open canal communications from the lakes to the Atlantic waters. In this, he says, "I hope I shall see the time when canals will pass through every vale, wind round each hill, and bind the whole country together in bonds of social intercourse."

Had this philanthropic, patriotic, and enlightened citizen been spared but a few years, his anticipations, in part, at least, would have been realized. The Erie, Champlain, and Ohio canals, are but the commencement of a system, the progress of which nothing can arrest. In our own state the Lackawaxen Canal, from the head waters of the Delaware to the Hudson, is nearly completed: a canal from Oswego, on Lake Ontario, to the Erie Canal, and a canal to make more perfect communications between the Cayuga and Seneca lakes, and the Erie Canal, are in great forwardness.

At the last session of the legislature, a law was passed, authorizing surveys for seventeen canals, in different parts of the state.

The legislature had a just estimate of the work in which they were about to engage, when, in the preamble to their act of eighteen hundred and seventeen, they said the completion of these enterprises will elevate the character of the United States. It must do so, when it is considered, that the New York canals have been executed by a single member of the union, which, less than fifty years ago, was a colony, with a population not exceeding two hundred thousand; that of that time eight years have been passed in struggles for independence, and three years in a war to which she was a party with the most powerful nation on earth.

But, whatever may be thought abroad, we can not but have a just pride in the execution of works, which are not surpassed. Posterity will look back to those who transmitted these blessings, with admiration and veneration. The fourth of November, eighteen hundred and twenty-five, when we shall for the first time

have in our harbour boats from Lake Erie, will ever live in the memories of a grateful people; and the splendour with which that event will be celebrated by the city of New York, will be remembered, as an evidence of the patriotism and liberality of her citizens and magistrates.*

New York takes the lead of all the states in commerce, and perhaps now in manufactures, as it does in population; but the quantity or value of manufactures in any state is very difficult to ascertain. The exports consist of wheat, Indian corn, rye, beef, pork, lumber, pot and pearl ashes, and various manufactures. The value of exports, in 1816, was 19,690,031 dol-

* *Note.*—The learned writer of the preceding memoir has, probably through delicacy, made two omissions, which the committee deem it their duty to supply.

In a former part of the memoir, reference is made to a report, submitted as early as the year 1724, to the colonial governor, by the then *Surveyor General of the province of New York*; and immediately afterwards, the author of the report to Governor Burnet, is designated as the *Historian of the Five Indian Nations*. And again, in a few pages following, he is referred to as the *Surveyor General of the province, &c.* His name, however, is nowhere mentioned in the memoir.

The report alluded to is a most able document. It is entitled, "A Memorial concerning the Fur trade of the Province of New York, presented to his Excellency William Burnet, Esq., Captain General and Governor, &c., by CADWALLADER COLDEN, Surveyor General of the said Province, the tenth of November, seventeen hundred and twenty-four."

In this report the author not only describes the water-courses and portages between this and Canada, and those between us and the great western Lakes, with wonderful accuracy, but presents, in the clearest manner, the immense facilities which these water communications are susceptible of affording to our internal trade. He also carries his views beyond the Lakes to the Mississippi, and after stating that "many of the branches of that river come so near to the branches of the rivers which empty themselves into the great Lakes, that in several places there is but a short land carriage from the one to the other;" he concludes with the following emphatic observation:—"If one considers the length of this river, (the Mississippi,) and its numerous branches, he must say, that by means of this river and the Lakes, there is opened to his view such a scene of inland navigation, as can not be paralleled in any other part of the world."

The report will be found at length in his *History of the Five Indian Nations*, printed in London, in 1747. A map is attached to the work, showing the Lakes, the proximity of many of the important water-streams to them, and the portages or carrying places.

Mr. Colden was the lieutenant-governor of the province of New York for many years, and the administration of the government repeatedly devolved upon him, by the death or absence of several governors in chief. He was a man of great ability and probity, and maintained a literary and philosophical correspondence with Linnæus, Dr. Franklin, Gronovius, Dr. Pottersfield, Dr. Whittle, of Edinburgh, Mr. Peter Collison, F. R. S., of London, and other distinguished men of the age. His life will be found in Dr. Rees' *Cyclopædia*, Philadelphia edition, vol. ix.

The writer of the memoir, who is the grandson of Governor Colden, has, perhaps with propriety, omitted to introduce his own name. The work, however, which he has prepared at the request of the committee of the corporation, shows his high estimate of the canal policy.

It is, nevertheless, due to him to state, that he was one of a committee who, in eighteen hundred and fifteen, was appointed by a meeting of citizens, in the city of New York, to draw a memorial to the legislature in favour of the contemplated western and northern canals. In 1818, Mr. Colden was elected one of the vice-

lars; in 1817, 18,707,433; in 1825, 35,259,261, of which 14,607,703 was foreign produce; and a great portion of the domestic produce was from other states. The tonnage in 1821 was 281,148. The duties paid or secured at the custom-house in New York, in 1831, was about 18,000,000 dollars, or two thirds of the whole revenue of the United States.

The number of whale ships owned in this state, is 41; tonnage over 12,000 tons, employing a capital of upwards of \$1,000,000 and about 1,000 men. There are also above 100 steam-boats navigating its waters.†

The following statistical account from Williams's

presidents of the "New York Corresponding Association for the Promotion of Internal Improvements."

In the same year, 1818, he represented the city of New York in the assembly of the state, and drafted the answer to the speech of Governor Clinton; a part of that answer is contained in the memoir, pages 367, 368, and shows the then views of Mr. Colden on the great work, the completion of which we have lately celebrated.

In 1824, Mr. Colden was elected a member of the senate, from the first senatorial district, and in that public station, which he yet fills, he has lost no opportunity to advance the cause of internal improvements. In 1825, he was chosen one of a joint committee of the senate and assembly, and assisted to compile that invaluable collection of official documents, consisting of two octavo volumes, entitled, "Laws of the State of New York in relation to the Erie and Champlain Canals, together with the Annual Reports of the Canal Commissioners, and other Documents requisite for a Complete Official History of those Works; also correct Maps, delineating the Routes of the Erie and Champlain Canals, and designating the lands through which they pass." This collection is referred to in the memoir, page 370. The committee conclude by remarking, that Mr. Colden, as a private citizen, and in his official station, has, throughout, shown himself the zealous and constant friend of every measure which was calculated to open to us that vast "inland navigation," which his grandfather, more than a century ago, so ably described.

(Signed.)

R. RIKER, ASA MANN, WM. A. DAVIS,

THOS. BOLTON, JOHN AGNEW,

Committee of the Corporation of the City of New York.

† To this state belongs the honour, notwithstanding the many rival claims set up by foreigners, of originating the first successful steam-boat. We extract from the *Encyclopædia Americana* the following remarks on the first rise and subsequent improvements in steam navigation:—

"John Stevens, of Hoboken, commenced his experiments on steam navigation in 1791. He invented the first tubular boiler. His first attempts were made with a rotary engine, for which, however, he speedily substituted one of Watt's. With various forms of vessels, and different modifications of propelling apparatus, he impelled boats at the rate of five or six miles per hour. In the year 1797, Chancellor Livingston built a steam-boat on the Hudson river. In the full confidence of success, Livingston applied to the legislature of New York for an exclusive privilege, which was granted on condition that he should, within a year, produce a vessel impelled by steam at the rate of three miles per hour. This he was unable to effect, and the project was dropped for the time. In the year 1800, however, Livingston and Stevens united their efforts, and were aided by Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt. Their apparatus was a system of paddles resembling a horizontal chain-pump, and set in motion by an engine of Watt's construction. The joint proceedings of these persons were interrupted by the appointment of Chancellor Livingston to represent the American government in France; but neither he nor Stevens was yet discouraged: the latter continued to pursue his experiments at Ho-

THE NEW YORK





New York Register, (quoted in the American Almanac,) furnishes many interesting particulars of the state of New York in 1825. Since that time the number of factories have much increased.

Whole number of souls	1,616,458
Males	822,897
Females	793,561
Aliens	40,430
Population, excluding aliens, paupers, and persons of colour not taxed	1,531,648
Paupers	5,610
Persons of colour not taxed	38,770
Do. taxed	931
Do. qualified to vote	298
Persons subject to militia duty	180,645
Do. qualified to vote	296,132
Deaf and Dumb persons	645
Of which 141 are supported by charity.	
Idiots	1421
Of which 442 are supported by charity.	
Lunatics	819
Of which 184 are supported by charity	
Married females, under 45 years	200,481
Unmarried ditto, between 16 and 45	135,391
Do. under 16 years	361,624
Marriages the year preceding	11,553

boken, while the former carried to Europe high-raised expectations of success. About this time, an attempt was made at steam navigation under the patronage of Lord Dundas, of Kerse. The attempt was made by Symington as engineer, who limited himself to the drawing of boats upon a canal. The experiment was made upon the Forth and Clyde canal; but the boats were drawn at the rate of no more than three and a half miles per hour; which not answering the expectations of his patron, the attempt was abandoned. During this enterprise, Symington asserts that he was visited by Fulton, who stated to him the great value such an invention would have in America, and, by his account, took full and ample notes. In the attempt he thus makes to claim for himself the merit of Fulton's subsequent success, he is defeated by the clear and conclusive evidence, that Fulton exhibited in a court of law, of his having submitted a plan analogous to that he afterwards carried into effect, to Lord Stanhope, in 1795, six years prior to the experiment of Symington. Fulton, after having occupied himself at Paris, along with Livingston, in the investigation of the capabilities of different apparatus for propulsion, was finally led to the conviction, that, of all methods proposed, the paddle-wheels possessed the greatest advantages. He next planned a mode of attaching wheels to the engine of Watt, ingenious in itself, but complicated, and which he afterwards simplified extremely. Up to this time, the relation of the force of the engine to the velocity of the wheels, and the resistance of the water to the motion of the vessel, had never been made a matter of preliminary calculation. Aware, however, that upon a proper combination of these elements all positive hopes of success must depend, he had recourse to the recorded experiments of the society of arts, and, limiting his proposed speed to four miles per hour, planned his machinery and boat in conformity. The vessel was then constructed at Paris, and, being launched upon the Seine, performed its task in exact conformity to his anticipations. This experiment was performed in 1803. The trial having proved successful, it was resolved to take immediate measures to have a boat of large size constructed in the United States; but as, at that time, the workshops in America were incapable of furnishing a steam engine, it became necessary to order one from Watt and Bolton. This was done, and Fulton proceeded to England to superintend its construction. In the mean time, Livingston was sufficiently fortunate to obtain a renewal of the exclusive grant from the state of New York. The engine reached New York towards the close of the year 1806, and the vessel built to receive it was set in motion in the summer of 1807. The success that attended it is well known. In the mean time, Livingston's former associate, the

Births, male 31,514, female 29,689	60,383
Deaths, male 12,525, female 10,019	22,544
Acres of improved land	7,160,967
Neat cattle	1,513,421
Horses	349,626
Sheep	3,496,539
Hogs	1,467,573
Yards of fulled cloth, domestic manufacture, preceding year	2,918,233
Ditto flannel and other woollen cloths, not fulled	3,468,001
Ditto linen, cotton, and other cloths	8,079,992
Grist mills	2,274
Saw mills	5,195
Oil mills	121
Fulling mills	1,222
Carding machines	1,584
Cotton factories	76
Woollen factories	189
Cotton and woollen factories	28
Iron works	170
Trip-hammers	164
Distilleries	1,129
Asheries	2,105

A large fund in money and lands has been appropriated to the support of common schools. In 1823, there were 7,382 common schools; 400,534 children

elder Stevens, had persevered in his attempts to construct steam-boats. In his enterprise he now received the aid of his son; and his prospects of success had become so flattering, that he refused to renew his partnership with Livingston, and resolved to trust to his own exertions. Fulton's boat, however, was first ready, and secured the grant of the exclusive privilege of the state of New York. The Stevenses were but a few days later in moving a boat with the required velocity, and, as their experiments were conducted separately, have an equal right to the honour of invention with Fulton. Being shut out of the waters of the state of New York, by the monopoly of Livingston and Fulton, Stevens conceived the bold design of conveying his boat to the Delaware by sea; and this boat, which was so near reaping the honour of first success, was the first to navigate the ocean by the power of steam. From that time until the death of Fulton, the steam-boats of the Atlantic coast were gradually improved, until their speed amounted to eight or nine miles per hour. When the exclusive grant of the state of New York to Livingston and Fulton was set aside, the younger Stevens prepared a boat for the navigation of the Hudson, which performed its voyages at the rate of thirteen and a half miles per hour. Steam-boats were not introduced into Great Britain until 1812, five years later than the successful voyage of Fulton. Bell built the first boat upon the river Clyde, at Glasgow. In March, 1816, the first steam-boat crossed the British channel from Brighton to Havre. Since that period, their use has been much extended, and their structure improved; but no European steam-boat is at present known to possess a speed above nine miles per hour. In 1815, steam-boats, previously constructed by Fulton for the purpose, commenced to run as packets between New York and Providence, a part of which passage is performed in the open sea. Two steam-packets now run between New York and Charleston. In the steam-boats of the Ohio and Mississippi, high pressure engines are now in the most general use: the boilers are generally cylindrical, with internal flues, and the position of the cylinder is horizontal. In France, steam navigation has been of more recent introduction than in England. Five years elapsed from the time of Fulton's successful voyage until Bell navigated the Clyde; four more passed before a boat built in England crossed the channel, and proceeded up the Seine to Paris.

"As steam navigation took its rise on the Hudson, so the steam-boats navigating that river have uniformly been before all others in point of speed. Two vessels on this river have a speed of thirteen and a half miles per hour; and many others have approached this so nearly that the difference of passage has not been many minutes in the distance of 150 miles."

were educated during eight months, and 182,802 dollars expended from the public funds for this purpose. There is a fund for academies amounting to 150,000 dollars. The colleges also are well endowed: they are Columbia College, in New York; Union College, in Schenectady; Hamilton College, in Clinton; and two medical colleges, one in New York, the other in Fairfield, Herkimer county.

The Presbyterians have 5 synods, 29 presbyteries, 587 churches, 486 ministers, 124 licentiates, and 54,093 communicants; the Dutch Reformed, 148

churches, 111 ministers, 7 licentiates, and 8,672 communicants; the Associate Synod of North America, 15 congregations, 13 ministers, and 1,668 communicants; the Methodists, 73,174 members; the Baptists, 549 churches, 387 ministers, and 43,565 communicants; the Episcopalians, 129 ministers; the Lutherans, 27 ministers, and 2,973 communicants; the Roman Catholics, Friends, and Universalists are considerably numerous; the Unitarians have 5 societies and 2 ministers, and there are some Shakers, and some United Brethren.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

NORTH DISTRICT.						
Counties.	Population, 1820.	Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Population, 1830.	Distance. A.* | W.†	
Albany, E. M.	38,116	53,560	ALBANY	24,238		376
Allegany, W. M.	9,330	26,218	Angelica	998	256	327
Broome, S. M.	11,100	17,582	Binghamton	1,203	145	291
Cattaraugus, W. M.	4,090	16,726	Ellicottsville	626	292	328
Cayuga, M.	38,897	47,947	Auburn	4,486	166	340
Chataugue, W.	12,568	34,057	Mayville		336	349
Chenango, S. M.	31,215	37,404	Norwich	3,774	110	332
Clinton, N. E.	12,070	19,344	Plattsburgh	4,913	162	539
Cortland, M.	16,507	23,693	Cortlandville	3,573	142	511
Delaware, S. M.	26,587	32,933	Delhi	2,114	77	341
Erie, W.	15,668	35,710	Buffalo	8,653	284	376
Essex, N. E.	12,811	19,387	Elizabethtown	1,729	126	503
Franklin, N.	4,439	11,321	Malone	2,207	212	523
Genesee, W.	39,835	51,992	Batavia	4,271	244	370
Hamilton, M.	1,251	1,324	Wells	340	72	451
Herkimer, M.	31,017	55,869	Herkimer	2,486	80	392
Jefferson, N. W.	32,952	48,515	Watertown	4,768	160	412
Lewis, N. M.	9,227	14,958	Martinsburgh	2,382	129	431
Livingston, W. M.	19,196	27,719	Geneseo	2,675	226	345
Madison, M.	32,208	39,037	{ Cazenovia		113	349
Monroe, W. M.	26,529	49,862	{ Morrisville		101	353
Montgomery, E. M.	27,569	43,595	Rochester	9,269	219	361
Niagara, W.	7,322	18,485	Johnstown	7,700	45	415
Oneida, M.	50,997	71,326	Lockport	2,022	288	403
Onondaga, M.	41,461	58,974	{ Utica	8,323	96	383
Ontario, W. M.	35,312	40,167	{ Rome	4,360	107	401
Orleans, W. M.	7,625	18,485	{ Whitesborough		100	387
Oswego, W. M.	12,374	27,104	Syracuse		133	342
Otsego, M.	44,856	51,372	Canandaigua	5,162	195	336
Rensselaer, E.	40,153	49,472	Albion		257	289
Saratoga, E. M.	36,052	36,616	{ Oswego	2,703	167	379
St. Lawrence, N. W.	16,073	36,351	{ Richland	2,733	153	397
Schenectady, E. M.	13,081	12,334	Cooperstown	1,115	66	372
Schoharie, M.	23,154	27,910	Troy	11,405	6	383
Seneca, W. M.	17,773	21,031	Ballston	2,113	29	406
Steuben, S. W. M.	21,989	33,975	Potsdam	3,650	216	484
Tioga, S. W. M.	14,716	27,704	Schenectady	4,258	15	391
Tompkins, S. W. M.	26,178	36,545	Schoharie	5,146	32	381
Warren, E. M.	9,453	11,795	{ Ovid	2,756	171	317
Washington, E.	38,831	42,615	{ Waterloo	1,837	173	336
Wayne, W. M.	20,319	33,555	Bath	3,387	216	299
Yates, W. M.	11,025	19,019	{ Elmira	2,962	198	273
Total	944,262	1,366,467	{ Owego	3,080	167	274
Total of New York		1,913,508, of whom 46 are slaves.	Ithaca	5,270	163	290
			Caldwell	797	62	439
			{ Salem	2,972	46	423
			{ Sandy Hill		50	427
			{ Lyons	3,603	181	345
			{ Palmyra	3,434	196	349
			Penn Yann		185	314

* From Albany.

† From Washington.



VIEW OF NEWBURGH.





ALBAUT FROM VAN-TYSSIAENS ISLAND.

SOUTH DISTRICT.

Counties.	Population, 1820.	Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Population, 1830.	Distance. A.* | W.†	
Columbia, E.	38,330	39,952	Hudson	5,395	29	335
Dutchess, S. E.	46,615	50,926	Poughkeepsie	7,222	75	301
Greene, E. M.	22,996	29,525	Catskill	4,861	34	337
Kings, E.	11,187	20,537	Flatbush	1,143	156	230
New York, S.	123,706	202,589	New York	202,589	151	225
Orange, S.	41,213	45,372	{ Goshen	3,361	105	208
Putnam, S. E.	11,268	12,701	{ Newburgh	6,424	56	282
Queens, S.	21,519	22,276	Carmel	2,379	106	306
Richmond, S.	6,135	7,084	N. Hempstead		174	248
Rockland, S.	8,537	9,388	Richmond		167	221
Suffolk, S. E.	24,272	26,980	Clarkstown	2,298	122	251
Sullivan, S.	8,900	12,372	Suffolk, C. H.		225	299
Ulster, S. M.	30,934	36,551	Monticello		113	278
Westchester, S. E.	32,638	36,456	Kingston	4,170	58	313
			Bedford	2,750	135	258
Total	428,550	536,623				

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Population.	Population.	Increase.	Slaves.
In 1701, 30,000	In 1800, 586,050		21,324
1731, 50,395	1810, 959,349	From 1790 to 1800, 245,930	20,613
1749, 100,000	1820, 1,372,812	1800 1810, 372,999	15,017
1771, 163,338	1825, 1,616,458	1810 1820, 413,763	10,088
1790, 340,120	1830, 1,913,508	1820 1830, 540,696	46

GROWTH OF THE CITIES OF NEW YORK, ALBANY, TROY, BROOKLYN, ROCHESTER, BUFFALO, UTICA, SCHENECTADY, AND HUDSON.

New York.		Albany.		Troy.		Brooklyn.	
In 1696, 4,302	In 1800, 60,489	In 1790, 3,498		In 1810, 3,885		In 1800, 3,278	
1731, 8,622	1810, 96,373	1800, 5,349		1820, 5,264		1810, 4,402	
1756, 10,381	1820, 123,706	1810, 9,356		1825, 7,859		1820, 7,175	
1773, 21,876	1825, 167,086	1820, 12,630		1830, 11,405		1830, 12,043	
1786, 23,614	1830, 202,589	1825, 15,974					
1790, 33,131		1830, 24,238					
Rochester.		Buffalo.		Utica.		Schenectady.	
In 1820, 1,502	In 1810, 1,508	In 1810, 1,700		In 1820, 3,939		In 1820, 5,310	
1825, 5,271	1820, 2,095	1820, 2,972		1825, 4,058		1825, 5,004	
1826, 7,669	1825, 5,140	1825, 5,040		1830, 4,268		1830, 5,392	
1830, 9,269	1830, 8,653	1830, 8,323					

The preceding table indicates how great a number of important towns have arisen in this state. The capital of the state is Albany; but the only one, respecting which our limits will permit us to enter on any details, is the great commercial city of New York.

This city is situated on the point of York Island, at the mouth of the Hudson, in north latitude 40°. It was founded by the Dutch, in 1615, under the name of New-Amsterdam, and was appropriated by the British in 1696. The island on which it stands is fifteen miles long, and from one to three miles broad. The city is situated on the south part of the island, and extends along the Hudson about two miles, and from the Battery along the East River, properly a branch of the Hudson, nearly four miles. The early settlements were commenced at and near the Battery, from which streets were extended without order or regularity; and this accounts for the

seeming want of taste in laying out the streets towards the docks and harbour.

The Battery is situated at the south-west point of the city, opposite to Governor's Island. It possesses attractions unsurpassed perhaps by any other similar place of resort in the world, justly commanding the admiration of every visiter. It is handsomely laid out into gravel-walks, and tastefully decorated with shrubs and trees. It is much frequented by the citizens in the warm season, as well for the purpose of partaking of the refreshing sea-breeze, as for enjoying the prospect, which includes the harbour with its various shipping, Governor's Island, Bedlow's Island, and Ellis's Island, on each of which are military stations; the shores of New Jersey and Long Island, with the flourishing town of Brooklyn, and the numerous country-seats in its vicinity. Castle Garden, connected with the battery by a bridge, is

* From Albany.

† From Washington.

much frequented during the summer evenings. It has a fine promenade, and is often rendered attractive by a display of fire-works from its enclosure, and other amusements.

Broadway, the most splendid street in the city, runs through the centre, and extends three miles in length and about eighty feet in width. It is the great and fashionable resort for citizens and strangers, and is much crowded during pleasant weather. In this avenue are Grace, Trinity, and St. Paul's Churches, the Adelphi Hotel, City Hotel, National Hotel, Franklin House, American Hotel, Washington Hall, Masonic Hall, and a variety of shops, with elegant and extensive assortments of merchandise of every description. Opposite Trinity Church Wall street opens, which contains the Exchange, and most of the banks, together with the principal part of the brokers' and insurance offices. At the termination of Wall street, is the Tontine coffee-house, an extensive and handsome establishment. On passing up Broadway still farther, are Cedar and Courtlandt streets, both of which lead to the Hudson River, where the steam-boats start for Albany. At the foot of Courtlandt street is the ferry to Jersey city. A little further up is Fulton street, at the corner of which stands St. Paul's Church. Fulton street leads to the East River; along the docks of which are the steam-boats for the New England ports. A little below are the boats for Newport and Providence; above, for Bridgeport, Saybrook, Hartford, New London, and Norwich. The New Haven boats lie at Fly Market Dock, still farther below. Above St. Paul's Church are the Park and the City Hall, situated in the centre of the city, the former containing about eleven acres, which are ornamented with much taste, and enclosed by a substantial iron railing. It furnishes a cool and fashionable resort for men of business and pleasure, after the fatigue and heat of a summer's day. On the right is the Park theatre, and on the left Park place, on the west-side of which is Columbia College. The next street above Park place is Murray street, which leads to Hoboken Ferry.

Of the public buildings, the most prominent and important is the City Hall, the front of which is built of white marble. It is 216 feet long, 105 feet broad, and, including the attic story, sixty feet high. The rooms for holding the different courts of law are fitted up in a rich and expensive style. The room for holding the mayor's court contains portraits of Washington, of the different governors of the state, and of many of the most celebrated commanders of the army and navy of the United States. The founda-

tion stone of this building was laid in 1803, and the whole finished in 1812, at an expense of 500,000 dollars. It is one of the most elegant edifices in America, and reflects great credit on the inhabitants for their munificence and taste.—The Merchants' Exchange in Wall street is also a superb structure of white marble. Its front in Wall street is 114 feet, and its depth, extending to Garden street, 150 feet. The main body of the building is two stories high, besides the basement and an attic story. About two thirds of the basement is occupied for the post office, including a spacious corridor for the convenience of persons visiting the office, with entrances from Wall and Exchange streets. The portico of the building, to which a flight of marble steps ascends, is ornamented with Ionic columns twenty-seven feet high. In the centre is the Exchange, of an oval form, eighty-five feet long, fifty-five feet wide, and forty-five feet high, surmounted with a dome, from which light is reflected. The whole is imposing, and affords a delightful promenade. From the Exchange are doors and passages leading to a commercial reading room, and numerous newspaper and other offices within the edifice. From the attic story, a flight of stairs leads to a room in the cupola where telegraphic signals are made, which are returned from the telegraph at the Narrows, seven and a half miles distant. The height of the cupola above the attic story is sixty feet. The cost of this building, including the ground, was 230,000 dollars. It was commenced in 1824, and completed in three years.—The United States Branch Bank, in Wall street is an elegant white marble building, sixty feet in front. The ground on which it was erected cost 40,000 dollars.

Trinity church in Broadway, at the head of Wall-street, from its antique appearance generally attracts the notice of strangers. The first church on this spot was erected in 1696. Originally small, it was enlarged in 1737; but during the fire which destroyed the western part of the city in 1776, while the British troops were in possession, it was destroyed, and was not rebuilt till 1788. The present building is of stone, in the Gothic style, much like the old one, except its diminished size, and has a steeple 198 feet high. It contains a chime of bells, the only set in the city, and an excellent organ.—St. Paul's chapel is a superb structure further up the Broadway, near the Park. It contains a portico of the Ionic order, consisting of four fluted pillars of brown stone, supporting a pediment, with a niche in the centre containing a statue of St. Paul. Under the portico is a handsome monument erected by order of congress to the memory of General Montgomery, who fell at the storming of



ST. PAUL'S, BROADWAY, N. Y.



Quebec in 1775, and whose remains were brought to New York, and interred beneath the monument, in 1820. The spire of this church is 234 feet high; and the whole building is esteemed one of the best specimens of architecture in the city. In the church-yard adjoining is an elegant monument, recently erected to the memory of Thomas Addis Emmet, an eminent counsellor at law, and brother of the unfortunate Irish orator, Robert Emmet. The plinth of the monument is one entire block, seven feet square and twelve inches thick. The Egyptian obelisk standing on this base is also in a single piece, and is about thirty-two feet high. The face towards Broadway is embellished with the American eagle sheltering a harp unstrung, with a medallion likeness of Emmet, and with two clasped hands, having stars around one wrist, and shamrocks around the other, with an English inscription. On the north side is a Latin, and on the south, an Irish inscription. There are 132 churches in the city, many of which were erected at a very considerable expense, and are ornaments to the sections of the city in which they stand.

Columbia College, above the City Hall, was chartered in 1750, under the name of King's College. The edifice and grounds attached are extensive, and are advantageously and handsomely situated. The college contains a chapel, lecture-rooms, hall, library, museum, and an extensive philosophical and astronomical apparatus.

The New York Society Library, in Nassau-street, was commenced in 1740, and at the commencement of the revolution contained 3,000 volumes, which were destroyed or taken away by the British troops. It was re-established in 1789, and now consists of about 20,000 volumes, many of which are rare and valuable. The Athenæum, corner of Broadway and Pine street, contains a reading-room, which is open daily, except Sundays. The Historical Society has a library of 10,000 volumes, embracing many valuable

works. Near the institution are the Savings' Bank and Panorama Rotunda; and a little further up Broadway, the New York Hospital. The annual expenditure in this institution is about 40,000 dollars, and the annual number of patients from 140 to 180.

The Park Theatre is a spacious edifice. It was built in 1798, at an expense of 179,000 dollars, was destroyed by fire in 1820, and rebuilt the following year. It is eighty feet long, 165 deep, and fifty-five high, and has generally been more liberally patronised than any other theatre in the city. The New York Theatre, in the Bowery, displays much architectural beauty, and, among the modern ornaments of the city, stands pre-eminent. It has a front of seventy-five feet, is 175 feet deep, and fifty feet high. It enjoys a handsome patronage.

Brooklyn, (on Long Island,) directly opposite New York, from which it is separated by the East River, is usually reached by steam-boats, which are constantly plying between the foot of Fulton-street and that city. It has a population of about 15,000, and within a few years has risen to some importance. Its contiguity to New York, and the facilities afforded for communication between the two places, have induced many merchants and men of business to select it as a place of residence in preference to the upper parts of the city. It also contains several elegant country-seats and public gardens. Those on the bank contiguous to the East River, from their elevated situation, overlooking the bay of New York, and commanding a view of a great part of the city, are peculiarly attractive and romantic. North-east of the city, on a tract of land called the Wallabout, is a United States navy-yard, where are erected a house for the commandant, several spacious warehouses, and immense edifices of wood, under which the largest ships of war are built. The steam-frigate *Fulton*, which lay near the navy-yard, and was an object of attraction, was blown up at this place in 1829, occasioning the loss of several lives.*

most populous and commercial town in the United States. It is situated on York Island, at the confluence of Hudson and East rivers, in lat. 40° 42' 45" N. and 74° 4' W. lon. from Greenwich; or 3° 14' 15" E. from the city of Washington.

The island is essentially primitive, and consists mainly of one formation, gneiss. It is about fourteen and a half miles long from N. to S., and varying in breadth from half a mile to nearly two miles, comprehending about twenty-one and a half square miles. The limits of the city and county are the same, and the only legal sub-divisions are the wards, at present fifteen in number. It is separated on the north from the continental part of the state by Harlem river; from New Jersey on the west by the river Hudson; from Staten Island on the south by the bay or harbour; and by the East river from Long Island.

The city of New York was originally settled by the Dutch, in 1614, and its progress has been, since the revolutionary war, rapid beyond precedent, in numbers, wealth, commerce, and improvements.

According to the researches of a writer on American antiqui-

* The commercial metropolis of the American confederacy, from which nearly three quarters of the public revenue is derived, seems to demand a more extended account than is embraced in the English edition of this work. Rather than make any material alterations with the author's text, it was deemed preferable to allow it to stand as originally published, and to make such further additions, in a note, as were considered best fitted to convey more ample and precise information, even if liable to the imputation of occasional repetition. What follows, therefore, it may be proper to state, is a description of the city of New York, drawn up by Dr. John W. Francis, and printed in the American edition of Dr. Brewster's *Encyclopædia*, with such additions and alterations by Dr. F. as the ever fluctuating, though ever improving, condition of that city requires. The editor has the writer's permission thus freely to avail himself of this article, largely derived from original materials, and which can hardly be thought too extensive, or too circumstantial, for this revised edition of Mr. Hinton's work.

New York is the chief city of the state of New York, and the

Smith's History of New York is well known; a second volume of that work, from the original MSS. of the author, has been lately published by the New

York Historical Society: this continuation of Smith's, brings down the history of the state, to the administration of Colden in 1762. Moulton has also lately

ties,* Henry Hudson arrived at the island of Manhattan, (York Island,) called by the natives *Manhaddoes*, on the 4th of September, 1609, then occupied by a ferocious tribe of Indians; he navigated as high as Albany, and on his return to Holland transferred his right of discovery to the Dutch, who afterwards granted it to their West India Company. The latter, the next year, sent ships to Manhattan, to trade with the natives. In 1614, a fort was built by the Dutch at the southwest extremity of the island, and another, called Fort Aurania, at Orange, where Albany now stands, which was settled before the city of New Amsterdam, (New York;) the latter was most probably not permanently occupied until the year 1619. From this period it remained in possession of the Dutch until the conquest of the colony by the English, in 1664. A few years after, it was granted by Charles II. to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany; and the two principal, indeed the only cities at that time in the colony, were called after his title.

Richard Blome, in his book entitled "The Present State of his Majesties Isles and Territories in America," printed at London, in 1687, in discoursing on these occurrences, thus expresses himself:—"New York was first discovered by Mr. Hudson, and sold presently by him to the Dutch, without authority from his sovereign, the king of England, in 1608. The Hollanders, in 1614, began to plant there, and called it New Netherland; but Sir Samuel Argal, governor of Virginia, routed them; after which, they got leave of King James to put in there for fresh water, in their passage to Brazil, and did not offer to plant till a good while after the English were settled in the country. In 1664, his late majesty, King Charles the Second, sent over four commissioners to reduce the colony into bounds, that had been encroached by each other, who marched with three hundred *red coats* to Manhaddoes, and took from the Dutch the chief town, then called New Amsterdam, now New York, and August 29, turned out their governor, with a silver leg, and all the rest but those who acknowledged subjection to the king of England; suffering them to enjoy their houses and estates as before. Thirteen days after, Sir Robert Car took the fort and town of Aurania, now called Albany; and twelve days after that, the fort and town of Arasapha, then Delaware Castle, manned with Dutch and Swedes; so that now the English are masters of three handsome towns, three strong forts, and a castle, without the loss of one man. The first governor of these parts for the king of England was Col. Nicols, one of the commissioners."

Herman Moll, geographer, who published in London, in 1708, the British Empire in America, 2 vols. 8vo., in his account of the city of New York, states it to have at that time contained one thousand houses, most of them "very well built." The great church [Trinity] was built in 1695. A library, he states, was erected in 1700; and the Dutch built mills to saw timber, "one of which would do more in an hour than fifty men in two days."† Tradition reports, that the first white child was a female, of the parentage of Isaac Bedlow, who arrived in New York in 1639, as secretary of the Dutch West India Company; but records in the New York Historical Society affirm, that the first child of European parentage in New Netherlands, was a Sarah Rapaelje, daughter of Jan Joris Rapaelje, born June 9, 1625. The limited extent of settlements, the age, single condition, and peculiar pursuits, of those who had arrived previously to 1625, may, as Moulton remarks, be justly inferred from this fact.

The earliest authentic record extant of the population of this city is of the date of 1656, when several new streets were laid out, and a plan of the town sent to the city of Amsterdam, for the examination and approval of the directors of the West India Trading Company. At that time the village by the name of New Amster-

dam contained only one hundred and twenty houses, of the humblest description, and one thousand inhabitants, including the garrison. Several rough engravings of the city, illustrative of its appearance at about this time, and for one hundred years after, are preserved among the records of the New York Historical Society. In 1686 the first charter was granted, which was renewed in 1730, with new privileges.

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

1696,	4,302	1800,	60,489
1731,	6,628	1810,	96,373
1756,	10,381	1820,	123,706
1773,	21,676	1825,	167,059
1786,	23,614	1830,	203,007
1790,	33,131	1832,	213,500

Averaging somewhat more than a tenth part of the entire population of the state.

The most compact part of the city is at its southern extremity, whence it extends on the north side along the course of the Hudson river, about two and three quarters of a mile, and along the East river, from the southwest angle of the battery, three miles; its circuit about eight and a half miles. The ancient irregularity of the city has been materially corrected by recent improvements; the upper, or northern parts, have been laid out with systematic regularity. Many of the streets are spacious, running in right lines, and intersected by others at right angles; in short, the whole of the upper portion of the city is laid out in this manner, and though the spirit of improvement has been active, and at a tremendous expense here, to reduce the site of New York to an entire level, there is a gentle ascent from Hudson and East rivers, and a commanding view of the city is afforded. The most distinguished streets are Broadway, commencing at the Battery, and running north by east nearly three miles, Greenwich street, Wall street, Pearl street, South street, Canal street, Grand street, the Bowery, East Broadway, &c. &c. Besides the Battery, a delightful promenade at the lowest or southern portion of the city, there are several open squares, which serve the important purposes of ventilation and health, as the Park, Hudson square, Washington square, Hamilton square, Lafayette Place, Union Place, Clinton square. The approach towards the city on the north, has also been made more advantageous by several new roads, denominated *avenues*, agreeably to a plan of the late Gouverneur Morris and De Witt Clinton.

The materials of which the earlier buildings of the city were constructed were wood, and bricks imported from Holland. The style of architecture was steep roofs, tiled gables to the streets and alleys between the houses. Speaking of New York, in 1681, Blome remarks, the town is large, containing about five hundred well built houses, built with Dutch brick, and the meanest not valued under 100 pounds. Of this latter construction not an edifice now remains; the last of this character, situate in Broad street, and bearing date, according to the Dutch fashion, 1698, having been torn down for modern architecture in the spring of 1831. The wooden edifices are comparatively few in number, and are chiefly located in the suburbs. The modern taste in building is almost exclusively confined to brick, though a few houses in different places are constructed either of granite, free-stone, or of marble, obtained within the neighbourhood. The principal streets and public buildings and stores are lighted by gas, under the management of the Gas Light Company, which went into successful operation in 1825.

Bay and Harbour.—The bay and harbour of New York may be classed among the most convenient and beautiful in the world; the banks are bold, and the bay interspersed with many handsome islands; the city and surrounding land, when viewed on the bay in approaching the city, presents a scene truly charming and picturesque, and excites general admiration. The bay may be estimated at nine miles long and five broad, without including the

* John Pintard, LL. D.

† Neither of these authorities, Blome or Moll, are mentioned by Holmes, (*Annals*), copious and accurate as is that excellent author. The Oldmixon cited by Holmes, is the edition of 1741; the work of Moll and Oldmixon has the imprint of 1708.

published a part of his historical work : it is curious in early details.

NEW JERSEY

Is bounded on the north and northeast by New York ; on the east and southeast by the Atlantic ;

branches of the rivers each side of the city. From the ocean, Sandy Hook, to the city at the head of the bay, is about twenty miles. The water is of sufficient depth to float the largest vessels, and ships of 110 guns have anchored opposite the city. On the bar at Sandy Hook, the depth of water at high tide is twenty-seven feet, and at low water twenty-one feet ; from thence to the city the channel has a depth of from forty to fifty feet.

In describing the bay of New York, a late English traveller thus writes :—" I have never seen the bay of Naples. I can therefore make no comparison ; but my imagination is incapable of conceiving any thing more beautiful than the harbour of New York. Various and lovely are the objects which meet the eye on every side ; but the naming of them would only be to give a list of words, without giving the faintest idea of the scene. I doubt if ever the pencil of Turner could do it justice, bright and glorious as it rose upon us. We seemed to enter the harbour of New York upon waves of liquid gold ; and as we dashed past the green isles which rise from its bosom like guardian sentinels of the fair city, the setting sun stretched his horizontal beams further and further, at each moment, as if to point out to us some new glory in the landscape."

It has been repeatedly observed, that the cold of winter has less effect upon the waters of New York harbour, than in several places further south. The usual tides are about six feet, and this, with the greater rapidity of the currents, may be looked upon as the prominent cause why so rarely inconvenience is experienced from the formation of ice. During the severe winter of 1780-1, the harbour, however, was covered by a bridge of compact ice ; and again, in the memorable winter of 1820-1, the harbour and the branches of the two rivers were obstructed by the same cause for many days. At this time the intensity of the cold was manifested by the thermometer ranging several degrees below 0 of Fahrenheit.

According to the reports made by the ward assessors of the amount of real and personal estate of the city of New York, it has been stated in 1823, as *personal*, thirty-six millions eight hundred and seventy-nine thousand six hundred and fifty-three dollars ; as *real*, seventy-seven millions of dollars. In 1829, as *personal* and *real*, somewhat less : but these estimates must be deemed as entirely too low. According to the details furnished in a valuable statistical work, (*The New York Register*), the assessed valuation of the real and personal estate in the several counties in the state of New York, for the year 1833, amounted to four hundred and sixteen millions four hundred and eighty-one thousand one hundred and thirteen dollars ; whereof the county of New York embraced as *real*, one hundred and fourteen millions one hundred and twenty-nine thousand five hundred and sixty-one dollars ; as *personal*, fifty-two millions three hundred and sixty-five thousand six hundred and twenty-six : total, one hundred and sixty-six millions four hundred and ninety-five thousand one hundred and eighty-seven dollars. The whole of the bank capital in the city of New York is about twenty millions of dollars. The aggregate capital of the marine fire insurance and other incorporated companies, may be put down at thirteen millions of dollars. According to a late statement made by Alderman Stevens to the corporation, when on the discussion of the report in favour of introducing pure and wholesome water into the city of New York, the number of dwelling-houses, stores, manufactories, and churches, was valued at seventy-five millions of dollars ; the merchandise in the city at fifty millions ; hence, the total value of buildings and merchandise is one hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars. But this estimate may be safely doubled.

Commerce.—The city of New York is justly considered the commercial emporium of the United States, and the revenue which it pays to the general government exceeds that of all the other states of the union.

on the southwest by Delaware Bay ; and on the west, by Pennsylvania. Longitude, 74° to 75° 29' ; latitude, 39° to 41° 24'. The extreme length is directly from south to north, 170 miles ; area, 7,870 square miles ; mean breadth, forty-six miles.

New Jersey presents three very marked divisions ;

The following table of exports and customs, during the respective years, will show the increase of commerce since the year 1814, at which period the country was involved in war with Great Britain:—

Year.	Exports.		Total Amount of Exports.	Custom duties.
	Domestic.	Foreign.		
1815	4,189,951	746,558	4,936,509	14,554,645
1816	10,475,985	8,470,613	13,946,598	10,785,354
1817	12,639,197	4,384,817	17,024,014	6,329,123
1818	11,873,934	5,720,237	17,594,171	8,259,011
1819	6,542,742	4,318,923	10,861,665	6,480,638
1820	7,034,322	4,735,199	11,769,511	5,487,374
1821	8,102,512	4,022,123	12,124,645	7,243,542
1822	9,228,631	6,177,063	15,405,694	9,941,702
1823	11,526,632	9,563,064	21,089,696	9,022,435
1824	11,657,312	10,652,090	22,309,362	11,178,139
1825	19,257,749	14,774,530	34,032,279	15,752,100
1826	10,743,846	8,693,383	19,437,229	11,525,862

A more satisfactory view of the commercial character of the city of New York, may be obtained from the official records of the custom-house of that district.

EXPORTS FROM THE DISTRICT OF NEW YORK IN 1830 AND 1831.

1830. First Quarter.

Domestic, in American vessels	2,234,992
do. in Foreign	366,375
Foreign, in do.	144,212
do. in American	848,215 = 3,593,794

Second Quarter.

Domestic, in American vessels	3,427,645
do. in Foreign	315,973
Foreign, in do.	265,147
do. in American	1,612,234 = 5,620,999

Third Quarter.

Domestic, in American vessels	2,283,474
do. in Foreign	360,421
Foreign, in do.	273,499
do. in American	1,198,731 = 4,116,325

Fourth Quarter.

Domestic, in American vessels	2,600,352
do. in Foreign	269,631
Foreign, in do.	184,504
do. in American	1,329,156 = 4,383,643

Total exports in 1830 \$17,714,561

1831. First Quarter.

Domestic, in American vessels	3,038,395
do. in Foreign	308,963
Foreign, in do.	170,305
do. in American	1,282,528 = 4,800,191

Second Quarter.

Domestic, in American vessels	3,239,656
do. in Foreign	695,258
Foreign, in do.	336,252
do. in American	2,658,830 = 6,940,996

first, a marine or sandy section ; secondly, a hilly or middle section ; and, thirdly, a mountainous section. The first occupies nearly one half the area of the state. A line from the mouth of Shrewsbury River to

Third Quarter.

Domestic, in American vessels	3,109,94
do. in Foreign	491,547
Foreign, in do.	459,010
do. in American	3,385,423 = 7,445,927

Total for three quarters of 1831 . . . \$19,196,114

The total invoice value of imports, including dutiable charges, in 1830, was,

	American.	Foreign.
1st quarter,	6,900,229	339,900
2d do.	8,716,599	417,672
3d do.	12,090,705	719,826
4th do.	10,608,623	266,166

The total amount of duties rising from imports at the port of New York, the first three quarters of the year 1831, amounted to about \$15,500,000, an excess over the year 1830, of three millions of dollars. The total amount of duties for 1831 may be stated at rising twenty millions.

The sales of domestic manufactures at the ware-houses in the city of New York, in the year 1830, being principally of wool, cotton, and iron, are estimated to amount to twenty-five millions of dollars, exclusive of large amounts of articles made and sold by the mechanics of the city.

The imports and exports of foreign merchandise to and from the district of New York, during the year ending 30th of September, 1832, amounted to fifty-two millions eight hundred and fifty-five thousand nine hundred and seventy-nine dollars; of which, forty-one millions nine hundred and fourteen thousand four hundred and ninety-one dollars, were imports; and ten millions nine hundred and forty-one thousand four hundred and eighty-eight dollars, were exports.

As matters of reference, the following facts are worthy of insertion here:—The imports of the colony of New York to Great Britain in 1701, were valued at eighteen thousand five hundred and forty-seven pounds: the exports at thirty-one thousand nine hundred and ten pounds.

From the statement published of the commerce and navigation of the United States for the year 1833, and comparisons of some of the items with those of preceding years, the following statistical items are made:—The whole amount of exports for the year was \$90,140,433, of which \$70,317,698 were of domestic, and \$19,822,735 of foreign articles. The total for 1832 was \$87,176,413, of which \$63,137,470 were domestic, and \$24,039,473 foreign. For 1831, the total was \$81,310,583, of which \$61,277,057 were domestic, and \$20,033,526 foreign.

The exportation of flour for the three years was, in 1831, 1,806,529 barrels; 1832, 864,919 barrels; 1833, 955,788 barrels. Of cotton, Sea Island, for 1831, 8,311,762 pounds; 1832, 8,743,373 pounds; 1833, 11,142,987 pounds. Of other cottons, the exports were respectively 268,668,122 pounds; 313,471,749 pounds, and 313,553,617 pounds.

The aggregate value of all the importations into the United States was, for the three years severally, \$103,191,124; \$101,029,266; and \$108,118,311.

The navigation tables furnish the following as the total of the tonnage of the United States, registered, enrolled, and licensed for those years; 1,181,176 tons; 1,267,846 tons; 1,439,450 tons. In 1833, there arrived 1,111,441 tons of American shipping, and departed 1,142,160 tons. Of foreign shipping, there arrived 496,705 tons, and departed 497,039 tons.

Among the items of importation in 1833, are, 15,698,050 gallons of molasses; 14,634,822 pounds of tea; 99,955,020 pounds of coffee; 85,689,944 pounds of brown sugar; and 11,999,089 pounds white sugar.

Bordentown, will very nearly separate the alluvial from the hilly tract. Between this natural limit and the continuation of the Blue Ridge, New Jersey is delightfully variegated by rich and bold scenery.

AMOUNT OF SPECIE EXPORTED FROM NEW YORK, FROM 1ST OCTOBER, 1830, TO SEPTEMBER 30TH, 1831.

Fourth Quarter, 1830, October, November, and December.

Gold and silver coin, American	267,785
Gold specie, foreign	38,360
Silver do. do.	81,331
	387,476

First Quarter, 1831, January, February, and March.

Gold and silver coin, American	14,000
Gold specie, foreign	43,416
Silver do. do.	183,344
	240,760

Second Quarter, 1831, April, May, and June.

Gold and silver coin, American	96,262
Gold specie, foreign	58,825
Silver do. do.	1,275,366
	1,430,453

Third Quarter, 1831, July, August, and September.

Gold and silver coin, American	686,108
Gold specie, foreign	170,871
Silver do. do.	2,392,697
	3,249,676

Total exported \$5,308,365

Since the completion of the Erie canal the commerce of the city has been greatly augmented by the numerous canal boats which ply between Buffalo and Albany, bringing ultimately to the commercial emporium, the rich products of the great western country and the lakes, and sending in return the fine manufactures and luxuries of Europe. Numerous steam-boats, about nine months in the year, navigate the Hudson and East rivers, several of them superior in speed and architectural beauty to those on any other waters. In these waters Robert Fulton, in 1807, made the first successful navigation by steam: the speed of his first boat was about five miles per hour: the most rapid speed yet attained by the progress of improvement, has been seventeen miles per hour, by steam-boats on the Hudson.

Banks.—There are nineteen city banks in New York, besides a branch of the United States bank. Some of these edifices are neat and commodious, of architectural beauty and proportion, particularly the Branch bank, the bank of New York, the City bank, and the Phoenix bank. Besides these banks, for the purposes of discount and deposit and other mercantile transactions, there is a bank for Savings, incorporated in 1819, and a Seamen's bank for a like purpose, incorporated in 1829. According to the report of the trustees of the former of these institutions for the year 1830, the number of depositors from the 1st of January to the 31st of December, 1830, was fourteen thousand two hundred, and the total amount of deposits for that period was seven hundred and forty-one thousand five hundred and eighty-three dollars ninety-five cents. The results which have arisen from the bank of Savings, have been invaluablely advantageous, and when it is considered that the total receipts of this corporation, from its commencement in 1819, to December, 1833, have been nearly seven millions of dollars, the founders of this institution, among whom John Pintard, LL. D. deserves a particular notice, can not but feel the highest satisfaction. The Seamen's bank for savings is also in successful operation for the benefit of that meritorious class of men.

In an enumeration of the moneyed institutions of the city, the Custom-house, which renders the greater portion of the entire revenue of the United States, deserves to be mentioned. It is situate in Wall street, at the head of Broad street. It is sufficiently to be



CITY HALL, NEW YORK.

Vol. 1. No. 1.

This hilly region contains the counties of Middlesex, Hunterdon, Somerset, Essex, Morris, and Bergen. It is also decorated by several mountain ridges, but

lamented, that an appropriate edifice has not yet been erected by the government of the union.

This remark of 1832 is not applicable in 1834. A new Custom-house is now erecting at the corner of Wall and Nassau streets, and extending to Pine street. The building is reported to be, according to Williams, 177 feet long, and 89 feet wide; and the form and order of the building to be similar to that of the Parthenon at Athens. It is to stand on a basement story, ascended by nineteen steps from Wall street, and six steps on Pine street. There are to be eight Grecian Doric columns at each front, and fifteen columns and antæ on each side attached to the walls. There is also to be a second row of six smaller columns back of and parallel with those of the main front, leaving a space of ten feet between the two rows, and nine feet between the inner row and the front wall of the building. Back of the two extreme columns of the inner-row there are to be two antæ, and six antæ attached to the walls of the rear front, leaving a space of eight feet and a half between the columns and antæ. There will thus be twenty-four outside columns, five feet eight inches diameter at the bottom, and thirty-two feet high, including the capital, and eighteen antæ on the two sides, of the same height, five feet wide, and three feet nine inches projection from the walls. The six inner columns of the main front will be four feet eight inches diameter at bottom, and the antæ to correspond. The building is to be two stories high, except the great business hall, part of which is to be vaulted as high as the roof will permit, and its centre finished with a dome sixty-two feet in diameter. This hall will occupy the centre of the building, and will be one hundred and fifteen feet long, leaving a small vestibule at each end to enter from. It is to be seventy-seven feet wide in the centre part, which is a circle of seventy feet diameter, with the length and breadth of the room extending beyond its circumference to these dimensions; and the four parts so extended beyond the circle are thirty-three and a half feet wide, leaving six rooms and three circular staircases in the four corners, the two largest rooms to be twenty-four by twenty-one feet each, besides a square staircase in the rear, and three vaults for papers, at the two ends of each vestibule. The same division of the room is made in the second story. Nearly the same number, shape, and sizes of rooms, are had in the basement, as above in the other stories, leaving all the area of the same shape and size as the great hall immediately about it; with the addition of sixteen fluted Doric columns to support the vaulting and the pavement under the dome of the great hall.

Manufactures.—The free and open access of the port of New York to the commerce of the whole world, has been attended with a necessary disadvantage to the amount of her manufactures. Nevertheless, there is a number of extensive establishments for manufacturing purposes, and in a thriving condition. Among these are several iron foundries, a steel manufactory, type and stereotype foundries, sugar works, refineries, and distilleries, hat, whip, fur, shoe, and boot manufactories, locks, brass nails, cast iron stoves, glass houses, breweries, printing ink manufactories, carding machines, very extensive manufactories of saddlery, cabinet furniture, piano-forte and musical instrument manufactories, coach makers' establishments, manufactories for tobacco, &c. &c. Copper plate engraving, wood engraving, and the printing of books, are also on an extensive scale: and the first work on stereotype plates, from an American press, issued from New York. If rightly remembered, it was the Assembly of Divines' Catechism: John Watts, 1813. The stereotype establishments of Conner & Cooke, Chandler, J. S. Redfield, and others, are on an enlarged scale. It is supposed more than five hundred hands are employed in this business, and manufacture annually to the amount of three hundred and twenty thousand dollars. The manufactory of printing presses as a branch of industry, occupies many persons; and it deserves to be remarked, that material improvements in this important machine have been made by several individuals of proficiency in mechanical invention: by S. Rust, P. Smith, and R. Hoe; the last named individual has contributed some improvements on the Napier press. The

the true mountain portion of New Jersey, is the extreme northern part of the state, composed of the counties of Warren and Sussex. The descent from

New York chemical manufactory is an extensive institution, and annually sends out a large supply of sulphuric, nitric, and muriatic acids, alum, borax, and other chemicals. Many of the mineral articles of the materia medica are also made here on a large scale. There is also a steam sugar refining company. The shot tower of Youle, on the banks of the East river, near Kip's bay, deserves special mention, as well as the card manufactory of the ingenious Whittemore, and the steam engine manufactories and foundries of Allaire, M'Queen, Youle, and Bliss. The West Point foundry company also carry on an extensive manufactory for steam-engines and rail road carriages. The manufacture of leather is very extensively prosecuted by persons resident in the city: the tanneries are situated in various parts of the state—but principally in Greene and Delaware counties, where bark is abundant, and water privileges abound.

The number of hats furnished in the city of New York is estimated at not less than one and a half millions of dollars, at three dollars per hat. The American Institute, incorporated by the legislature of New York, in 1828, for the promotion of manufacturing interests, and who hold their annual fair in the city in October, at their anniversary in 1830 awarded premiums on the following, among other articles, manufactured in the city: Cotton goods, printed silk handkerchiefs, sewing silk, made of American silk, hardware, locks, files, and cutlery, mathematical instruments, brass nails, cast-iron stoves, silver and plated wares, clocks, cut glass, chemicals, japanned leather, upholstery, &c. As long ago as in 1820, the returns made to congress with the census, of the capital invested in manufactories in the city, amounted to nearly two millions, of which three hundred thousand dollars were invested in the manufacture of steam-engines and castings of every description.

The Dry Dock railways, an important method of repairing ships, and vessels of other descriptions, is now practised with great advantage by a company vested with banking privileges. *The Screw Dock*, an invention of singular importance and great simplicity for raising vessels with ease and rapidity out of the water, for repairs, is also in use in New York. Ample notice deserves to be taken of the extensive and elevated rank to which *ship-building* and *steam-boats* have attained at this port. Vessels in the service of almost every nation are built by her ingenious shipwrights.

Public Buildings.—New York is distinguished more by the excellence than by the number of her public buildings. Her churches collectively are entitled to considerable commendation.

The City Hall.—This conspicuous edifice, superior in splendour and extent to any other in the United States, excepting the capitol in Washington, is situate in that noble public walk, the Park. Its foundation was laid in May, 1803, and the entire structure completed in May, 1812, at the cost of five hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The building is two hundred and sixteen feet in front, by one hundred and five on the east and west fronts, and is adorned with two orders of architecture, the Ionic and Corinthian, raised on a rustic basement of nine feet in height, crowned with a balustrade, and the roof covered with copper. The centre part of the south front is finished with an attic story. On the blocking course above the attic cornice it is intended to place the arms of the city, agreeably to a design and model of the architect. The cupola is surmounted by the figure of justice. The basement story is rusticated and partly sunk; it is raised nine feet above the surface of the Park, and contains accommodations for the city watch, house-keeper, and a number of different offices. In front a terrace walk is raised three steps above the Park, from which you ascend by eleven steps to the colonnade of eight Ionic columns in front, covered with an entablature, and finished with a balustrade which forms a spacious balcony in front. You then enter into the vestibule; a corridor running longitudinally communicates with the mayor's offices, two private stairs, and with various offices in which the city business is transacted. Opposite the vestibule is a large circular marble staircase of thirty-one steps, leading to the second floor; on the wall surrounding these stairs, on the

the mountain to the hilly region is not by a gentle declivity, but abruptly, as by the steps of a stair. The elevation of the different sections has not been

second floor, stands a circular range of marble columns of the Corinthian order, the entablature of which supports the dome and sky-light. Very recently a clock has been fitted up in the cupola, which is intended to be lighted at night with gas. A circular corridor communicating with one running lengthwise of the building leads to the room for the governor of the state, the common council chambers, three court rooms, and with several offices and jury rooms. The whole plan is so arranged as to be easy of access. The south, east, and west elevations are composed of handsome white marble, brought from the quarries in Berkshire county, Massachusetts. The north part is built with brown stone, from a parsimonious fear the building committee entertained that the white stone might be too expensive. The architect was John M'Comb, Esq., but it may be added, that the sculpture and carved work were executed by and under the direction of Mr. John Le-maire. The governor's room and the room of the city council are enriched with many superior paintings, of the several governors of the state, the mayors of the city, and other public characters, executed by the pencil of Trumbull, Vanderlyn, Jarvis, &c.

The Merchants' Exchange was commenced on the 1st of April, 1825, and opened for business in May, 1827. It stands on Wall street, and runs through to Exchange place, a distance of about 150 feet. The principal front, which is on Wall street, is 115 feet wide, and that on Exchange place, 114 feet. The general divisions of the plan are a building of parallellogramic form on both streets, connected by one of similar form, with circular ends, which form the exchange room, and which is thus rendered accessible from both streets. Since the erection of the building, however, a street has been opened on the lower side, which, not having been foreseen at the time of designing the plan, the architect was unable to avail himself of, to present a more finished appearance on that side than at present. The front on Wall street is built entirely of white marble, from the quarries in West Chester, and is three stories high, exclusive of a basement, which is half out of ground. The front has been designed in the Ionic order, from the temple of Minerva Polias, at Priene, and an elliptical recessed portico has been introduced with great advantage, both as regards effect and convenience. A screen of four large columns and two antæ on the corners of the wings, extends across the front of the recess in a line with the front of the building. These columns are thirty feet in height, and three feet four inches in diameter at the base, and the stay of each is composed of a single block of marble. The columns support an entablature which runs across the whole front, on which rests an attic story, making a height of about sixty feet from the ground. The entrance on Wall street is by a flight of broad marble steps, flanked on each end by a pedestal. From the portico three doors open into the vestibule, and one on each hand into insurance offices. The vestibule is nearly square, and is finished in the chaste and elegant style of the little Ionic temple on the banks of the Ilissus, in Athens. From the vestibule an elliptical staircase rises on the right hand, to lead to the different stories of the front building. Advancing through the vestibule you enter the grand saloon, or exchange room, which is a magnificent apartment, eighty-five feet long, fifty-five wide, and forty-five feet high, finished in the Ionic order, after the temple of Minerva Polias, at Athens. The spacious and lofty apartment has two parallel sides, with semicircular ends, at the intersections of which are antæ and columns supporting a full entablature, with an arch resting on the columns at each end. The arches support a screen, which forms a separation between the arched ceiling of the centre and the Ionic ceilings of the alcoves, and divides the whole into three compartments, producing a pleasing variety. The whole of the ceiling is divided into panels; those of the centre being of an oblong rectangle, and those of the ends radiating from a centre. Passing through the exchange, we enter an apartment, or rather vestibule, appropriated for sales by auction of ships and real estate, &c. On both sides of this vestibule are rooms occupied as offices, and a stairway leads to the basement below, and to the second story. Here is a spacious room appro-

very accurately determined, but the higher valleys of Sussex county must be from 800 to 1,000 feet above the tide.

priated to the Board of Brokers, and to the Chamber of Commerce. On the right of this vestibule is the spacious reading room, which is furnished with the periodicals and daily journals, foreign and domestic, for the use of strangers and citizens. From the third story we ascend to the observatory on the upper section of the cupola. The cupola is 24 feet in diameter. The basement has superior accommodations for the post-office establishment; and offices occupied by brokers, newspapers, &c. For the plan and execution of this admirable building, the city is indebted to Martin E. Thompson, architect.

Masonic Hall.—This recently erected building is situate in Broadway, and nearly opposite the city hospital. It is fifty-seven feet front, ninety feet in depth, and three stories high. The front is faced with granite, and the interior, which is divided into several convenient apartments, possesses on the second floor one spacious hall the full size of the edifice, and finished after the rich, florid style of Henry VII.'s chapel. It is the largest hall in the city. Architect, Hugh Reinagle.

Clinton Hall.—This edifice also deserves notice on account of its size, great convenience, and the important objects to which it is appropriated. It was built in 1829. It is located in Beekman street, near the Park. It is 50 feet broad by 100 feet deep, and three stories high, independent of the basement. Clinton Hotel, erected in conjunction with it, presents Clinton Hall as a building nearly 100 feet square. The basement is let for stores. The second story contains a spacious lecture room, and accommodations for the mercantile library, and a reading room. The third story is appropriated to the occasional use of different public bodies. The fourth story is occupied by the National Academy of Design, and Exhibition Gallery of Painting, under the direction of Mr. Dunlap, painter.

The Record Office, situate on the left side of the City Hall, deserves notice. This building was originally the jail, but has within the last two years been altered by M. E. Thompson, architect. The style is Grecian, and after the Ionic temple on the Ilissus. It has a full portico at each end, having six columns, and two antæ on the ends of the building. The interior is finished with brick ceilings, in groined arches; and is the only specimen of fire proof building in the city. The whole structure is large and commodious, and well adapted for the purpose intended.

Churches and Places of Public Worship.—By an enumeration recently made, it appears that there are in New York 145 places for public worship, many of which are very neat and commodious, and several of them present edifices that are favourable specimens of architectural taste and beauty. The most remarkable of these is the venerable pile, Trinity Church; St. Paul's, St. Thomas', St. John's, the Church of the Ascension, French du St. Esprit, and St. Patrick's Cathedral. The following is believed to be an accurate account of the various denominations of professing christians, with the number of places of worship belonging to each.

Denominations.	No. of churches or places of worship.
Episcopalian	24
Presbyterian	30
Presbyterian, not connected with the General Assembly	3
Reformed Dutch	15
Do. not connected with Synod	1
Society of Friends	4
Baptists	18
Methodist Episcopal church	13
Protestant and Reformed Methodist	6
Roman Catholics	6
Lutherans	2
Jews' Synagogues	3
Independents	4
Universalists	3
Unitarian	2
Moravian	1

As it declines from north to south, difference of latitude and of level co-operate in New Jersey, and in a space less than two and a half degrees of latitude

Denominations.	No. of churches or places of worship.
German Reformed	1
United Brethren	1
Mariner's church	1
New Jerusalem chapel	1
City Mission church of the Holy Evangelists	1
Second City Mission	1
Of no regular denomination	4

"The clergy are highly esteemed," says the Rev. Dr. Dwight, (*Travels*), "and are treated with respect. Every thing of a religious character is regarded with becoming reverence by a great proportion of the citizens; and few, even of the licentious, think it proper to behave disrespectfully towards persons or things, to which a religious character is attached. The sale of religious books is probably the most profitable branch of business to book-sellers. In proportion to its size," adds Dr. Dwight, "New York is not improbably a more religious city than any other in the world." Not to dwell upon the particular character of the present order of clergy, who in their lives and doctrines adorn the sacred desk, Livingston, Provost, Rodgers, Mason, Moore, Romayne, and Hobart, will long enjoy a distinguished place in the ecclesiastical annals of the state.

The *New York City Marble Cemetery* is situated in the block of ground between Second and Third street, the Bowery, and Second Avenue. It is 250 feet in length, 83 feet in breadth, and surrounded by a wall of solid marble, 2 feet thick, 22 feet in height, 10 feet under and 12 feet above the surface of the ground, and the top covered with broken glass bottles. Within these walls are placed 156 vaults, in 4 ranges, 2 single and 2 double, and these also are built of solid marble. There is also within these walls a dead house, built of solid marble, and placed on the surface of the ground.

Opposite to this cemetery is the *New York Marble Cemetery*, situated in the adjoining block of ground, between Second and Third street, and First and Second Avenue. It is 450 feet in length, 92 feet in width, and surrounded by a wall of solid marble, 2 feet thick, 22 feet in height, 10 under and 12 above the surface of the earth. Within these walls are placed 288 vaults, in 6 ranges, the same as in the first cemetery, with all the improvements capable of being made. Each vault has a silver gray stone door, composition hinges and locks, flagged, shelved, and coped with the same kind of stone. Every vault has a tablet of white marble placed on the wall opposite, giving the name of the owner. Both of these cemeteries are incorporated by the state legislature, for the burying the dead for ever, and for no other purpose; free of taxation, judgment, and execution; made personal property, and transferable by stock, the same as bank stock. They are placed on a bed of dry sand, 35 feet above any spring of water, forming a complete dry cispool, free from mould and dampness, which is so usual in vaults built of brick, red, or blue stone.

The diversified forms which the decay of the human body after death assumes, seem to be no less numerous than the immense variety of causes by which life becomes extinct. The evidence of this assertion may be witnessed by any one who will enter a vault containing many bodies deposited therein at different periods, more or less remote, and observe the materials with which he is surrounded: season, age, the character of disease, protracted illness, sudden death, &c., will all exercise a greater or less influence in facilitating or in retarding decomposition. The deceased subject by marasmus will longer retain its constituents than one occasioned by dropsy, for "water is a sore decayer of the dead body." If these positions be correct, we may account for the extraordinary preservation of bodies in these cemeteries, by advertising to the dry soil they occupy, their structure of limestone, &c., and the admirable manner in which they are built. Hence they possess advantages which are denied to vaults in the structure of which similar precautions have not been observed. In reflecting upon the manner in which the marble cemetery seems to cherish

a very remarkable change of climate is perceptible. The level sandy plains of the southern extreme approximate to the temperate of eastern Virginia, and

the lineaments of our mortal remains, one feels inclined to adopt the language of old Jeremy Taylor: "after all, our vaults are our longest and sincerest mourners." The marble cemeteries were projected through the enterprise of Perkins Nicols.

American Bible Society.—This institution was founded in May, 1816, and has most assiduously directed its energies to the objects of its formation. It has a board of thirty-six managers, all laymen, from several religious denominations. The society has upwards of six hundred auxiliaries scattered through every state and territory in the union, and the number is continually increasing. The number of Bibles and Testaments issued from its formation to the anniversary in May, 1834, was 1,644,500. In May, 1829, the society resolved, in case means were furnished in season, to supply every destitute family in the United States with a copy of the Bible within two years. According to a report made to the society in 1834, there had been printed 149,375 copies of Bibles and Testaments during the past year, the larger part being Testaments in English and modern Greek. The Bible has been issued by this society in various languages: as the English, French, Spanish, German, Welsh, Irish, and Gaelic. The Testament, in the foregoing languages, and in the modern Greek, and Dutch: the Gospels and Epistles, in the Indian language. The receipts of this association for the year ending May, 1834, were upwards of eighty-eight thousand dollars: the expenditures nearly to a fraction the same.

American Tract Society.—Next in importance, the Tract Society is to be recorded. It is a recent foundation most liberally sustained. It is estimated that the average issue of tracts is about one hundred thousand, or one million of pages weekly. It has numerous auxiliary societies. The whole number of the society's distinct publications is about eight hundred, many of them volumes of considerable size. The number of tracts published by this association during the year 1830-1, on the subject of temperance, was five hundred and sixteen thousand.

As connected with moral and religious instruction, many other institutions for the benefit of the rising generation flourish in this city. The names only of a part can be here enumerated. The American Sunday School Union; the New York Sunday School Union; the Bible and Common Prayer Book Society; the New York Protestant Episcopal Tract Society; the Colonization Society of the city of New York; the American Home Missionary Society; the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union Society; the New York Protestant Episcopal Press; the New York Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society; the New York Manumission Society; Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents, and several Temperance Societies.

During the past year, an association of much promise has been organized under the presidency of the Hon. Gideon Lee, Mayor of the city, called the Society for the Promotion of Knowledge and Industry.

The *Book-Concern of the Methodist Episcopal Church* is located in the city of New York, with a branch at Cincinnati, Ohio. The business is conducted in a commodious building lately erected in Mulberry street, on a plan designed for extensive additions hereafter, which, when completed, will probably be the largest publishing establishment in the United States, as it now is in the city of its location. There are at present (1832) thirty presses in full operation, one of which being a power-press is equal to five common presses; and constant employment is furnished to above two hundred persons in the various departments of printing, binding, folding, &c.

In connexion with this book-concern, is transacted the business of the Bible, Tract and Sunday School Union Societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church, auxiliaries and branches of which are numerous throughout the United States and territories, and all supplied with books from this source, or from the branch at Cincinnati. From this press is issued weekly "the Christian Advocate and Journal, and Zion's Herald," a religious paper, having upwards of twenty-seven thousand subscribers.

admit the cultivation of cotton, whilst the seasons of Warren and Sussex counties resemble those of Vermont and New Hampshire. This state has the two

Of the numerous works here issued, a large proportion are stereotyped, and the profits of the establishment, after defraying the expenses of its management, are wholly devoted to religious and charitable uses.

Literary Institutions.—The literary institutions of New York are numerous, but for the most part in their infancy. By far the most venerable and important is Columbia College, founded by charter in 1754, under the name of King's College, partly by the munificence of the corporation of Trinity Church, and partly by the British Society for the Promotion of the Gospel in foreign parts. During the interval which elapsed between the years 1776 and 1784, the business of instruction was necessarily suspended in consequence of the trials of the revolutionary contest, and the college edifice appropriated to the purpose of a military hospital. Upon the restoration of public tranquillity, certain individuals were appointed by an act of the legislature, dated May 1, 1784, to superintend the general interests of education throughout the state, under the title of Regents of the University, whose number was subsequently increased by an act passed 26th November in the same year. By this body the duties of trustees of the college were also discharged, until the year 1787. On the 13th of April, 1787, an act was passed by which the original charter of the college was confirmed, the name of the institution altered to Columbia College, and its direction confided to certain persons mentioned in said act, who were authorized by the provisions of the same to discharge the duties of trustees of the college, and were empowered, for the time to come, to fill all vacancies which might occur in this number by death, resignation or otherwise, after it should be diminished to twenty-four. The government of the college has continued to be exercised in conformity with this act since that time.

Columbia College is liberally endowed, possessing property to the amount of nearly half a million of dollars. It was formerly composed of a Faculty of Arts and a Faculty of Physic. The latter was abolished in 1813. The Faculty of Arts consists at present of a professorship of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, Rhetoric, Belles Letters and Political Economy; a professorship of Greek and Latin Languages, a Jay professorship of the same, a professorship of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry, a professorship of Mathematics, Analytical Mechanics, and Physical Astronomy. Certain branches of instruction and the general superintendence of the college are committed to the charge of the president of the college, who is chosen by the trustees. The number of students is generally about one hundred and thirty. There are two literary societies connected with the college; composed of under graduates, the Philolexian and Peithologian societies, and a grammar school recently organized, containing upwards of two hundred students, subject to the government of the trustees of the college.

The number of graduates of Columbia College since its foundation is about eleven hundred; many of whom have been eminent in the service of the church and state. In no other college in the union, are the requisites of candidates for admission as students of the respective classes so high, and in none are the several courses of studies more extensively or critically taught, particularly in the classical and mathematical departments. While reflecting on the capabilities and doings of this college, one may equally marvel that the number of its students has for so many years remained stationary, as at the unmerited success of some greatly inferior institutions.

Columbia College possesses an excellent library of about four thousand five hundred volumes, and which has been recently enriched by a large donation of philosophical works, the gift of Dr. Hosack. This institution enjoys an admirable location in a commanding part of the city: it is one of the finest specimens of architecture in New York.

University of the City of New York.—This is the name of a college recently projected by a number of gentlemen of New York, and designed to embrace a more extensive system of literature and science than any heretofore established. A literary convention was held in the city in October, 1829, with a view to its formation;

large and increasing cities of New York and Philadelphia on its borders; and, taken in every respect, it may be doubted whether it is not the most advanced

subscriptions to a considerable amount have been already obtained among the citizens for this object; a board of council has been chosen, by whom the Rev. James Matthews, D.D. has been chosen chancellor of the institution. It is declared as a distinctive character of this establishment to enjoy an entire exclusion of all sectarian influence. At this present writing, an edifice of great beauty, and of very considerable extent, is now erecting on the east side of the Washington Parade Ground. It is two hundred feet long, and one hundred feet deep; it is in the castellated Gothic style, four stories on the wings—two in the centre, one of which forms the chapel. It is built of the white marble of Sing Sing. The plan was originally suggested by Major Douglas, of West Point: its architectural disposition by Town, Davis, and Dayton. The whole business of the institution seems to be in a train of successful progress. The several faculties are divided into a Faculty of Letters, a Faculty of Science and the Arts, a Faculty of Law, and a Faculty of Medicine.

The General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States.—This institution is situated about two miles from the City Hall, on the eastern bank of Hudson river. The block of land on which the seminary is located is an oblong square of eight hundred by one hundred and eighty feet; the present value of which is sixty thousand dollars, and was presented to the seminary by Clement Moore, son of the late Right Rev. Benjamin Moore, D.D.

The present building is one wing of those contemplated, whenever the funds of the institution will enable the trustees to complete the design, and is a spacious stone edifice of Gothic architecture, one hundred and ten feet in length, sixty feet wide, and three stories high. At this seminary (instituted in 1819, partly by the funds of the Episcopal church and partly by a liberal bequest of the late Jacob Sherrerd of this city) about one hundred and forty candidates have been prepared for the ministry. The late Mr. John Kohn of Philadelphia has recently bequeathed to this institution one hundred thousand dollars, on the demise of his widow; at present it relies for support in a great measure on the liberality of the friends of the church. The faculty consists of a Professor of Biblical Learning and the Interpretation of the Scriptures, a Professor of Systematic Divinity, of Oriental and Greek Literature, and also a Professorship of the Nature, Ministry, and Polity of the church. The condition of the institution is most flattering to the interests of theology; and the number of students is rapidly on the increase.

Mercantile Library Association.—This institution was organized in 1821, and occupies appropriate apartments in that substantial and superior edifice denominated *Clinton Hall*. An elegant lecture room is provided, in which lectures are delivered on several branches of the physical and ethical sciences. The present number of subscribers is fifteen hundred and twenty-five; the library consists of about nine thousand volumes. The annual income derived from various sources, is near three thousand dollars. Active zeal and rigorous enterprise characterize this institution, and no small share of its present flattering condition is owing to the liberality of Philip Hone, late mayor of New York.

General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen.—This society was incorporated in 1792, and was originally designed for the purpose of affording aid to the widows and children of deceased members, which it has effectually done, to a large amount annually. Meeting with flattering support, it established a school for the education of the children of deceased members whose circumstances required their assistance, and subsequently the school was enlarged, so as to accommodate many of the children, both male and female of the more wealthy members, whose attention was attracted to the school by the high character it maintains, and which it yet fully sustains; by this arrangement the tuition fees of those who pay, defray the whole expenses of the establishment. The children are all alike educated, and the distinction, always odious, between those who do and those who do not pay, is unknown in this valuable school. Some years ago the society enlarged the sphere of its

tageously situated of any political subdivision of the republic.

A connexion between the Hudson and Delaware

usefulness, by the establishment of a library, for the exclusive and gratuitous use of the apprentices of mechanics. The library is open every evening, (excepting on Sundays,) and contains about twelve thousand volumes: the number of readers now amount to fifteen hundred. A more spacious building has recently been purchased, which will enable the society to enlarge the school and library, and add thereto reading rooms, for the apprentices of mechanics. The society is conspicuous among the many valuable institutions of New York, and has exercised a large and salutary influence on those for whose immediate benefit it was specially designed. The amount of its property is estimated at seventy-five thousand dollars, and its annual revenue at four thousand five hundred dollars.

MEDICAL.—The nature of the medical profession is such, that its cultivation as a science becomes a duty of vital importance to society; and whenever individuals are congregated to any considerable amount, measures, the offspring of individual efforts or of municipal authority, are adopted to aid in the advancement of the healing art. A careful examination into the lives and services of those who exercised the abilities of the medical profession in this city even at an early date, will show that New York has at all times been favoured with some few in this profession, whose career was a blessing to the state. Long before the establishment of any thing like a medical school, some pupil of Boerhaave, or a well educated physician of a foreign university, might be found among us; and Dubois, Beekman, Dupuy, Magrath, and Farquhar, are often mentioned as conspicuous in their day and generation. Within our time, the faculty has had just reason to boast of no inconsiderable number of individuals, who, by their professional zeal, character, and attainments, have largely contributed to the relief of suffering humanity, or enlarged the resources of the healing art: among these, now deceased, may be enumerated Bayley, Miller, Post, Mitchell, Moore, Rodgers, Burrowe, Stringham, and Kissam. As quackery, however, is always found to prevail, wherever there are knaves and fools to dupe and to be duped, the historian of New York, Smith, has given an early evidence of this species of dishonourable livelihood. As far back as 1753, speaking of this city, he observes, "Quacks abound like locusts in Egypt, and too many have recommended themselves to a full and profitable subsistence;" and notwithstanding numerous and salutary as many of the statutory regulations of this state since that period have been, it can not be denied that there is much room for further legislation, to place the profession of the healing art on a sure and honourable foundation, and to guard against the pernicious encroachments which are still found to prevail on this subject in this metropolis. The establishment of schools of medical learning, on a broad and liberal principle, the avoidance of monopoly in the system of instruction, and the generous cultivation of the profession, as the first of the liberal sciences, are the only means which a wise legislature will countenance and support, in order to secure to the medical character its proper dignity.

The first essay in the United States for the purpose of imparting anatomical knowledge by means of dissection, was made in this city in 1750, by Drs. John Bard and Peter Middleton. The first attempt towards the promotion of a medical school was made in 1768, during the administration of Sir Henry Moore and Lieutenant-Governor Colden; and in the following year it was organized, under the direction of King's College, and Jones, Middleton, Smith, Clossy, Tennent, and Bard, appointed its respective professors. Eminent as several of these individuals were, the prospects of this school were early destroyed by the revolutionary war. In 1783, the regents endeavoured to re-establish this or-

basins is now in progress, by the Morris Canal. The line of it leaves the Delaware at Phillipsburgh, opposite Easton, in Pennsylvania, and is carried over

ganization; but this attempt proved abortive. In 1792 the trustees of Columbia College created another medical faculty in their institution, and appointed distinguished individuals to lecture on the several branches of medical and chirurgical knowledge. This organization lasted until 1813, when it was dissolved by an act of the trustees.

College of Physicians and Surgeons of the University of the State of New York.—In conformity to an act of the legislature passed as early as 1791, the regents of the university exercised the power of establishing this institution, which was chartered on the 12th of March, 1807. In November following, the business of instruction commenced under the most flattering indications of success. In 1810, the rapid progress of the college in its importance and usefulness, received a temporary check, owing to certain difficulties having taken place between the existing president, Dr. Romayne, and the professors, which induced the regents to reorganize the institution in 1811, under the venerable Dr. Bard, as president, to create other professors, and modify the internal government of the school. On the 15th of May, the first medical commencement was held, and the degree of doctor of medicine conferred on eight candidates, a greater number than had at any one time previously received that honour in New York. In September, 1813, the consolidation of the two medical schools of New York took place; i. e. the union of the late Medical Faculty of Columbia College, with the College of Physicians and Surgeons. From this period till 1825, this establishment proceeded successfully with an annual increase in the number of its students, and in its career of utility and reputation. For several years it enumerated above two hundred students, from different and distant parts of the union, in attendance at its winter session of lectures.* An anomalous and ill devised form of government, however, the clashing interests of the trustees and professors, and charges of serious import urged against the teachers, induced the regents to examine into the grounds of accusation; an elaborate report was published by the regents, who declared, after the minutest inquiry, the charges against the faculty groundless, and to have arisen from jealousy and professional rivalry. A motion was made by the honourable the regents to remove the whole board of trustees, but the assumption of vested rights caused them to abandon this wholesome measure. Some modifications in the government of the college, nevertheless, were carried into effect. Broils and contention, however, continued, when, in April, 1826, the professors, wearied with unavailing attempts to silence this opposition, came to the conclusion, that "it would best consist with their own self-respect," to withdraw altogether from the institution, and accordingly they tendered the resignation of their professorships and offices. The board of regents accepted their resignations, April 17th, 1826, and presented them their thanks, "for the faithful and able manner in which they had filled their respective chairs as instructors and lecturers in said college."

On the 7th of July, 1826, at a special meeting of the regents of the university, held at the capitol in Albany, the vacancies caused by the resignation of the late professors, were filled up in the several departments, and John Watts, M. D. appointed president: upon his demise, the regents appointed John Augustine Smith, M. D., &c.

The number of students attending the school, since that period, has varied from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty.

Rutgers Medical College.—This institution was created by the former professors of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and a commodious and neat edifice erected for the purpose, at an entire cost of upwards of twenty thousand dollars, by the faculty, at their

Medicine, by Professors Stringham and Francis; *Practice of Physic*, by Professors Miller and Hosack; *Surgery*, by Professors Smith and Mott; *Materia Medica*, by Professors Bruce, Dewitt, Francis, Macneven, and Mitchell; *Institutes*, by Professors Dewitt, Francis, and Hosack; *Clinical Medicine*, by Professors Miller, Hamersley, and Hosack; *Botany*, by Professor Mitchell.

* Subsequent to the re-organization of the college, in 1811, the business of instruction was performed by the following professors:—*Anatomy*, by Professors Smith and Post; *Chemistry*, by Professors Dewitt and Macneven; *Obstetrics*, by Professors Macneven, Osborn, Hosack, and Francis; *Natural Philosophy*, by Professor Dewitt; *Natural History*, by Professors Dewitt and Mitchell; *Mineralogy*, by Professor Bruce; *Legal*

Warren county, New Jersey, to its extreme north-east angle about thirty miles; thence eastward, through Morris and Essex counties, to the Passaic River, and

along the valley of the latter to Newark; leaving that city, it crosses Passaic and Hackensack, and winds through the Bergen Marshes to Jersey city, opposite

own expense. It is located in Duane street, near the New York Hospital. The lecture rooms are three in number, one for chemistry, a large hall for the practice of medicine, obstetrics, and materia medica, on the second floor; and the surgical and anatomical theatre on the third floor. The saloon of practical anatomy, on the fourth floor, is of superior construction, and convenient in its arrangement. The whole building is provided with gas lights, and warmed by a single fire, burned in the basement, from which heated air is conveyed by flues to all parts of the house. This institution was opened for instruction in November, 1826, and honoured by the attendance of one hundred and fifty medical hearers. At four successive sessions of the college, the number of its students continued about the same, and the courses of instruction, with the means of illustration afforded by the chemical laboratory, the anatomical museum, and the cabinet of the professors, secured to its patrons their entire approbation. In consequence, however, of legislative enactments, the labours of this school are at present suspended. It would thus appear that what promised to become a most salutary and efficient means to improve and extend medical learning, has been necessarily abandoned by men who had displayed zeal and abilities adequate to the importance of the occasion, and a liberality in pecuniary appropriations, as rare as it was honourable. Since 1829, the business of medical instruction has been confined exclusively to the state institution, under the direction and patronage of the regents of the university: but this restrictive teaching has done little to advance medical learning; the number of students resorting to New York for instruction in medicine having diminished full half of what it formerly was. The self-gratulatory reflections of the honourable the regents, relative to the high destinies of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, which are contained in the following quotation from their annual report to the legislature, upon the *restrictive* measures which had just been adopted to extinguish the Rutgers College, are perhaps at this day not unmingled with disappointment to that enlightened and avowedly impartial body:—"To such a result it can not be considered as presumptuous to look with confidence," especially since the act lately passed by the legislature, relative to the degree of Doctor of Medicine conferred by colleges without this state, has removed the last remaining obstacle to its march to that eminence to which the state of New York, in consideration of her pre-eminent rank among the other states, ought to elevate her public institutions."—The monopoly of instruction, like other monopolies, seems to be incompatible with the genius of our free institutions.

New York Hospital.—This is one of the noblest and most admirable institutions of this city. The ground upon which it stands is bounded in front by Broadway, in the rear by Church street, Anthony street on the north, and Duane street on the south. The building or buildings occupy an area of about 450 feet in length, and 440 in breadth. Part of this area in front, is at present owned and occupied by individuals, leaving an avenue of about 90 feet, leading from Broadway, which is planted with a double row of lofty trees. The site of the hospital is elevated, and about six hundred yards from the Hudson river. The principal edifice, denominated the hospital, is of gray stone. It extends 136 feet in front, 52 feet in height, 50 feet deep in the centre, and 86 feet deep in the wings, which project on each side. It was originally only two stories high; it is now three above the basement. Its wards accommodate three hundred patients; besides which, there are a theatre for surgical operations, and other apartments for the convenience of the superintendent, apothecary, library, &c.

The charter for this institution was granted by Lord Dunmore, then governor of the province, in 1771, at the instance of Peter Middleton, John Jones, and Samuel Bard, three eminent physicians of this city. Dr. Bard, in particular, may be considered its projector. In 1775, the hospital was burnt down by accident. In 1791, it was reopened for the sick and disabled, and afterwards extended to infirm and friendless seamen. The money arising from private subscriptions having proved inadequate, the legisla-

ture was induced at various periods to confer grants upon it of the public money. These were increased from time to time, until March, 1806, when an act was passed, authorizing 12,500 dollars per annum to be paid to the institution out of the duties on public executions, till the year 1857. The funds of the institution are also augmented by a tax on seamen's wages, and the members of the corporation pay on their admission forty dollars each.

The government of the hospital is under a Board, consisting of a president, a vice-president, a treasurer, secretary, and twenty-five other members. The Board appoint a visiting committee, and elect the physicians and surgeons annually. Of these, there are four physicians and four surgeons. There is also a house physician, house surgeon, apothecary, &c. There is a large and excellent medical library connected with this institution, embracing nearly four thousand volumes on medicine, surgery, and the auxiliary branches of science; besides a well chosen botanical library, purchased by the Board from Dr. David Hosack.

Asylum for the Insane.—This institution is at Manhattanville, about seven miles from the city; it was built by the government of the New York City Hospital, and is under their immediate care and control. As early as 1808, a building for the accommodation of lunatics was erected on the grounds of the city hospital, capable of accommodating sixty patients. But the inadequacy of this establishment being too clearly evident, the governors of the hospital applied for legislative aid, to enable them to erect the present asylum; and through the instrumentality of the late Thomas Eddy, De Witt Clinton, and others, the liberal appropriation of 10,000 dollars per annum for forty-four years was made in behalf of this benevolent undertaking. The Bloomingdale Asylum is admirably situated, and commands one of the most extensive and interesting views in the United States. The plan of the building is the design of Thomas C. Taylor, Esq. The front view is 415 feet by 180, which includes the wings; the whole is three stories high, exclusive of the basement story, and is intended to contain 250 rooms. The central part is 211 feet in front, by 60 feet deep; it is built of brown hewn stone of excellent appearance, and of the most durable nature. It is not too much to say, that this institution is the first of the kind in the United States, and that New York has worthily displayed her resources in the ample provision she has made for the afflicted inmates of the asylum.

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES.—There are several associations in New York, whose prominent object is the promotion of general and scientific knowledge. The following are the most important.

New York Historical Society.—This association originated from the example of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Its commencement was in 1804, and an act of incorporation was obtained in 1809. Its professed object is to collect and preserve whatever is best calculated to illustrate the natural, civil, political, and ecclesiastical history of the United States, and the state of New York in particular. That the society has not been unmindful of this high trust, its extensive and unique library of ten thousand volumes, embracing materials for the American historian, its cabinet of medals, maps, engravings, and valuable MSS., abundantly evince. It has published several volumes of *Collections*, illustrative chiefly of facts and circumstances in American history. Its most efficient founder was John Pintard. This society has recently obtained an admirable location in Broadway.

Literary and Philosophical Society.—This association originated in 1814, and was incorporated by an act of the legislature the same year. It has published one volume of *Transactions*, quarto, which contains among other matters the inaugural discourse of its first president, De Witt Clinton, LL. D. The second volume, part first, is enriched with the results of Capt. Sabine's late experiments.

Lyceum of Natural History.—This society was incorporated in 1818. It possesses a valuable cabinet of minerals, an herbarium of great extent, a rich cabinet of zoology, ichthyology, &c. &c. No institution in the state has so ably and so zealously devoted it-





New York. The Delaware and Raritan Canal, extends from Lambertton on the Delaware, below Trenton, to New Brunswick on the Raritan, a distance of

self to the important object of its formation, and its printed transactions, in several volumes, are extensively known and commended. Its most distinguished patron was the late Samuel L. Mitchill, M. D., LL. D., who long held the office of president.

Horticultural Society.—Incorporated in March, 1822. This association has effectively directed its energies to the best means of improving the cultivation of our vegetable productions, and to the acclimation of exotics of an esculent nature. It has acquired a substantial reputation for the services it has rendered horticultural science. A periodical journal under its auspices is published in the city. The society, besides ordinary members, has honorary and corresponding members.

Academy of Arts.—This is the oldest institution of its kind in the United States. It was commenced in 1801. Among those who suggested the plan of the undertaking, and who have zealously patronised it, might be enumerated the names of several gentlemen of the first importance in the state. The property of this association consists of a large collection of fine paintings, among which are a portrait of their former president, Chancellor Livingston, and a full length portrait of Benjamin West, painted by Lawrence, a large collection of antiques, statues, busts, bass-reliefs and a library of books on the fine arts. Besides these treasures, the society possesses a copy of the engravings and views of Piranesi, in twenty-four superb volumes, presented to the Academy by Napoleon. The accommodations of the institution are well calculated for the purposes of its exhibition, and are situate in Barclay street, near the Park. The members are divided into academicians and associates: the former must be artists by profession. The venerable historical painter, John Trumbull, Esq. is the present president.

National Academy of the Arts of Design.—The enterprise of a number of young gentlemen, artists and amateurs, gave origin to this association. It was organized in 1826, and opened its first exhibition in a private room in Broadway. They have recently been accommodated with suitable apartments in Clinton Hall. None but the productions of living artists are admitted for exhibition. The objects of the society, as announced by them, are the mutual improvement of its members, and the instruction of all others who wish to become students of the arts of design. To secure these intentions, lectures are delivered, and apparatus and models furnished to the pupil.

New York Society Library.—The beginning of this society may be dated back as far as 1729; it is the oldest and most valuable library in the state, and contains upwards of twenty-five thousand volumes on the various subjects of general literature, theology, history, law, medicine, political economy, &c. &c. The building which it occupies is situate in Nassau street, opposite the middle Reformed Dutch Church. It is supported by the annual subscription of its members.

The Athenæum.—This is a recent establishment, which was formed in 1824. Its objects are to sustain a library and reading room, to maintain lectures on various branches of general literature and science, &c.

Medical Society of the City and County of New York.—This is an institution created in conformity to a law of the legislature, passed in 1806, organizing medical societies throughout the different counties of the state.

Charities.—No city in the union, perhaps none of its size in the world, can claim a greater number of efficient charitable institutions than the city of New York. Her paupers, embracing a large body of emigrants from the shores of Europe, find the hand of christian beneficence liberally opened to them, both in poverty and sickness. To notice at length these numerous institutions, would far exceed the limits assigned to this article. The following enumeration of the principal ones must suffice. The establishment, on a broad and liberal scale, founded and supported by the corporation of the city, denominated the Alms House and Fever Hospital at Bellevue, is delightfully situated on the bank of the East river. The New York Dispensary, incorporated in 1795. The

forty-three miles. It is seven feet deep throughout, and seventy-five feet wide at the water line, and will admit vessels of 100 tons. The water to supply this

Northern Dispensary, incorporated in 1830. The House of Refuge, which combines together the advantages of a prison, a manufactory, and a school on the Lancasterian plan. Two Lying-in Hospitals. The Eye Infirmary. Several Orphan Asylums. The Humane Society, for the resuscitation of persons from suspended animation, and for the aid of imprisoned debtors. The Society for Aged and Indigent Females. The Deaf and Dumb Institution, a noble establishment, incorporated in 1817. The Medical Mansion, built by the munificence of Jacob Lorillard, Esq., though not strictly a charity, deserves also to be noticed. It is designed for the accommodation of invalids generally, and particularly for those who visit the city for the purpose of obtaining the benefit of the advice of the distinguished members of the medical profession, and who can here be accommodated (with or without their families) with suits of furnished rooms, in a spacious building, which is situated in a retired and pleasant part of the city, surrounded by fine pleasure grounds, and in full view of the Hudson river: the inconveniences oftentimes incident to the sick in boarding-houses, led to the establishment of the Medical Mansion, where invalids have the advice and attendance of any physician they may prefer, and are accommodated with apartments and attendance in accordance with their means or wishes. Besides these, there are many Assistance Societies of mechanics and tradesmen, for the relief of poor widows, &c. &c.

School Fund and Common Schools.—The city of New York participates in the munificent fund of the state, appropriated to the advancement of common education. There were, in 1829, eleven public schools; nineteen charity schools; three incorporated schools; and four hundred and thirty-six private schools, at which were educated twenty-two thousand three hundred and forty-three pupils. Since that time the number has been greatly augmented. At the Sunday schools upwards of twelve thousand children are educated. Besides these, there are a number of infant schools, at which probably from two to three thousand children under the age of four years are instructed. At the Roman Catholic free schools about thirteen hundred children are educated.

Penitentiary System.—The penitentiary, formerly at Bellevue, is now removed to Blackwell's Island, on which are being erected edifices of great extent. The penitentiary system of New York embraces details far too extensive to allow of adequate notice in this place.

Municipal Government.—This is in the hands of a mayor and two separate councils, the one consisting of the aldermen, the other of the assistant aldermen of the fifteen wards into which the city is divided. The total expense of the city, in 1833, amounted to \$933,829 76 cents.

The following statistical view may with propriety be here given: it is taken from the first report of the Society for Promoting Knowledge and Industry, dated May, 1834.

Paupers, Patients, &c. in New York.

Penitentiary	593
Alms House (adults)	1355
Do. (children)	772
Bellevue Hospital (sick)	238
Do. (maniacs)	177
City Hospital (end of 1833)	1963
Do. (at present)	2034
House of Refuge (end of 1833)	121
Do. (at present)	174
Patients in the City Dispensary: male in door patients	1120
Female in door patients	1620
Male out door do.	5555
Female do. do.	7875

Arrivals of emigrants in the port of New York, in 1828, 19,023; 1829, 16,164; 1830, 30,224; 1831, 31,739; 1832, 48,589; 1833, 41,752.

From the successive reports of the secretary of state, the following facts are derived:—The number of paupers supported in the

canal is conducted by a navigable feeder five feet deep, and fifty feet wide at the water line, extending from Eagle Islands on the Delaware, to its junction with the main canal at Trenton, twenty-four miles.

state, both in door and out door, were, in 1830, 15,506; 1831, 15,564; 1832, 34,094; 1833, 35,777. In the city of New York, in 1831, 9,627; 1832, 22,909; 1833, 22,584. This great increase is probably owing to the different manner of calculating—in one the number of families is stated—in the other, the number of individuals.

The expense to the state, was, in 1830, \$216,535; 1831, \$245,433; 1832, \$267,767; 1833, \$295,239. The expense to the city was, in 1831, \$86,597; 1832, \$98,223; 1833, \$92,040.

The estimated value of buildings, &c. in 1833, in the state, was \$865,770; in the city, \$550,000. Adding to expense in the state, in 1833, \$295,239, six per cent. on the value of buildings, &c. \$52,046, it makes the actual expense to the state amount to \$346,285. Adding to expense in the city, in 1833, \$92,040, six per cent. on the value of buildings, &c. \$33,000, it makes the actual expense to the city amount to \$125,040.

Courts.—In the city of New York, are holden the sittings of the United States Circuit Court, for the southern district of New York, in April and September. The United States District Court, for the southern district of New York, on the first Tuesday of November. The May term of the New York Supreme Court; and at stated intervals, the sittings of the New York State Court for the county; the Court of Chancery; the Vice Chancellor's Court; the Court of Oyer and Terminer; the New York Superior Court; the Court of Common Pleas; the Court of Sessions; the Marine Court; the public court, and the several justices' courts.

"The police of New York," says Dr. Dwight, "has become, I suspect, superior to that of any other city in the American union. The order maintained here is in a sense absolute. Law reigns with an entire control; and resistance to it is unthought of." It has been justly observed, that the ancient government of the city, while it was the metropolis of a province, was energetic and exact, and the original inhabitants, as well those who returned after the revolutionary war as those who, during its continuance, resided here, were, says Dwight, so habituated to such a government, "that most of them, particularly men of extensive influence, were unwilling to see any other substituted in its place." Samuel Jones is universally called the father of the New York bar, and the legal profession, ever since his time, has enjoyed a pre-eminent rank and importance. Among the most distinguished, now deceased, who have ennobled juridical science, at the New York courts, are, Hamilton, Harrison, Livingston, Wells, and Emmet. The municipal courts have also well sustained their early reputation. The mayors, Varick, Clinton, and Colden, were, in their day and generation, "a terror to evil doers."

Public Amusements.—There are three theatres in the city, the Park theatre, the American theatre, and the Richmond Hill theatre. The two former are large and magnificent buildings. At an early period, theatricals seem to have met with great encouragement in New York, but the reader is referred to the *History of the American Stage*, by William Dunlap, Esq., for minute details. There are two museums; the American Museum, founded by the late John Scudder, in 1809, and Peale's Museum, of a recent establishment. Several public gardens are places of great resort during the heat of summer. The introduction of the Italian opera in the city in 1825-6, under the direction of the Garcia troupe, constitutes an important era in the public recreations of New York; since which period, a correct taste for music has rapidly spread, and the pretensions of the English song have yielded to the claims of the sublime strains of Mozart and Rossini. An Italian Opera House has lately been built at the corner of Leonard and Church streets. This is an elegant building, and covers a space of 99 feet front and rear, by 150 feet deep.

Periodical Literature.—The following detail exhibits a laudable zeal in this species of literature. There are twelve daily newspapers; nine semi-weekly; and about thirty weekly papers. Of these, one is in the French language, two in the Spanish, and one

Charters for four rail-roads have been granted by the legislature within two years, the state having reserved the right to levy a transit duty upon the goods, &c., transported upon them, which is expected to

is in the Spanish, French, and Italian. It is estimated that ten millions of sheets are annually issued by the news presses. About twenty monthly periodicals are published, some of extensive circulation. The New York Mirror, a weekly publication, issues nine thousand.

Many periodical journals of a monthly character, devoted either to literature or science, or theology, have at different periods been published in New York. The following list embraces the more conspicuous of them. The New York Magazine. The New York Medical Repository. The United States Magazine and Review. The New York Medical and Physical Journal. The American Review. The American Medical and Philosophical Register. The Literary and Scientific Repository. The Churchman's Magazine. The New York Medical Journal. The New York Recorder, &c.

The Boston News-Letter, in 1704, is familiarly known to have been the first newspaper published in America. William Bradford, the government printer, established a printing press in New York in 1693. Moll (or Oldmixon, edition of 1708) observes, there is a printing press in this town: and Thomas (*History of Printing*), remarks, that no press was established under the Dutch government. Bradford's first book from his press, was a small folio volume of the laws of the colony, bearing the date of 1693. A file of Bradford's paper, for many years under the name of the New York Weekly Gazette, 1720; &c. is in the possession of the New York Historical Society. Zenger, not many years after, 1734, published his Weekly Journal.

It has been tauntingly observed, that our national literature is newspapers: there may be some ground for the remark: the newspaper press is endeared to the feelings of Americans by the strongest considerations of patriotism. Franklin, the Apostle of liberty, more than a century ago, while in the humble occupation of a journeyman printer, at Boston, wrote and published animadversions on the legislative enactments of Great Britain relative to the colonies, which, though they appeared in the unassuming columns of a weekly paper, awakened the attention of British statesmen. The free strictures on the administration of Governor Crosby and his council, printed in the Weekly Journal of the city of New York, by John Peter Zenger, roused the energies of a whole people; and, to use the language of the late Gouverneur Morris, adopted in a conversation with the writer of this article, "the trial of Zenger, in 1735, was the germ of American freedom—the morning star of that liberty, which subsequently revolutionized America." The "Common Sense" of Paine first appeared in the columns of a newspaper, during the days of peril "that tried mens' souls:" and the philosophical exposition and defence of the constitution and the union, which Hamilton, Jay, and Madison, published, under the title of the *Federalist*, was first submitted to the people through the pages of a gazette. The literary capabilities evinced in this species of periodical writing, is honourable to the city of New York.

Mortality.—The city of New York may be classed among the most healthy of its size in the world. As no register of births, however, is preserved, one important item is wanting in estimating its comparative salubrity. Its apparent average mortality, greater than that of some of its sister cities, is to be referred to the number of emigrants who resort to this great emporium. The characteristic feature of a large proportion of the most prevalent disorders is inflammatory; hence, the immense outlet of human life by pulmonary consumption: and the number of still-born cases is supposed to have much increased of late years by the injudicious use of the secale cornutum, or ergot. The deaths from the drinking of cold water in some summers of great solar heat, serves to enlarge the bills of mortality. This was particularly the case in the ardent season of 1825, and in that of 1834. The yellow fever has been less frequent in its recurrence than formerly. This, by some, is attributed to the improved state of our domestic policy, and by others

yield a large revenue when the works shall be completed. The most important of these enterprises is the Camden and Amboy rail-road, the charter of which was granted in 1829, and which is to extend from Amboy to Camden, a distance of sixty-one miles. The part of this rail-road which extends from Amboy to Bordentown, thirty-four miles in length, with a deviation of only three quarters of a mile in the whole distance from a right line, was expected to be completed in November, 1831; and the other part, from Bordentown to Camden, a distance of twenty-seven miles, to be finished early in the summer of 1832.—This will render it practicable to go from New York to Philadelphia, (100 miles,) and return the same day. The Paterson and Hudson River rail-road extends from Paterson to Jersey city, a distance of fourteen miles. The other two rail-roads for which charters have been granted, are the Elizabethtown and Somerville rail-road, and the West Jersey rail-road; but the

construction of them has not yet been begun. A rail-road has been commenced, and we believe is nearly completed to Trenton.

New Jersey abounds in staples, composed of every product of its fields, woods, mines, fisheries, and manufactories. Its manufactures are extensive and thriving. Iron is one of the principal. In July, 1825, there were at Paterson twelve cotton mills in operation, moving 22,000 spindles; three woollen factories, two duck factories, &c. In Trenton, also, there are manufactories of cotton and woollen goods. In Trenton, Newark, and Elizabethtown, are many valuable tanneries. Shoes are made in great numbers at Newark. Almost all the foreign goods consumed in this state are imported at New York and Philadelphia, and the produce of the state is principally carried to those cities for exportation.

The College of New Jersey, at Princeton, was founded in 1738, and has always been one of the

to a more judicious system of quarantine regulations. The first record of this formidable disorder is that of its appearance in New York in 1702, under the name of the great mortality: it was considered by Smith, the historian, as having been brought from the West Indies: it appeared again in 1742, according to Colden, and some notice was given by Adoms of its ravages in this city, again in 1791. The visitations of this disease have been, since 1795, in the years 1797, 1798, 1801, 1803, 1805, 1819, and 1822. The controversy involving the specific character and contagious and non-contagious nature of this disease, has elicited much talent from the faculty on both sides of the question, though not without occasionally betraying too much asperity. The most ample accounts of this fever are those by Bayley, Miller, and Hosack, and that of the disease of 1822 by P. S. Townsend, M. D.—In 1832 the cholera asphyxia, or Asiatic cholera, appeared in the city of New York. The disorder exhibited a train of formidable symptoms novel to nearly all who encountered it; and was regarded as a *nova pestis* by the most experienced and enlightened prescribers. Nearly five thousand of the inhabitants fell victims to it, notwithstanding the intrepidity with which it was combated. And now, at this present writing, (August, 1834,) the same pestilence, characterized by the same venom, is again prevalent. The number of its cases, is however, few, compared with that of the season of 1832.

The average temperature of New York throughout the year is stated at 55° of Fahrenheit. In winter the thermometer is rarely lower than 15° or 20° below the freezing point; sometimes the mercury falls to zero, and it has been observed at two, three, four, or six degrees below it. Most unquestionably the nearness of the Atlantic and the gulf stream, conduce to abate the severity of the winter. Snow is not of frequent occurrence, and rarely continues on the ground more than ten or twelve days at a time. The winter closes about the 10th or 15th of March. The temperature of the summer is rarely higher than 80° or 84°; there are a few days in which the thermometer ranges between 90° and 96°, but this heat is of short continuance, as the evening sea breezes cause a great abatement of it at night. There are not a few sudden changes in temperature, both in summer and winter. The greatest change yet noticed in New York took place in August, 1809, when by the sudden coming on of a northwest storm of rain, the thermometer evinced a difference of forty degrees within the course of fifty-six minutes. But this is no fair sample of the general character of the sudden vicissitudes of the weather. The prevailing winds in summer are from the south and southwest, in winter from the north and northeast and northwest.

The annual average of deaths is stated, by Villermé, at Paris,

as 1 to 32 6-20ths. In London it has been put down as 1 to 38 or 40. In Glasgow, as 1 to 44. The annual mortality at Naples is reported as 1 to 28 1-4. In the whole United States it has been published as 1 to 40. In the healthiest districts of the United States, as 1 to 56; and in the most unhealthy, as 1 to 35. This calculation is not probably so favourable as a more accurate examination of facts would authorize. In New York, it may be set down as 1 to 39 1-2. Notwithstanding the speculations of many ingenious writers, as Williamson, Volney, Niess, &c. there is not much reason to suppose, that our seasons have become much milder, or are in any particular manner ameliorated; and the recent elaborate investigation of Arago seems to render such a flattering speculation altogether hypothetical.

This assertion seems corroborated by the various accounts that have been published of the weather during the winter of 1831-2, in various parts of the United States. According to some, this winter has been colder than ever before within the memory of man. In Georgia and Tennessee the mercury was at zero; in Washington, 5 or 6° below; and in Augusta, Maine, 26° below zero. The city of New York also furnished repeated examples of severe cold during the same season. Similar observations are justifiable of the season of 1833-4.

The number of deaths in New York, as reported by the inspector, was as follows:—in 1826, 4,973; in 1827, 5,181; in 1828, 5,181; in 1829, 5,094; in 1830, 5,537; in 1831, 6,363; in 1832, 10,359; * in 1833, 5,746.

Character.—The multitudinous population of this city presents an endless variety in manners and character. A liberality of feeling and unaffected hospitality have been the result. Active industry and enterprise (often bordering on rashness) are the prevailing characteristics of all classes. Amidst a strong devotion to wealth, it is gratifying to perceive that an attention to higher objects has not been overlooked. Her public school system, her Lancasterian, Sunday, and infant schools, her temperance societies, her innumerable charities, all promise a net reward to their benevolent founders. The respective liberal professions may boast many members of the highest attainments, who tend to diffuse through the various classes of society a proper respect for literature, science, and the elegant arts. This commercial emporium is not unworthy the name by which she is recognised, and may, above all, claim that, whether the avenues to her trade have been closed by legislative restrictions, or during the unprofitable contest of arms, her fidelity to the union has never for a moment been questioned.

J. W. F.

* Augmented by the prevalence of the Cholera Asphyxia.

most respectable and flourishing literary institutions in the country. In 1820, it had a president, who also instructed in the holy scriptures, the evidences of divine revelation, moral philosophy, and logic; a vice-president, who was also professor of languages and belles lettres; a professor of mathematics and mechanical philosophy; a professor of chemistry, experimental philosophy, and natural history; three tutors, and 121 students. The college library contains about 8,000 volumes; the philosophical apparatus is complete; and the cabinet of mineralogy and natural history is valuable. The college edifice is styled Nassau Hall, in honour of the Prince of Orange. The whole number of alumni of the college, in 1815, was 1,425, of whom 1,023 were then living.—A Theological Seminary was established at Princeton, in 1821, under the direction of the general assembly of the Presbyterian church. It has two professors,—one of didactic and polemic theology, the other of ecclesiastical history. The edifice for the accommodation of the institution, is an elegant stone building, 150 feet by fifty, four stories high, and contains rooms for 100 students. The term of study is three years. The number of students, in 1821, was seventy-three.—Queen's College was established in New Brunswick by the ministers of the Dutch reformed church, for the education of their clergy, and incorporated in 1770. In 1810, a Theological Seminary was established in the city by the general synod of the reformed Dutch churches, and, to a certain extent, connected with the college. The exercises of Queen's College, which had been suspended for several years, were revived in the autumn of 1825,

under very favourable auspices. This state possesses a school fund which yields an annual income of about 22,000 dollars, and, by a law passed in 1829, the sum of 20,000 dollars was appropriated to be annually distributed in small sums to such towns as would voluntarily raise an equal sum for the support of schools. At a public meeting of the friends of education, in 1828, a committee was appointed to procure and publish information relating to the condition of schools. From the statements published by this committee, it appears that, in the whole state, 11,742 children were entirely destitute of instruction, and that about 15,000 adults were unable to read. In many towns, more than half of the children never attended school. In Sussex and Warren counties, forty-nine districts were destitute of schools; and in the rich and flourishing county of Essex, 1,200 children were destitute of instruction. Among the families visited by the agent of the bible society, eighteen were found in which none of the members could read. The system of instruction in the schools which are supported, is stated to be very defective, owing in many instances, to the want of well qualified teachers. It is gratifying to see that the friends of education are engaged in efforts to change this state of things.

The Presbyterians have 85 churches, 88 ministers, 20 licentiates, and 12,519 communicants; the Methodists, 10,730 members; the Dutch Reformed, 28 churches and 28 ministers; the Baptists, 34 churches, 21 ministers, and 2,324 communicants; the Episcopalians, 20 ministers; the Friends are numerous, and there are some Congregationalists.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population, 1820.	Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Distance.	
				T.*	W.†
Bergen, N. E.	18,178	22,414	Hackensack	63	229
Burlington, M.	28,822	31,066	Mount Holly	21	156
Cape May, S. E.	4,265	4,945	Cape May, C. H.	102	204
Cumberland, S.	12,668	14,091	Bridgetown	69	175
Essex, N. M.	30,793	41,928	Newark	49	215
Gloucester, S. M.	23,039	28,431	Woodbury	39	145
Hunterdon, W. M.	28,604	31,066	{ TRENTON		166
Middlesex, M.	21,470	23,157	{ Flemington	23	182
Monmouth, E.	25,038	29,233	New Brunswick	27	193
Morris, N. M.	21,368	23,580	Freehold	36	201
Salem, S. W.	14,022	14,155	Morristown	55	221
Somerset, M.	16,506	17,689	Salem	65	171
Sussex, N. W.	32,752	20,349	Somerville	33	199
Warren, N. W.		18,634	Newton	70	228
			Belvidere	54	210
Total	277,575	320,779, of whom 2,446 are slaves.			

* From Trenton.

† From Washington.

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Population.		Increase.		Slaves.
In 1790,	184,139	From 1790 to 1800,	27,010	11,423
1800,	211,149		1810,	12,423
1810,	245,562		1820,	10,851
1820,	277,575		1830,	7,557
1830,	320,779		1840,	2,246

Population of East and West Jersey in 1701, 15,000; in 1749 60,000.

POPULATION OF THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS IN 1830.

Newark	10,953	Paterson	7,731	Elizabethtown	3,451
New Brunswick	7,831	Trenton	3,925		

Trenton, the seat of government, is on Delaware River, at the falls, thirty miles northeast of Philadelphia, and sixty southwest of New York. At the foot of the falls, there is an elegant bridge over the Delaware, 1,100 feet long and thirty-six wide. Steam-boats ply regularly between Trenton and Philadelphia. New Brunswick is on the Raritan, thirty-three miles southwest of New York. Half the inhabitants are of Dutch origin. Steam-boats ply regularly between this city and New York. Princeton is a pleasant village, eleven miles northeast of Trenton, and sixteen southwest of New Brunswick. Newark is pleasantly situated near the west bank of the Passaic River, two or three miles from its mouth. In this and the adjoining town of Orange, there are valuable quarries of stone for building, and numerous tanneries. Elizabethtown is pleasantly situated on Elizabethtown Creek, which empties itself into Staten Island Sound. Vessels of twenty or thirty tons come up to the town, and those of 200 or 300 tons come as far as Elizabethtown Point, at the mouth of the creek, two miles distant. A steam-boat plies between the city of New York and Elizabethtown Point. Burlington is on Delaware River, opposite Bristol, eleven miles below Trenton. Perth Amboy is on a point of land, at the union of Raritan River with Arthur Kill Sound. It has one of the best harbours on the continent.

The history of this state was written by Smith; and a late and valuable work, embracing a concise history, with an extensive gazetteer, by Mr. Gordon.

PENNSYLVANIA.

THIS important state occupies from the 74° of west longitude, to more than half the 81°, and from 39° 43' of north latitude, to 42°: which gives a length of 307 miles, and a breadth of 190. Mr. Darby states the square miles to be 47,000, or 29,935,200 acres.

It may be doubted whether a more widely diversified region exists on the face of the earth than Pennsylvania, or one of similar area on which the

vegetable and mineral productions are more numerous. In a state of nature, the streams of this state flowed through a dense forest. No part of Pennsylvania is level, and in respect to surface it is divisible into three natural sections: first, a small but important hilly tract between the marine alluvium and the lower ridges of the Apalachian system; second, the mountainous, or middle section; and third, the western hilly. The subjoined tabular view presents the respective area of these sections, and their population according to the census of 1820.

Sections.	Square Miles.	Aggregate Population.	Population to the square mile.
Eastern	7,869	569,355	77
Middle or mountainous	25,189	260,506	10
Western	13,942	219,597	16 1-2
	47,000	1,048,458	22

From political causes the great body of the population has spread over the eastern, southern, and western borders, and left the central and northern a comparative wilderness.

The difference of level in Pennsylvania, if the mountain plateaus are included, is about 1200 feet, or an equivalent to three degrees of latitude; so that extremes of temperature over the state extend to about 5°. Pennsylvania is emphatically a country congenial to wheat, meadow grass, and the apple; but it admits a wide diversity of other vegetable productions. Except rice, it embraces the whole list of cerealia cultivated in the United States; and amongst fruits, besides the apple, peaches, pears, and plums abound. Of indigenous forest trees this state yields as great a variety as is to be found on the globe in a zone two degrees and one third wide, and not quite six degrees in length. The terebinthine forests are in great part confined to the mountains, and the deciduous trees to the eastern and western sections. In the latter the sugar maple becomes plentiful. The productive soil is in a remarkable manner equally distributed, and some of the most fertile bottoms in the state are included in the mountain section.

This state affords marble of a beautiful variety and excellent texture, which has contributed to adorn the eastern towns, and even the farm houses of the state. Iron and anthracite coal follow marble, and exist in quantities which defy exhaustion. Iron abounds over the whole state; and where the anthracite coal ceases the bituminous commences, and seems to underlie great part of the western, and some of the central portions of it. In the region of bituminous coal, wherever the earth has been penetrated to any great depth, salt water has been found; and salt works, on a large scale, exist on the Conemaugh, and in some other parts of the western section.

Pennsylvania is advantageously situated in respect of navigable rivers. Of these the Delaware on the east, the Susquehanna in the centre, and the Ohio on the west, claim the precedence. Few states in the union have undertaken and executed more in the way of internal navigation; and no other state has such extensive works in actual progress. The Lehigh River, above Easton, to Mauch Chunk or Lehigh coal mines, has been rendered navigable by dams and falling locks. A canal is now in progress from Easton down the Delaware to Bristol; in length about fifty miles. The Schuylkill River has been completely canalised, from tide water at the city of Philadelphia to the extensive coal mines on its sources, upwards of 110 miles. To unite the Schuylkill navigation to that of the Susquehanna, the Union Canal has been constructed, following the valleys of Tulpehocken and Swatara Creeks, from Reading in Berks to Middletown in Dauphin county. The Union is a link in a chain now in progress, for uniting the Susquehanna, Juniata, and Allegany rivers to the city of Pittsburgh. Beside these extended lines, there exists a small but important canal, to pass the rapids or Conewago Falls at York Haven on the Susquehanna; the Conestogo Canal of eighteen miles opens by that creek a navigable channel from the city of Lancaster to the Susquehanna River; and preparations are making to extend a railroad from the city of Philadelphia, by Lancaster, to Columbia, on the Susquehanna.

Pennsylvania ranks high in the variety and extent of her manufactures, some of which are of superior excellence. In 1810, there were sixty-four cotton manufactories, forty-four blast furnaces, six air furnaces, four bloomeries, seventy-eight forges, fifty trip hammers, eighteen rolling and slitting mills, 175 naileries, sixty-four paper mills, eight glass works, thirty-five rope walks, and 108 printing offices. The total amount of the manufactures, embracing 220 articles, was 44,194,740 dollars. Most of the foreign

goods consumed in this state, in Delaware, and the western part of New Jersey, are imported at Philadelphia. Goods to the amount of many millions of dollars are annually transported from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and thence distributed through the western country. In 1815, the amount of revenue paid by this state into the national treasury, was 7,142,333 dollars, an amount greater than that of any state except New York. The value of exports from this state, in 1825, was 11,269,981 dollars, of which, 7,333,848 dollars was foreign produce. The imports in the same year, were 15,041,977 dollars.

The University of Pennsylvania, established in Philadelphia, is a very respectable institution, embracing the four departments of arts, medicine, natural science, and law, in each of which lectures are given. There are four professors in the department of arts, five in that of natural science, one in the law department, and seven in the medical department. The latter is one of the most flourishing institutions of the kind in the world, and usually affords instruction to about 500 students from various parts of the United States. This medical institution enjoys a reputation superior to that of any other medical establishment in the United States. Its original projectors were Morgan and Shippen; it soon had the eminent talents of Dr. Rush enlisted in its behalf. This distinguished character long held the most conspicuous place therein as professor of medicine, and imparted instruction to numerous hearers, for a long series of years. Besides Rush, Wistar, Shippen, Dorsey, Physic, Chapman, and B. S. Barton, deserve to be recorded as powerful contributors to the renown which this school possesses. Dickinson College, at Carlisle, is now a very respectable institution. In 1826, the legislature made a grant of 3,000 dollars per annum to aid its funds. Washington College, at Washington, twenty-six miles southwest of Pittsburgh, had, in 1817, a president, two professors, a library, and a philosophical apparatus. Allegany College, at Meadville, was founded in 1815. Jefferson College is situated at Canonsburg, in Washington county; it possesses a medical faculty in the city of Philadelphia. A university has recently been established near Pittsburgh, and endowed by the legislature.

Though Pennsylvania has many literary and benevolent institutions, yet the progress of general education in the state has been slow, and it is still very limited. In the report of the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Schools, dated April 28, 1831, it is said, "There is reason to believe that the attention of the citizens is so awakened to the importance of establishing public schools, that the at-

tempt will not hereafter fail to be encouraged. The society will recollect, that at their last meeting, [Oct. 11, 1830,] there was read a memorial, proposed to be presented to the legislature, which contained statements relative to the great deficiency in the means of education in various parts of the state, and urged the importance of speedily applying a remedy to this evil." From the memorial alluded to the following extract is made; "There are at least 400,000 children in Pennsylvania between the ages of five and fifteen. Of these, during the past year, there were not 150,000 in all the schools in the state. Many counties, townships, and villages, have been taken indiscriminately from all parts of the state, and been examined by your memorialists, and the average proportion of children educated, in any one year, compared with the entire number of children between the above specified ages, appears to be but one out of three. It is probable that this proportion prevails generally through Pennsylvania, and justifies the assertion, that more than 250,000 children capable of instruction were not within a school during the past

year. Many of these children never go to school at all." In the city and county of Philadelphia, there are ample means for the education of every child, and many thousands have been benefited by them. In that district, and we believe the case is the same in the city of Lancaster, no one need be uneducated, except from choice.

The Presbyterians have 429 churches, 209 ministers, 39 licentiates, and 38,873 communicants; the Methodists, 140 preachers, and 46,390 members; the Baptists, 144 churches, 96 ministers, and 7,561 communicants; the German Reformed Church, 282 churches, and 73 ministers; the Episcopalians, 60 ministers; the Associate Presbyterians, 39 congregations, 18 ministers, and 4,180 communicants; the Evangelical Lutherans, 2 synods; the Dutch Reformed Church, 6 churches and 6 ministers; the Friends are numerous; the United Brethren have about 15 congregations; the Unitarians, 5 congregations and 3 ministers; and there is a considerable number of Roman Catholics, some Universalists, Jews, &c.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

EASTERN DISTRICT.						
Counties.	Population, 1820.	Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Population.	Distance. H. * W. †	
Adams, s.	19,370	21,379	Gettysburgh	1,473	34	76
Berks, s. e.	46,275	53,357	Reading	5,859	52	143
Bucks, s. e.	37,842	45,740	{ Doyleston	1,262	107	163
Chester, s. e.	44,451	50,908	{ Bristol	1,258	122	159
Cumberland, s. m.	23,606	29,218	West Chester	1,258	75	115
Delaware, s. e.	14,810	17,361	Carlisle	2,523	18	104
Dauphin, s. e. m.	21,653	25,303	Chester	848	95	121
Franklin, s.	31,892	35,103	HARRISBURGH	4,311		110
Lehigh, e.	18,895	22,266	Chambersburg	2,794	48	50
Lancaster, s. e.	68,36	76,558	Allentown		85	178
Lebanon, s. e. m.	16,988	20,546	Lancaster		35	109
Montgomery, e.	35,793	39,404	Lebanon	7,704	24	134
Northampton, e.	31,765	39,267	Norristown	1,826	58	143
Perry, m.	11,342	14,257	Easton	1,069	101	190
Philadelphia, s. e.	73,395	108,503	New Bloomfield	3,529	36	122
Philadelphia, city	63,802	80,458	{ Philadelphia	80,458	98	136
Pike, e.	2,894	4,843	Milford		157	249
Schuylkill, e. m.	11,339	20,783	Orwigsburgh	773	59	167
Wayne, n. e.	4,127	7,063	Bethany	327	162	265
York, s.	38,759	42,658	York	4,216	24	87
WESTERN DISTRICT.						
Allegany, w.	27,673	37,964	{ Pittsburgh	12,542	201	223
Pittsburgh, city	7,248	12,542	Kittanning	1,620	183	215
Armstrong, w.	10,324	17,625	Beaver	914	229	151
Beaver, w.	15,340	24,206	Bedford	870	105	126
Bedford, s.	20,248	24,536	Towanda		138	239
Bradford, n.	11,554	19,669	Butler	590	203	236
Butler, w.	10,193	14,683	Ebensburgh	270	131	178
Cambria, m.	2,287	7,079	Bellefonte	699	85	192
Centre, m.	13,796	18,765	Clearfield		129	201
Clearfield, m.	2,342	4,803	Danville		65	175
Columbia, e. m.	17,621	20,049	Meadville	1,070	226	297
Crawford, n. w.	9,397	16,005	Erie	1,329	272	333
Erie, n. w.	8,553	16,906				

* From Harrisburgh.

† From Washington.

Counties.	Population, 1820.	Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Population.	Distance.	
					H. •	W. †
Fayette, s. e.	27,285	29,237	Uniontown	1,341	184	193
Greene, s. e.	15,554	18,028	Waynesburg		222	229
Huntingdon, m.	20,144	27,159	Huntingdon		90	148
Indiana, w. m.	8,882	14,251	Indiana	433	157	189
Jefferson, w. m.	561	2,225	Brookville		165	236
Luzerne, e. m.	20,027	27,304	Wilkesbarre	2,233	114	222
Lycoming, m.	13,517	17,637	Williamsport		87	196
M'Kean, n.	728	1,439	Smithport		200	273
Mercer, w.	11,681	19,731	Mercer	656	235	267
Mifflin, m.	16,618	21,529	Lewistown	1,479	55	162
Northumberland, m.	15,424	18,168	Sunbury	1,057	52	162
Potter, n.	186	1,265	Cowdresport		174	283
Somerset, s.	13,974	17,441	Somerset	649	143	165
Susquehanna, n. e.	9,660	16,777	Montrose	415	163	271
Tioga, n.	4,021	9,062	Wellsborough		147	253
Union, m.	18,619	20,749	New Berlin		60	168
Venango, w.	1,976	4,706	Warren		240	313
Warren, n. w.	40,038	42,860	Washington	1,816	212	229
Washington, s. w.	4,915	9,128	Franklin	409	212	279
Westmoreland, s. w.	30,540	38,400	Greensburg	810	170	192

POPULATION OF PENNSYLVANIA† AND PHILADELPHIA AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Penn.	Pop.	Increase.		Slaves.	Philadel.	Pop.	Dwellings.
In 1701,	20,000	From 1701 to 1763,	260,020	3,737	In 1731,	12,000	1700, 700
1763,	280,000				1753,	18,000	1749, 2,076
1790,	434,373	1763	1790,	1,706	1790,	42,520	1763, 2,969
1800,	602,545	1790	1800,	795	1800,	70,287	1776, 5,400
1810,	810,091	1800	1810,	211	1810,	96,664	1790, 6,651
1820,	1,049,313	1810	1820,	386	1820,	119,325	1801, 11,200
1830,	1,347,672	1820	1830,		1830,	167,811	1810, 15,814

POPULATION OF PITTSBURGH,‡ LANCASTER, READING, AND HARRISBURGH, AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Pittsburgh.	Lancaster.	Reading.	Harrisburgh.
In 1800, 1,565	In 1800, 4,292	In 1800, 2,385	In 1800, 1,472
1810, 4,768	1810, 5,405	1810, 3,463	1810, 2,289
1820, 7,248	1820, 6,663	1820, 4,332	1820, 2,990
1830, 12,542	1830, 7,704	1830, 5,859	1830, 4,311

Philadelphia stands on the west bank of the river Delaware, five miles from its confluence with the Schuylkill, which forms the western boundary of the city. It was founded in 1682, and incorporated in 1701. The charter being abrogated at the revolution, it remained under a provincial government till 1789, when it was incorporated a second time. Its present population is upwards of 167,000. The city is built in streets of from fifty to 100 feet in width, running parallel and at right angles to each other. They are handsomely paved, and are kept remarkably clean. The houses exhibit an appearance of neatness, uniformity, and commodiousness, and many of them are ornamented with white marble. The Delaware is about a mile wide, and is navigable for ships of a large size. The most conspicuous buildings are the Churches, the State house, the United States and Pennsylvania Banks, and the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. The bank of the United States was esta-

lished in the year 1816, with a capital of 35,000,000 dollars. The banking house is a splendid structure, built on the plan of the Parthenon at Athens, and is situated in a north and south direction, fronting Chestnut and Library streets, having eight fluted columns, four feet six inches in diameter, embracing the whole front. On each of the fronts is a portico, projecting ten feet six inches. The whole length of the edifice, including the portico, is 161 feet, and its breadth eighty-seven feet. The main entrance is from Chestnut-street, by a flight of six marble steps, extending along the whole front of the portico. The banking room occupies the centre of the building, being forty-eight feet wide, and eighty-one feet long. The whole body of the building is arched in a bomb-proof manner, from the cellar to the roof, which is covered with copper. There are in this city eighty-eight houses for public worship, ten banks, thirteen insurance companies, of which eight are marine, four

* From Harrisburgh. † From Washington.

‡ The population of Pennsylvania, including Delaware, in 1749, is stated in Holmes's Annals, vol. ii, p. 538, and in the American Almanac for 1830, at 250,000; and Martin's London Magazine for 1755-6, states it, at that time, at 250,000. The records of Pennsylvania, for the year 1757, contain the following remark:—

"The inhabitants have never been numbered, but it is believed by good judges, that they amount to 200,000 in the province and counties."—*Hazard's Penn. Register*, vol. v. p. 339.

§ The population of Pittsburgh here given is that of the city only, its population, including the suburbs, or contiguous villages, is upwards of 17,000.

WINTER GATHERING







THE BRIDGE BRIDGE FAIR MOUNT WATER WORKS, PHILADELPHIA.





PENITENTIARY, PHILADELPHIA.

for fire, and one for lives and annuities, a custom-house, an exchange, and a chamber of commerce.

The State house in which the continental congress sat, and from whence the declaration of independence issued, is still standing. It is in Chestnut-street, built of brick, comprising a centre and two wings, and has undergone no material alteration since its erection. It has a venerable appearance. It is surmounted by a cupola, having a clock, the dial of which is glass, and which is illuminated at night until ten or eleven o'clock, showing the hour and minutes until that time. The front is a considerable distance back from the street, the approach being paved to the curbstone with brick, and two elegant rows of trees extending its whole length. East of the main entrance, in the front room, the sessions of the congress were held, and the question of independence was decided.

The arcade in Philadelphia, like that at New York, has proved a bad speculation: the former is twice the size of the latter, and appears to be more deserted. It contains Peale's Museum, one of the best in the United States, and comprising the most complete skeleton of the Mammoth perhaps in the world. It is perfect, with the exception of a few bones, which have been supplied by imitation. The Academy of Arts, in Chestnut-street, contains a large number of paintings, several of which are the property of Joseph Bonaparte. Among these is one executed by David, representing Napoleon crossing the Alps. Another is a full-length portrait of Joseph himself, as king of Spain.

Of the public works of Philadelphia, there are none of which its inhabitants are more justly proud than those at Fair Mount, by which the city is supplied with water of the best quality, and in the greatest plenty. Fair Mount is in the rear of the city, upon the bank of the Schuylkill, the neighbourhood of which affords some romantic scenery. The reservoirs are situated on the top of a hill rising from the river, a part of it perpendicular rock, to the height of 100 feet. The ascent from the river to the reservoirs is by a flight of substantial wooden steps, with resting places, over one of which is a temple. The reservoirs, which are surrounded with paling, outside of which is a gravelled walk, contain upwards of twelve millions of gallons, supplying the city through between fifteen and twenty miles of pipes. The water was formerly forced to the reservoirs by steam, which is no longer used; it is now raised by machinery propelled by the Schuylkill. The machinery is simple, and is turned by large water wheels, of which there are five, one of them of iron, and twenty-four tons in weight. If all are in motion, they

will raise seven millions of gallons in twenty-four hours. To turn them, the Schuylkill has been dammed its whole breadth, by which the water is thrown back into a reservoir lock, whence it is admitted as required to operate upon the wheels, and is discharged into the river below the dam. The whole expense of these works, including the cost of works abandoned, was 1,783,000 dollars. The water thus circulated through the city, is not only sufficient for every family, but is used to wash the streets. It is of immense service in case of fire, as it is only necessary to screw the hose to hydrants, which are placed at convenient distances, to secure a constant stream of sufficient force to reach any ordinary height.—There is a navy yard on the Delaware.

The New Penitentiary, situated on elevated ground near the city, and nearly completed, is designed to carry the principle of solitary confinement completely into effect. Ten acres of land are occupied for the purpose, forming a square of 650 feet each way, and enclosed by massive walls of granite thirty-five feet high, with towers and battlements. The prison is in the centre of the square, and is admirably calculated for the purposes for which it was designed. The expense already incurred in its erection is 300,000 dollars.

The banks of the Schuylkill near Philadelphia contain many elegant country seats, and several public buildings. Among the private residences, none are perhaps more justly admired than that of Henry Pratt, Esq. on Lemmon Hill. The mansion-house is situated on the eastern bank of the river, and directly above the Fair Mount Water Works, about a mile from the city. Connected with the mansion are gardens of an extensive kind, laid out in a style of much elegance and taste, to which respectable citizens and strangers have free access, and a ride to them is among the various pleasant excursions in the vicinity of the city.

Pittsburgh, in the western part of the state, is very advantageously situated, on a plain between the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers; at the point where they unite to form the Ohio. By means of the Alleghany river and its branches, Pittsburgh has a water communication with the western part of New York; by the Monongahela and a good turnpike-road, it is connected with Baltimore; and by the Ohio it has an easy intercourse with the western states. It is also connected with Philadelphia by an excellent turnpike road. These advantages have made Pittsburgh the centre of a great trade, and it is estimated that merchandise to the value of 20,000,000 dollars annually passes through the city. The immense supply of

coal in the neighbouring country has given rise to numerous and extensive manufacturing establishments. The population in 1820 was 7248. Harrisburgh, the seat of government, is regularly laid out on the east bank of the Susquehanna, ninety-seven miles west-north-west of Philadelphia. Lancaster, sixty-two miles west of Philadelphia, is advantageously situated in the midst of a fertile and highly cultivated country. Easton is pleasantly situated on the Delaware, at the mouth of the Lehigh, fifty-six miles north of Philadelphia. Reading is a flourishing town on the Schuylkill, fifty-one miles northwest of Philadelphia, inhabited chiefly by Germans, and famous for the manufacture of hats. Wilkesbarre is on the southeast side of the Susquehanna, 119 miles northwest of Philadelphia. Canonsburg, the seat of Jefferson College, is eighteen miles south west of Pittsburgh. Meadville, the seat of Alleghany College, enriched with the great library of the antiquarian, the late Dr. Bentley, is in the northwest part of the state, on French Creek, about forty miles from Lake Erie. Carlisle is sixteen miles west of Harrisburgh. Bethlehem, a Moravian settlement, is on the Lehigh, twelve miles southwest of Easton, and fifty-three north of Philadelphia.

CHAPTER III.

OHIO—INDIANA—ILLINOIS—MISSOURI.

OHIO.

THIS interesting and important state is bounded by Lake Erie and Michigan territory on the north; by Pennsylvania and by the Ohio on the south; and a line separates it from Virginia and Kentucky on the southeast, and from Indiana on the west. Extending from north latitude $38^{\circ} 30'$ to 42° , and from longitude $38^{\circ} 35'$ to $84^{\circ} 47'$ west, its area is 40,000 square miles. The greatest breadth of Ohio is within a fraction of 220 miles; mean breadth about 182 miles.

This state occupies about one third of the plane which declines from Pennsylvania to the Mississippi. Except along the deep vales of the Ohio, and those of other streams near their efflux into that recipient, the climate is as uniform as the surface, and considerably more severe in the winter season than in corresponding latitudes on the Atlantic.

"In a state of nature," says Darby, "Ohio was, with the exception of some central prairies, covered with a dense forest, to which the fertility of the soil

gave a stupendous development. The size, majesty, and generic and specific variety of the trees of the Ohio basin has been a just theme of admiration, but I am inclined to consider the picture over-coloured. I spent my early years in the Ohio valley and Mississippi basin alternately, and could never observe any single species of tree common to both, say to Ohio and Louisiana as extremes, which did not reach a height and mass greater in the lower climate of Louisiana." In cultivated vegetables, Ohio is peculiarly productive. Indian corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley, tobacco, and orchard fruits, are staples. Meadows and gardens, where due attention is paid to their improvement, yield abundantly. Of metals, iron is the only ore found in great quantity. Coal of the bituminous species exists in extensive strata along the Ohio and some of its confluent streams, and no doubt underlies other parts of the state, though in a manner too level to be detected, except by artificial means.

The state of Ohio has undertaken the construction of canals, as public works, on a very liberal scale. One of these is the Ohio State Canal, from Cleveland, on Lake Erie, to the Ohio, at the mouth of the Scioto; lockage, 1,185 feet; length of the main line, 306 miles; feeders, fifteen miles; total, 322 miles. Estimated expense, 2,801,000 dollars. The route is from Portsmouth, on the Ohio, (where it is 474 feet above tide level, and ninety-four below Lake Erie,) up the valley of the Scioto, to Pikestown; thence crossing the river to near Chillicothe; thence again crossing the river, it continues along the eastern bank to Big Belly Creek, where it receives a feeder, ten miles long, from the Scioto at Columbus; it then passes up the valley of Walnut Creek to the Licking and Walnut Creek summit, between the head waters of those streams. From the summit it continues down the valley of Licking Creek to Rocky Fork, and thence across the valley to the Tomaka, and down that stream to near its junction with the Muskingum. From this point an ascent commences, and the line passes up the Muskingum Valley to White Woman's Creek; crossing this, it proceeds up the valley of Tuscarawas Fork, first on the western, then on the eastern bank, to a point where its two head waters unite, near the southwest angle of Portage county. This is the centre of the Portage summit, extending ten miles. From the north of the Portage or Akron summit (499 feet above the Ohio at Portsmouth, 973 feet above the Atlantic, 405 above Lake Erie,) it passes down the Cuyahoga Valley, first on the west, afterward on the east side of the river, to within six miles of its mouth at Cleveland, for which

six miles the river channel with a towing-path is to be used.—Miami Canal, forty feet wide at the surface, and four feet in depth, from Cincinnati, on the Ohio, to the Maumee, near the head of Lake Erie, was commenced in 1825. Length of main line, 265 miles; feeders, twenty-five miles; total, 290; lockage, 889 feet; estimated expense, 2,929,957 dollars. The line from Cincinnati to Dayton was completed in 1831. This division embraces twenty-two locks, and length of canal sixty-five miles. The summit level, commencing eighteen miles north of Dayton, extends sixty miles within a single lock. To aid the state in extending this canal to Lake Erie, there is assigned by congress, of the public lands which the same shall pass through, a quantity equal to one half of five sections in width, on each side of the canal between Dayton and the Maumee River at the mouth of the Auglaise, the United States reserving each alternate section; provided this extension be commenced within five years from May, 1828, and finished within twenty; the canal to be a highway for the United States, free from toll.

The principal manufactures are flour and spirits, and woollen and cotton cloth, with family manufactures to a great amount. The number of steam-boats built is great. About 200 are now plying in the western valley. The principal exports are flour, pork, and tobacco; which are carried down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. Foreign goods are received from the same place by the steam-boats, and from Philadelphia and Baltimore, across the Allegany Mountains.

Education is pretty generally extended through this state. There is a university at Athens, called the Ohio University; and another at Oxford, called the Miami University. One section, or the thirty-sixth part of every township, has been granted by the government of the United States for the support of schools. Kenyon College, recently founded by the instrumentality of Bishop Chase, has now connected with it a Theological Seminary; the whole

under the charge of the Right Rev. Bishop McIlvaine, President. It is a flourishing institution, and promises largely to contribute the light of science and useful knowledge over a vast extent of country. The studies of Kenyon College are thus stated:—

FRESHMAN CLASS.

Livy, Horace, Septuagint, Herodotus, Greek and Roman Antiquities,	Geography and History, (Ancient and Modern.)
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SOPHOMORE CLASS.

Cicero, Tusc. Quæst., Quintilian, Iliad, Xenophon, Memorabilia,	Algebra, Mathematics, Jamieson's Grammar of Rhetoric.
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JUNIOR CLASS.

Tacitus, Plato, Thucydides, Demos. pro Coron., Mathematics,	Political Economy, Rhetoric and Logic, (<i>Whateley</i>), Natural Theology, Chemistry.
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SENIOR CLASS.

Natural Philosophy, Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, Constitution of the United States, Butler's Analogy,	Evidences of Christianity, Mineralogy and Geology, Cicero de Officiis, Sophocles Oedip. Tyrân. Euripides, Medea.
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During the whole college course, a portion of the Greek Testament will be critically read every week.

There are many incorporated academies in different parts of the state, and a college established at Cincinnati.

The Presbyterians in this state have 346 churches, 192 ministers, 11 licentiates, and 22,150 communicants; the Baptists, 14 associations, 240 churches, 140 ministers, and 8,801 communicants; the Methodists, 91 preachers, and 36,064 members; the Lutherans, 37 ministers, and 8,706 communicants; the Associate Presbyterians, 65 congregations, 20 ministers, and 4,225 communicants; the German Reformed, 82 congregations, and 3,750 communicants; the Episcopalians, 16 ministers; the New Jerusalem Church, 4 societies; there are also a considerable number of Friends and Roman Catholics, and some Universalists, Unitarians, and Shakers.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population, 1830.	Square Miles.	County Towns.	Population.	Distance.	
					C.*	W.†
Adams, s.	12,278	550	West Union	429	101	460
Allen, w. m.	578	542	Wapaghkonetta		110	507
Ashtabula, n. e.	14,584	705	Jefferson	270	191	325
Athens, s. e.	9,763	744	Athens	729	73	344
Belmont, e.	28,412	536	St. Clairsville	789	124	275
Brown, s.	17,667	492	Georgetown	325	104	460
Butler, s. w.	27,044	486	Hamilton	1,097	101	488
Champaign, w. m.	12,130	417	Urbana	1,102	50	447
Clark, s. w. m.	13,074	412	Springfield	1,060	43	437
Clermont, s. w.	20,406	515	Batavia	426	109	476

* From Columbus.

† From Washington.

Counties.	Population, 1830.	Square Miles.	County Towns.	Population.	Distance. C.* | W.†
Clinton, s. m.	12,292	400	Wilmington	607	67 | 444
Columbiana, e.	35,508	865	New Lisbon	1,138	152 | 282
Coschocton, e. m.	11,162	562	Coschocton	333	84 | 336
Crawford, n. m.	4,778	584	Bucyrus	298	69 | 409
Cuyahoga, n. e.	10,360	475	Cleveland	1,076	158 | 354
Dark, w.	6,203	660	Greenville	160	103 | 501
Delaware, m.	11,523	610	Delaware	532	23 | 419
Fairfield, m.	24,788	540	Lancaster	1,530	28 | 372
Fayette, s. m.	8,180	415	Washington	300	45 | 422
Franklin, m.	14,766	520	COLUMBUS	2,437	396
Gallia, s.	9,733	495	Gallipolis	755	108 | 362
Geauga, n. e.	15,813	600	Chardon, township	881	157 | 332
Green, s. w. m.	15,084	416	Xenia	919	57 | 453
Guernsey, e. m.	18,036	621	Cambridge	518	83 | 314
Hardin, w. m.		500	Hardy		66 | 436
Hamilton, s. w.	52,321	400	Cincinnati	24,831	112 | 497
Hancock, n. w. m.	813	575	Findlay	52	114 | 502
Harrison, e.	20,920	450	Cadiz	820	124 | 278
Henry, n. w.	260	474	Damascus		161 | 485
Highland, s. m.	16,347	555	Hillsborough	564	74 | 441
Hocking, s. m.	4,008	432	Logan	97	47 | 370
Holmes, m.	9,133	400	Millersburgh	319	80 | 341
Huron, n.	13,345	840	Norwalk	310	113 | 399
Jackson, s.	5,974	492	Jackson	329	74 | 387
Jefferson, e.	22,489	400	Steubenville	2,937	149 | 260
Knox, m.	17,124	610	Mount Vernon	1,921	45 | 375
Lawrence, s.	5,366	426	Burlington	149	135 | 405
Licking, m.	20,864	666	Newark	999	34 | 362
Lorain, n.	5,696	555	Elyria	668	130 | 377
Logan, w. m.	6,442	425	Belle Fontaine	266	62 | 458
Madison, m.	6,190	448	London	249	27 | 423
Marion, m.	6,558	527	Marion	287	47 | 416
Medina, n. e. m.	7,560	473	Medina, township	622	111 | 357
Meigs, s. e.	6,159	405	Chester	164	94 | 343
Mercer, w.	1,110	570	St. Mary's	92	111 | 508
Miami, w. m.	12,806	444	Troy	504	78 | 474
Monroe, s. e.	8,770	563	Woodfield	157	140 | 294
Montgomery, w. m.	24,252	450	Dayton	2,965	66 | 462
Morgan, s. e.	11,796	500	M'Connellsville	267	70 | 340
Muskingum, m.	29,325	664	Zanesville	3,094	59 | 336
Paulding, n. w.	160	432			
Perry, s. m.	14,018	402	Somerset	576	46 | 354
Pickaway, m.	15,935	495	Circleville	1,136	26 | 394
Pike, s.	6,024	414	Piketon	271	65 | 409
Portage, n. e.	18,827	752	Ravenna, township	806	127 | 320
Preble, w.	16,255	432	Eaton	511	92 | 488
Putnam, n. m.	230	576	Sugar Grove		148 | 538
Richland, n. m.	24,007	900	Mansfield	840	71 | 380
Ross, s. m.	24,053	672	Chillicothe	2,846	45 | 404
Sandusky, n.	2,851	656	Lower Sandusky	351	103 | 428
Scioto, s.	8,730	581	Portsmouth	1,064	91 | 421
Seneca, n. m.	5,148	546	Tiffin	248	85 | 431
Shelby, w. m.	3,671	418	Sidney	240	86 | 482
Stark, e. m.	26,784	780	Canton	1,257	116 | 319
Trumbull, n. e.	26,154	875	Warren	510	157 | 297
Tuscarawas, e. m.	14,298	654	New Philadelphia	410	107 | 314
Union, m.	3,192	430	Marysville	142	37 | 433
Van Wert, n. w.	49	432	Willshire		146 | 533
Warren, s. w. m.	21,493	400	Lebanon	1,157	83 | 468
Washington, s. e.	11,731	670	Marietta	1,207	106 | 304
Wayne, n. m.	23,344	660	Wooster	977	86 | 347
Williams, n. w.	377	600	Defiance	52	175 | 511
Wood, n. w.	1,095	744	Perrysburgh	182	135 | 460
Total	937,679	40,150			

POPULATION OF OHIO AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Population.	Increase.
In 1790, about 3,000	
1800, 45,365	From 1790 to 1800, 43,365
1810, 230,760	1800 1810, 195,395
1820, 581,434	1810 1820, 350,674
1830, 937,637	1820 1830, 356,203

CINCINNATI.

Population.
In 1800, 750
1810, 2,540
1820, 9,642
1826, 16,230
1830, 24,831
1831, 28,014

* From Columbus.

† From Washington.

Cincinnati, the largest town, is near the southwest corner of the state, on the Ohio, twenty miles above the mouth of the Great Miami. This town was first laid out in 1789, and began to flourish after the year 1794, since which time its growth in population, wealth, and trade, has been exceedingly rapid. It is the emporium of the western country, and, next to New Orleans, much the largest town in the United States west of the Alleghany Mountains. It is advantageously and pleasantly situated. It stands partly on the first and partly on the second bank of the river, the upper part being elevated fifty or sixty feet above the lower. The central part of the town is very compact, and a great proportion of the houses are handsomely built of brick. The principal public buildings and institutions in 1829 were a court-house, a jail, the medical college, the Cincinnati College, an hospital, a museum, a city library, the apprentices' library, three market-houses, five insurance companies, twenty-three places of public worship, five classical schools, and forty-seven common schools. There were published, at the same period, two daily newspapers, two semi-weekly, and five weekly, besides other periodicals. In 1826, there belonged to the city twenty-eight clergymen, thirty-four attorneys, and thirty-five physicians. The number of students in the medical college, in 1825, was eighty-two. The Cincinnati College was incorporated in 1819. Cincinnati is a place of great trade and extensive manufactures. The exports, of which the most considerable articles are flour and pork, amounted, in 1826, to 1,063,560 dollars; and the imports, in the same year, to 2,528,590 dollars, a considerable portion of the imports being brought here for re-exportation. There are between thirty and forty manufacturing establishments, some of which are on a very extensive scale; and their works are, to a great extent, moved by steam-power. The whole value of the manufactures, in all the departments, was estimated, in 1828, at 1,850,000 dollars. The markets of Cincinnati are abundantly supplied with various kinds of provisions, at a low price.

Chillicothe is on the west bank of the Scioto, forty-five miles, in a direct line, from its mouth. It has many valuable mills and manufactories, and is the second town in the state. Columbus, the seat of government, is regularly laid out on a pleasant rising ground on the east bank of the Scioto, just below the confluence of Whetstone, forty-five miles north of Chillicothe. Marietta, the oldest town in the state, is on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Muskingum. Its situation is unfortunate, parts of the town being liable to an annual inundation, an inconvenience

which has much retarded its growth. Zanesville is on the Muskingum, sixty miles north of Marietta. Steubenville is on the Ohio, near the Pennsylvania boundary. Athens is on the Hockhocking, about fifty miles east of Chillicothe. Cleveland is on Lake Erie, at the mouth of the Cayahogo.

INDIANA

Is bounded by the Lake and territory of Michigan on the north; by Ohio on the east; by Kentucky, from which it is separated by the River Ohio, on the south; and by Illinois on the west. It extends from latitude $37^{\circ} 48'$ to $41^{\circ} 36'$; and longitude $41^{\circ} 42'$ to $87^{\circ} 49'$. Indiana is in length 264 miles; in mean width 124; and its area is 34,000 square miles.

There are no mountains in Indiana; the country, however, is more hilly than the state of Illinois, particularly towards the Ohio. A range of hills called the Knobs, extends from the falls of the Ohio to the Wabash, in a southwest direction, in many places producing a broken and uneven surface. North of these hills lie the flat woods, seventy miles wide. Bordering on all the principal streams, except the Ohio, there are stripes of bottom and prairie land, both together from three to six miles in width. Between the Wabash and Lake Michigan the country is mostly champaign, abounding alternately with woodlands, prairies, lakes, and swamps. A range of hills runs parallel with the Ohio, from the mouth of the great Miami to Blue River, alternately approaching to within a few rods of the river, and receding to the distance of two miles. Immediately below Blue River the hills disappear, and there is presented to the view an immense tract of level land, covered with a heavy growth of timber. North of the Wabash, between Tippecanoe and Ouatanan, the banks of the streams are high, abrupt, and broken, and the land, except the prairies, is well timbered. Between the Plein and Theakiki the country is flat, wet, and swampy, and interspersed with prairies of an inferior quality. The sources of rivers are generally in swamps or lakes, and the country around them is low, and too wet for cultivation. The soil of the prairies is often as deep and fertile as the best bottoms. Those bordering on the Wabash are particularly rich. Wells have been dug in them, where the vegetable soil was twenty-two feet deep, under which was a stratum of fine white sand. The ordinary depth is from two to five feet.

The climate is generally healthy and pleasant, resembling that of Ohio. The Wabash is frozen over in the winter, so that it may be safely crossed

on the ice. More than half the land in this state remains in the possession of the Indians. Its principal productions are wheat, Indian corn, rye, oats, barley, buckwheat, potatoes, pulse, beef, pork, butter, whiskey, and peach brandy. Not far from Big Blue River there is a large cave, the entrance of which is on the side of a hill, about 400 feet high. Here are found great quantities of sulphate of magnesia, or Epsom salt, of nitre, &c. The earth most strongly impregnated yields twenty or twenty-five pounds of salt to a bushel.

When Indiana was admitted into the union, in 1816, congress granted one section, or one thirty-sixth part of each township, for the support of schools. One entire township, or 23,040 acres, said to be worth, on an average, ten dollars an acre, was also given for the support of a college. The college is situated at Vincennes, and a large brick building is already erected for its use. The constitution of In-

diana contains the following important provision respecting general education: "It shall be the duty of the general assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a state university, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all." The cause of popular education has not, however, as yet, received that attention which this provision of the constitution would seem to warrant, or which its importance demands; it is, nevertheless, advancing, and excites increased interest. Several respectable public and private seminaries are supported in different parts of the state.

The Baptists in this state have 11 associations, 181 churches, 127 ministers, and 6,513 communicants; the Methodists, 34 preachers, and 13,794 members; the Presbyterians, about 50 churches, and 20 ministers.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population.	County Towns.	Distance.	
			Ind.*	W.†
Allen, N. E.	1,000	Fort Wayne	141	561
Bartholomew, M.	5,480	Columbus	41	598
Boon, S. W. M.	622	Thornstown	62	620
Carroll	1,614	Delphi	88	661
Cass	1,154	Logansport	113	642
Clark, S.	10,719	Charlestown	105	583
Clay, W.	1,616	Bowling-Green	69	641
Clinton	1,423	Frankfort		
Crawford, S.	3,184	Fredonia	122	632
Daviess, S. W. M.	4,512	Washington	106	673
Dearborn, S. E.	14,573	Lawrenceburgh	98	523
Decatur, S. E. M.	5,854	Greensburg	55	559
Delaware, E. M.	2,372	Muncy town	59	546
Dubois, S. W. M.	1,774	Portersville	124	662
Elkhart	935	Pulaski		
Fayette, E. M.	9,112	Connersville	68	527
Floyd, S. E.	6,363	New Albany	121	594
Fountain, W.	7,644	Covington	81	654
Franklin, S. E.	10,199	Brookville	70	524
Gibson, S. W.	5,417	Princetown	141	702
Greene, S. W. N.	4,253	Bloomfield	76	648
Hamilton, M.	1,750	Noblesville	22	580
Hancock, M.	1,569	Greenfield	21	552
Harrison, S. E.	10,298	Corydon	124	614
Hendricks, M.	3,967	Danville	20	593
Henry, E. M.	6,498	New Castle	49	536
Jackson, S. M.	4,894	Brownstown	69	603
Jefferson, S. E.	11,465	Madison	85	576
Jennings, S. E. M.	3,950	Vernon	64	565
Johnson, M.	4,139	Franklin	20	593
Knox, W.	6,557	Vincennes	126	693
Lawrence, S. M.	9,237	Bedford	73	633
Madison, M.	2,442	Andersontown	41	561
Marion, M.	7,181	INDIANAPOLIS		573
Martin, S. M.	2,010	Mount Pleasant	121	659
Monroe, S. M.	6,578	Bloomington	51	627
Montgomery, W. M.	7,386	Crawfordsville	44	617
Morgan, M.	5,579	Martinsville	30	603
Orange, S. M.	7,909	Paoli	94	636
Owen, W. M.	4,060	Spencer	52	624
Parke, W.	7,534	Rockville	68	640
Perry, S.	3,378	Rome	143	655
Pike, S. W.	2,464	Petersburgh	119	681

* From Indianapolis.

† From Washington.

Counties.	Population.	County Towns.	Distance.	
			Ind.*	W.†
Posey, s. w.	6,883	Mount Vernon	187	748
Putnam, w. m.	8,195	Green Castle	42	614
Randolph, e.	3,912	Winchester	97	523
Ripley, s. e. m.	3,957	Versailles	79	551
Rush, e. m.	3,318	Rushville	40	553
St. Joseph, n.	287	Tarecoopy		
Scott, s. e.	3,097	New Lexington	89	594
Shelby, m.	6,294	Shelbyville	30	575
Spencer, s.	3,187	Rockport	167	692
Sullivan, w.	4,696	Merom	115	688
Switzerland, s.	7,111	Vevay	105	556
Tippecanoe, n. w. m.	7,167	Lafayette	70	643
Union, e.	7,957	Liberty	77	650
Vanderburgh, s. w.	2,610	Evansville	170	738
Vermillion, w.	5,706	Newport	86	658
Vigo, w.	5,737	Terre Haute	83	655
Wabash, n. w. m.		Elk Heart Plain	196	616
Warren, w.	2,854	Williamsport		
Warrick, s. w.	2,937	Boonville	187	712
Washington, s. m.	13,072	Salem	91	613
Wayne, e.	18,587	Centreville	63	510
Total	341,582			

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Population.		Increase.		Slaves.
In 1800,	5,641			133
1810,	24,520	From 1800 to 1810,	18,879	237
1820,	147,178	1810 1820,	122,658	190
1830,	341,582	1820 1830,	194,404	0

Indiana was admitted into the union in 1816, and contained, in 1815, by enumeration, 68,780 inhabitants. This state has had a rapid increase of inhabitants; yet the greater part of the land within its limits still belongs to the United States. It contains no large towns.

Vincennes, the largest town in the state, is on the east bank of the Wabash, sixty-five miles from its junction with the Ohio in a direct line, but nearly 120 by the course of the river. It was settled about a century ago by the French from Lower Canada, many of whom intermarried with the Indians, and gradually approximated to the savage state; but within a few years American emigrants have flocked thither, and the society is rapidly improving. Corydon, in Harrison county, on Indian Creek, and about twenty-five miles west of Louisville, was, until lately, the seat of government. This settlement commenced in 1809, and is rapidly increasing. Vevay, in Switzerland county, is pleasantly situated on the second bank of the Ohio, twenty-five feet above high-water mark. The inhabitants are emigrants from the Pays de Vaud, in Switzerland. In 1814, the site of the town was a forest, but it is now a flourishing settlement. The country in the rear is broken and fertile; and, half a mile below the village are the Swiss vineyards, where the culture of the vine has been successfully introduced. Brookville, pleasantly

situated in the forks of Whitewater River, is a flourishing town, and will probably be the centre of trade for an extensive and fertile portion of the state. Jeffersonville, on the Ohio, a little above the falls, and nearly opposite Louisville, promises to become a place of considerable business. Princeton, Harmony, Evansville, Troy, Terre Haute, Madison, Lawrenceburgh, and Fort Wayne, are all thriving settlements. The seat of government has been lately fixed at Indianapolis, near the centre of the state.

ILLINOIS.

THIS state has the Trans-Michigan territory for its northern boundary; Lake Michigan, Indiana, and Kentucky on the southeast; and the Mississippi on the west and southwest. Length from the junction of the Mississippi and Ohio, north latitude 37°, to the northern boundary of the state, north latitude 42° 30', 382 miles; mean breadth, 154 miles; area, 58,900 square miles, equal to 35,696,000 statute acres.

Illinois is, after Virginia, Georgia, and Missouri, the largest in point of extent, and in general fertility the first state of the union. Extending over a zone of 5° of latitude, it embraces the greatest extent north and south; Georgia and New York only embracing each 4°. Illinois is, comparatively speaking, a very gently inclined plane. It is a country of so very

* From Indianapolis.

† From Washington.

little difference of level, that it may be doubted whether the general level varies 600 feet. The surface of it is singular, and very picturesque. It is nearly all prairie, with a few groves of timber widely separated from each other, and deeply indented with ravines, whose sides slope off into low round hills, as if an exact plain had been divided into an infinite number of globular eminences. With all its uniformity of surface, the climate at the extremes differs very materially.

Illinois, in regard to soil, resembles Ohio and Indiana, but with less of flat and irreciamable land than either, and more generally of rich plain than both the latter taken together. The surface is rolling on the south and west, and level on the north and east. The staple productions of Illinois are Indian corn, wheat, potatoes, beef, pork, horses, tobacco, and lead. The castor bean is raised, and oil is manufactured from it, but not in large quantities. Good cotton is produced for home consumption, and is manufactured extensively in the families of the farmers, into coarse fabrics, for domestic uses. Hemp, flax, and silk-worms, succeed well. Apples, peaches, pears, plums, cherries, grapes, gooseberries, and currants, arrive at great perfection. The wild fruits are grapes, plums, cherries, gooseberries, mulberries, crab-apples, persimmons, blackberries, raspberries, and strawberries. In the timbered parts of the country the trees exhibit a luxuriant growth, and are often seen of an enormous size.

The whole of this country abounds in coal. Salt is manufactured extensively in the neighbourhood of Shawneetown, in Gallatin county; salt springs have been discovered in other places, but salt has not yet been manufactured from them. Sulphur springs, chalybeate springs, and very strong impregnations of pure sulphate of magnesia, abound in different parts. In the southern part of the state a number of sections of land have been reserved on account of the silver ore which they are supposed to contain.

The lead mines in the vicinity of Galena, are very extensive and valuable. The mineral has been found in every portion of a tract of more than fifty miles in extent in every direction, and is supposed to occupy a territory of more than twice that size. The ore lies in beds, or horizontal strata, varying in thickness from one inch to several feet. It yields seventy-five per cent. of pure lead.

A canal has been projected, though not yet commenced, to unite Lake Michigan with the river Illinois, and the general government has made a donation of land in aid of the design. The length will be about seventy miles; and the cost is estimated at 800,000 dollars. Labourers are now employed in the construction of that part of the national road which extends from the town of Vandalia to the eastern boundary of Indiana, near Terre Haute. The length of this part is ninety miles, and the road is so straight that its length is not so much as a mile greater than the distance by a right line between the two extreme points.

Land to the amount of 998,374 acres has been given for the support of schools; but no system of general education has yet been organized. The following particulars are extracted from an "Appeal in behalf of the Illinois College." "It appears that in the fifty-one counties, containing a population of 157,575 souls, there are 550 common schools, and fifty-one Sunday schools. From the new census it appears that the number of children in the state is 47,895; an examination shows that the whole number of children in the schools, at one season or other, is 12,290. Large numbers of the men and women throughout the state, and a great proportion of the children, are wholly unable to read."

The Baptists in this state have 6 associations, 80 churches, 69 ministers, and 2,432 communicants; the Methodists, 45 preachers and 8,859 members; the Presbyterians, 24 churches, 13 ministers, and 492 communicants.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population.	County Towns.	Distance.	
			V.*	W.†
Adams, w.	2,186	Quincy	193	974
Alexander, s.	1,390	America	181	850
Bond, w. m.	3,124	Greenville	20	801
Calhoun, w.	1,090	Gilead	156	907
Clark, e.	3,940	Clark, C. H.	86	696
Clay, e. m.	755	Maysville	46	740
Clinton, s. m.	2,330	Carlyle	20	802
Crawford, e.	3,113	Paletine	118	718
Edgar, e.	4,071	Paris	106	675
Edwards, e.	1,649	Albion	92	733
Fayette, m.	2,704	VANDALIA		781
Franklin, s.	4,081	Frankfort	102	808

* From Vandalia.

† From Washington.

Counties.	Population.	County Towns.	Distance.	
			V. •	W. †
Fulton, N. M. }	2,156	Fulton, C. H.	133	854
Henry, N.		Middletown	188	877
Knox, N. M. }		Knox, C. H.	137	773
Gallatin, S. E.	7,407	Equality	106	857
Green, W.	7,664	Carrollton	93	773
Hamilton, S. E.	2,620	M ^l Leanborough	133	914
Hancock, W.	484	Venus	127	833
Jackson, S. W.	1,827	Brownsville	65	801
Jefferson, S. M.	2,555	Mount Vernon	326	990
Jo-Davies, N. W.	2,111	Galena	167	817
Johnson, S.	1,596	Vienna	84	702
Lawrence, E.	3,661	Lawrenceville	95	861
Macaupin, M.	1,989	Carlinville	70	771
M ^l Lean	1,122	Bloomington	55	830
Macon, W. M.	6,229	Decatur	26	777
Madison, W.	2,021	Edwardsville	99	890
Marion, S. M.	26	Salem	28	809
Mercer, N. W.	2,119	Waterloo	115	837
Monroe, W.	2,950	Hillsborough	172	894
Montgomery, M.	12,709	Jacksonville	43	807
Morgan, W. M.	2,050	Macomb	129	842
Macdonough, W. M. }		Rushville	148	929
Schuyler, W. M. }		Peoria	160	791
Peoria, N. M. }	1,309	Hennepin	95	867
Putnam, N. }		Pinckneyville	71	843
Perry, S. M.		Atlas	79	801
Pike, W.	1,215	Golconda	40	741
Pope, S. E.	2,393	Kaskaskia	149	790
Randolph, S. W.	3,323	Belleville	154	830
St. Clair, W.	4,436	Springfield	150	683
Sangamon, M.	7,092	Shelbyville	109	716
Shelby, M.	12,960	Mackinaw	69	756
Tazewell, M.	2,973	Jonesborough	54	748
Union, S. W.	4,716	Danville		
Vermillion, E.	3,239	Mount Carmel		
Wabash, E.	5,836	Warren		
Warren, N. W.	2,709	Nashville		
Washington, S. M.	307	Fairfield		
Wayne, S. E. M.	1,674	Carmi		
White, S. E.	2,562			
White, S. E.	6,091			
Total	157,575	of whom 746 are slaves.		

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Population.	Increase.	Slaves.
1810, 12,282		168
1820, 55,211	From 1810 to 1820, 42,929	917
1830, 157,575	1820 1830, 102,364	746

Illinois was admitted into the union in 1818, and contained that year, by enumeration, 35,220 inhabitants.

Kaskaskia, lately the seat of government, is on the right bank of the Kaskaskia river, eleven miles from its mouth. It contains a land office, a printing office, and about 160 houses, scattered over an extensive plain. The town was settled upwards of 100 years ago by emigrants from Lower Canada, and about one half of the inhabitants are French. The surrounding country is under good cultivation. Cahokia is a French settlement, on the Mississippi, fifty-two miles north-north-west of Kaskaskia, and five miles below St. Louis. Shawneetown is on the north bank of the Ohio, twelve miles below the mouth of the Wabash, and twelve miles east of the salt

works belonging to the state on Saline creek. The inhabitants are supported principally by the profits of the salt trade. Edwardsville is a flourishing town on Cahokia river, twenty-two miles northeast of St. Louis. Vandalia, fifty miles northeast of Edwardsville, is now the seat of government.

MISSOURI.

This was the last state admitted into the union. It is bounded on the west and north by the unappropriated territory of the United States; on the east by the Mississippi, which divides it from Illinois and Tennessee; and on the south by the Arkansas territory. It extends from longitude 89° to 94° 10', and from latitude 36° to 40° 36'. Mean length from north to south 280 miles; area rather exceeding 63,000

• From Vandalia.

† From Washington.

square miles, or 40,320,000 acres; the mean width is 225 miles.

Though, with the exception of the alluvial bottoms, Missouri is rolling or hilly, yet no part rises to an elevation deserving the name of a mountain. A chain of hills commences southeast from the mouth of Osage river, and stretching southwest, is the beginning of the Ozark or Maserne chain; but it remains humble until far within Arkansas. No other state of the union, however, is so greatly diversified in respect to soil and external features. The prairie region, commencing in Ohio and Indiana, spreading into immense plains in Illinois, expands still more in western Missouri. To a civilized and commercial people, rivers are of primary importance. The far greater part of fertile and easily cultivated soil is on the banks of rivers; where also rise the most extensive and wealthy cities. In this respect there is perhaps no equal section of the earth to compare with Missouri. The Mississippi sweeps along its eastern border 550 miles, receiving in its course the still mightier Missouri. The latter entering the western boundary traverses the state, receiving from each side tributaries which, if not contrasted with the stream into which they are poured, would deserve the title of fine rivers. The Osage, rising in the angle between Arkansas and Kansas rivers, on the vast plains west from the state of Missouri, carries its very serpentine but navigable volume into Missouri river near the centre of the state. The Illinois and Ohio, though not within the state, are in a commercial point of view rivers of Missouri. The White river and the St. Francis rise in this state, and flowing southward, connect it with the Arkansas.

The soil is as varied as is the surface; every quality is found, from the most productive and exhaustless alluvion, to sterile clay or silicious sand. On the eastern border, and near the streams generally, a dense forest covered Missouri although in some places naked prairie encroaches upon the streams. In general terms the southeast section is alluvial, and liable to a partial annual inundation; the southwestern is mixed prairie and "Flint Hill" land. The northern section, west from the Mississippi, and north from the Missouri, says Mr. Flint, "is nowhere mountainous. It contains great tracts of alluvial and hilly prairies. It is for the most part a surface delightfully rolling and variegated. There is no part of the globe where greater extents of country can be traversed more easily, and in any direction, by carriages of any description, where

there are no roads, and that is yet in a state of nature." These three portions have each their appropriate features, but are interspersed with minor tracts partaking of the general character of the others. According to Mr. Flint there is a specific difference between the alluvium of the two rivers Mississippi and Missouri; the bottoms of the Missouri being more loamy and sandy, and those of its rival more clayey, and yet more substantial. The whole state will, with no very great exceptions, support a dense population. Its geographical extent, and its very great diversity of soil, will admit a correspondent variety of vegetable production. Wheat and Indian corn have been from the first the staples, though in the southeast section cotton is produced. Agriculture in all its forms, either as an art or a science, is in its infancy in Missouri, as it may be considered to be in any newly settled country where nature has done too much.—Three winters in five the Mississippi becomes passable on the ice at St. Louis. In 1818, it was so for upwards of two months. Receding from the Atlantic, it is in this state that the frigid winds of the northwest are first experienced in all their force. The climate is, in brief, cold and windy, as well as dry and bracing. The successive years also vary exceedingly; and uncertain as are the revolutions in meteorology elsewhere, they are proverbially variable in the state of Missouri and the adjacent regions.

This state has become celebrated for immense deposits of lead ore, chiefly of galena. The principal lead region is in Washington county and the parts adjacent, extending about 30 by 15 miles. The centre of the district is about 70 miles southwest from St. Louis. The ore is found in imbedded masses, and evidently a deposit. None has yet been found *in situ*, though some of the diggings have reached to 80 feet. Coal in immense strata also exists in Missouri, and at some future period must greatly exceed in value the lead mines; as in a country of intense winter and scarcity of wood, coal mines must be a resource of primary importance. Iron ore forms no inconsiderable part of many of the hills of Missouri; but as this invaluable mineral is found almost every where, its existence here, though highly advantageous, gives but little local preference.

The principal exports are lead and furs. A large capital is employed in the fur-trade with the Indians up the Missouri and Mississippi. St. Louis is the centre of this commerce. Boats are continually passing between St. Louis and New Orleans. Since the independence of Mexico, a considerable trade has been carried on with the interior provinces of that repub-

lic. In 1825, commissioners of the United States laid out a road through the wilderness, from Missouri to Mexico; and the Osages by treaty, in consideration of 800 dollars, granted the right of making and using the road through their lands.

St. Louis College, and another seminary, at a place called Bois Brule Bottom, in the southern part of the state, both Catholic institutions, are the most considerable literary seminaries in Missouri. St. Louis College, pleasantly situated on the outside of the city of St. Louis, was founded in 1829. The building is of brick, fifty feet by forty, four stories high, including the basement; and the library contains

about 1,200 volumes. There are five professors, and 125 pupils, partly from Catholic and partly from Protestant families, attending to different branches of English education, and the elementary parts of classical learning. There are several convents in the state, to which young females are sent for education.

The Baptists in this state have nine associations, 111 churches, 67 ministers, and 3,955 communicants; the Methodists, 23 preachers, and 3,403 members; the Presbyterians, 17 churches, 10 ministers, and 605 communicants; the Roman Catholics, a considerable number of churches and priests; the Episcopalians, 3 ministers.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population.	County Towns.	Distance.	
			J.*	W.†
Boone, M.	8,889	Columbia	56	691
Calloway, M.	6,102	Fulton	32	967
Cape Girardeau, S. E.	7,430	Jackson	208	856
Chariton, N. M.	1,776	Chariton	79	1031
Clay, N. W.	5,342	Liberty	190	1142
Cole, M.	3,006	JEFFERSON CITY		980
Cooper, M.	6,019	Booneville	51	1023
Crawford	1,709	Little Piney	98	989
Franklin, E. M.	3,484	Union	79	901
Gasconade, M.	1,548	Gasconade	47	939
Howard, M.	10,844	Fayette	65	1017
Jackson, W.	2,822	Independence	177	1129
Jefferson, E.	2,586	Herculanum	164	886
Lafayette, W.	2,921	Lexington	138	1090
Lincoln, E.	4,060	Troy	97	913
Madison	2,371	Fredericktown	170	894
Marion, N. E.	4,859	Palmyra	190	984
Monroe		Monroe, C. H.	129	998
Montgomery, E. M.	3,900	Lewistown	67	932
New Madrid, S. E.	2,351	New Madrid	278	892
Perry, E.	3,377	Perryville	187	882
Pike, N. E.	6,122	Bowling-Green	132	948
Ralls, N. E.	4,346	New London	167	961
Randolph, N. M.	2,962	Randolph	96	1042
Ray, N.	2,657	Richmond	149	1101
St. Charles, E.	4,322	St. Charles	123	876
St. Francois, S. E. M.	2,386	Farmington	152	912
St. Genevieve, E.	2,182	St. Genevieve	168	874
St. Louis, ‡ E.	14,907	St. Louis	124	856
Saline, N. M.	2,893	Walnut Farm	85	1038
Scott, S. E.	2,136	Benton	236	831
Washington, E. M.	6,797	Potosi	127	915
Wayne	3,254	Greenville	200	908
Total	140,074, of whom 24,990 are slaves.			

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Population.		Increase.	Slaves.
1810,	19,833		
1820,	66,586		3,011
1824,	80,677	From 1800 to 1820,	46,753
1830,	140,074	1820 1830,	73,488
			24,990

The situation of St. Louis is elevated, pleasant, and healthy. The ground on which it stands rises gradually from the first to the second bank of the Mississippi. Three streets run parallel with the river, and are intersected by others at right angles. The

town extends along the river about two miles. The second bank of the river is about forty feet higher than the spot on which the town is chiefly built, and affords a fine view of the town and river. On this bank stand the fortifications, erected in early times

* From Jefferson City.

† From Washington.

‡ Population of St. Louis, the largest town, in 1820, 4,598; and in 1830, 5,552.

for the defence of the place. They consist of several circular towers, twenty feet in diameter and fifteen in height, a small stockaded fort, and a stone breast-work. The courts are held in one of the buildings of the fort, and another is used for a prison. The town contains three houses of public worship, a land office, a brewery, two water-mills, one steam-mill, a museum, two banks, a theatre, and two printing-offices, from each of which is issued a weekly newspaper. The houses are mostly of wood, but many are built of stone and are white-washed; very few of them are handsome. Most of the houses are furnished with a large garden. St. Louis was settled in 1764. It is at present in a state of rapid improvement, fast increasing in population and trade. Its situation is advantageous and interesting, being more central with regard to the whole territory belonging to the United States, than any other considerable town. Uniting the advantages of the three great rivers, Mississippi, Missouri, and Illinois, with their numerous branches, and possessing unrivalled facilities for an extensive trade, it will probably become a large city, and be the centre of an extensive commerce. The country around and west of St. Louis, for the distance of fifteen miles, is an extended prairie of very luxuriant soil.*

The other chief towns in Missouri are, Herculaneum, on the Mississippi, thirty miles below St. Louis; St. Genevieve, on the same river, sixty-four miles below St. Louis; St. Charles, on the Missouri, twenty-five miles north of St. Louis; Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi, sixty miles above the mouth of the Ohio; and New Madrid, on the Mississippi, sixty-five miles below the mouth of the Ohio. Jefferson, on the south side of the Missouri, near the mouth of Osage River, has recently been laid out as the seat of government. Franklin, in Boone's Lick settlement, about seventy-five miles above Jefferson, is a thriving town.

CHAPTER IV.

DELAWARE—MARYLAND—DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
—VIRGINIA—KENTUCKY—NORTH CAROLINA—
TENNESSEE.

DELAWARE.

WITH the exception of Rhode Island, this is the smallest state in the union. It is bounded on the

north by Pennsylvania; on the east by Delaware Bay and the Atlantic; and on the south and west by Maryland. Longitude, $74^{\circ} 56'$ to $75^{\circ} 40'$; latitude, $38^{\circ} 29'$ to $39^{\circ} 47'$. Length 100 miles; mean width, twenty-one miles; and area 2,100 square miles.

Delaware is the least diversified in surface of any of the states. The more northern part is hilly and waving, but it becomes monotonous towards the Atlantic Ocean. The actual dividing line between the waters of the Delaware and the Chesapeake Bay is in Delaware: but so far from being a ridge, it is mostly an extended flat, from which the Pocomoke, Nanticoke, Choptank, Chester, and Sassafras Rivers, ooze, rather than flow, into Chesapeake Bay, and a number of unimportant creeks flow into the Delaware. The soil, in some places excellent, is generally thin, and in many places marshy. The climate is more distinctly different, at the extremes, than could be expected from a difference of latitude of only $1^{\circ} 23'$ and no considerable difference of level. Fruits are abundant, and grain and meadow-grass are the general objects of agricultural pursuit. Wheat is the staple commodity, and Delaware is noted for its excellent flour. From the mean annual temperature of Baltimore, it is evident that cotton might be made a staple crop in Delaware, and on the eastern shore of Maryland. Little metallic wealth can be expected in a region so approaching to recent alluvium as Delaware.

The Delaware and Chesapeake Canal, which completes a water communication by sloops and steam-boats between Philadelphia and Baltimore, commences on the Delaware, about forty miles below Philadelphia, crosses the peninsula in a direction nearly west, and enters the tide waters of the Elk River, a tributary of the Chesapeake. It is about fourteen miles in length, sixty feet broad, and ten feet deep, with a rise of eight feet only above the tide to its summit level. The ample dimensions adapt it to the passage of the largest schooners of the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays, and the work is worthy of Philadelphia, in which the design was conceived and matured. It presents the greatest excavation ever attempted in any country; and the drains constructed for the passage of the waste water are nearly equal in magnitude to the largest canal of New York. At its entrance into the Delaware has been constructed a spacious harbour, twenty feet deep at low water, capable of containing 200 vessels of a large class, and affording

* *Steam-boat Navigation from St. Louis.*—St. Louis is 1,200 miles, by the course of the river, above New Orleans. In the summer of 1831, there were six steam-boats regularly employed between St. Louis and New Orleans. A trip from one place to the other and back again usually occupies twenty-four days; the shortest time

in which one was ever made was eighteen days. The usual fare for cabin passengers, descending, 20 dollars; ascending, 25 dollars; for deck passengers, 5 dollars either way. Freight per 100 lbs., descending, 37 1-2 cents; ascending, 62 1-2 cents. From St. Louis to Louisville, 630 miles: six boats regularly running, in



BATTLE MONUMENT, BALTIMORE.

shelter against the dangers of the bay at every season of the year. The cost of the work is estimated at about 1,200,000 dollars. In its session of 1824-5, congress made a liberal subscription of 300,000 dollars to this truly national undertaking.

The Methodists in this state have 15 preachers and 12,304 members; the Presbyterians, 8 churches, 9 ministers, 1 licentiate, and 1,300 communicants; the Baptists, 9 churches, 9 ministers; and 520 communicants; the Episcopalians, 6 ministers.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population, 1820.	Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Distance.	
				D.*	W.†
Kent, M.	20,793	19,911	DOVER		114
New Castle, N.	27,899	29,710	{ Newcastle	42	103
			{ Wilmington	47	108
Sussex, S.	24,057	27,118	Georgetown	40	122
Total	72,749	76,739, of whom 3,305 are slaves.			

Dover, a small town near the centre of the state, is the seat of government. Wilmington, the largest town, is situated between the Brandywine and Christiana creeks, two miles from the Delaware, and is celebrated for the number and importance of the manufactories in its vicinity, particularly the flour mills, which are the finest in the United States. Newcastle and Smyrna have some trade; and Lewistown is noted for salt works.

MARYLAND.

The ground plan (if we may be permitted the expression) of this state presents a very singular appearance, being completely, though irregularly, divided in its whole length by perhaps the most noble estuary in the world, Chesapeake Bay. The state is bounded on the north by Pennsylvania; on the east by Delaware and a portion of Virginia; on the south by the confluence of Chesapeake Bay with the Atlantic; and on the west by the Potomac, which separates it from Virginia. It extends from longitude 75° 10' to 79° 20'; latitude 38° 03', and 39° 42'. "The area of Maryland," says Mr. Darby, "is generally and greatly overrated. This exaggeration has arisen from its very irregular form, and from including the surface of Chesapeake Bay. I have taken some extra trouble to obtain the true area, and find that the land superficies is within an inconsiderable fraction of 10,000 square miles."

All those parts of Maryland east from Chesapeake, and west from that bay to the head of tides, may be

considered as recent alluvium. Above tide water, the surface rises, though not very rapidly, into hills, which reach the foot of the mountains. The third or mountainous section constitutes the western part of the state. Much highly productive soil exists in each zone, but in general the intermediate valleys of the mountainous part contain the most fertile. The limestone tracts of Frederick and Washington exhibit a fertility not surpassed in the United States. The hilly or middle zone is very variable; and in a very limited extent are frequently found the extremes of sterility and fertility. The marine and river alluvial section though not, affording any surface equally productive with the calcareous parts of the western, is more uniform than the middle zone. The surface of the alluvial region, though not rising into hills of any considerable elevation, is far from being a dead plain. In a state of nature, Maryland was, with little exception, covered with a dense forest. The diversity of soil and elevation induces in Maryland an extended facility of vegetable production, by which the staples have been greatly multiplied. The whole arable surface of Frederick, Washington, and Allegany counties, may be regarded as lying more than 500 feet above the ocean. The Apalachian system of mountains forms the western part of Maryland, and gives origin to its most considerable river, the Potomac. The ridges rise into a barrier in no place less than 2,486 feet in height, and in many places exceeding 3,000 feet. This mountain chain raises a very formidable impediment to canal construction. An elevation of 2,486 feet in winter gives to the mountain ridges

1831: usual time of a trip, eleven days; the passage one way being somewhat more than three days. Fare of cabin passengers, about ten or fifteen dollars either way; deck passengers, four dollars; freight, about 25 cents per 100lbs. One boat, also, ran regularly to Cincinnati, 150 miles above Louisville. From St. Louis to Fever River, about 480 miles: three steam-boats regularly employed in 1831: time occupied by a trip, about ten days. Fare for passengers, ascending, 15 dollars; descending, 9 dollars. The route of one of the boats occasionally extended to St. Peter's

River, 400 miles further up. In 1831, two boats were employed in running from St. Louis up the Missouri to Franklin, 200 miles, and to Fort Leavenworth, 200 miles further. Freight to Franklin, 75 cents per 100 lbs, and to Fort Leavenworth, from 1 dollar 25 cents, to 1 dollar 50 cents; from Franklin, down, 25 cents per 100 lbs. From St. Louis to Pekin, on Illinois River, 180 miles: two or three boats regularly employed in 1831. Steam-boats come occasionally to St. Louis from Pittsburgh and other places.

* From Dover. † From Washington.

of Maryland a temperature similar to that on the Atlantic Ocean in latitude 45°.

The soil is generally a red clay or loam, and much of it is excellent, producing good crops of wheat, Indian corn, hemp, and flax. Here are also fine orchards, and apples, pears, peaches, plums, and cherries, are abundant. Of peaches, the inhabitants make large quantities of peach brandy; and of apples, apple brandy and cider. The forests abound in nut-bearing trees, which feed great numbers of swine. These run wild, and, when fattened, are killed, barbelled, and exported in great quantities. Beef and mutton are also plentiful. Some cotton for domestic use is raised in this state, but it is of inferior quality.

The most considerable export from this state is that of flour; and next to this is tobacco. The other exports are iron, lumber, Indian corn, pork, flaxseed, beans, &c. Its trade is principally carried on from Baltimore. This state abounds with mines of excellent iron ore, and has also some coal. Furnaces have been erected in various parts for the manufacture of pig and bar iron, hollow ware, cannon, stoves, &c. There are a number of glass works, paper mills, &c. Large quantities of rye are distilled into whiskey; but the most considerable manufacture is that of flour.

A turnpike has been completed from Baltimore to Cumberland, on the Potomac, a distance of 135 miles. From Cumberland to Brownsville on the Monongahela, in Pennsylvania, there is now completed by the United States a free road of a most excellent construction. The distance is seventy-two miles, making the whole distance from Baltimore to Brownsville 207 miles. A turnpike extends from Baltimore in a north west direction sixteen miles, to Reister town, and there divides; one branch turning more to the north, meets the Pennsylvania line in nineteen miles; the other in a west-northwest direction runs twenty nine miles in Maryland. A turnpike road has been made from Baltimore by York and Pennsylvania, to the Susquehanna, by which large quantities of the produce of Pennsylvania are brought to that city. The Havre de Grace turnpike, leading to Philadelphia, and the Belle Air turnpike, have both been commenced, and are advancing to their completion.

Port Deposit Canal is a public work of Maryland, of ten miles in length, from Port Deposit, on the east bank of the Susquehanna, along a line of rapids northward to the boundary line of Maryland and Pennsylvania. At Little or Lower Falls, on the Potomac, three miles above Washington, is a canal two miles and a half long; difference of level thirty-seven feet one inch, overcome by four sets of locks of solid

masonry, eighty feet long and twelve wide. At Great Falls, nine miles above, is a canal 1,200 yards long, lined with walls of stone; difference of level seventy-six feet nine inches, surmounted by five sets of locks of solid masonry, 100 feet long, and from ten to fourteen wide; lifts from ten to eighteen feet. Both here and at Little Falls, the canal dimensions are twenty-five feet wide at surface, twenty at bottom, four feet deep. Canals on a smaller scale are constructed at Seneca Falls, Shenandoah Falls, and House's Falls. These works were executed by the Potomac company, incorporated in 1784 by Maryland and Virginia; but they are to be surrendered to the Chesapeake and Ohio canal company. The most important undertaking, however, is the Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road, which is to extend from the city of Baltimore to the river Ohio, about 350 miles; it is now in progress, and is the greatest enterprise of the kind in America.

In 1696 funds were appropriated by the province for the support of a college and free schools, the former of which had made considerable progress before 1776. Washington College, at Chestertown, was established in 1782. St. John's College was established in 1784, at Annapolis, and these two were united into a university. After the peace of 1783, a fund was again appropriated for the college. This was withdrawn in 1804; but the state appropriated 12,000 dollars per annum, and in 1813 laid a tax upon bank stock, which yields about 10,000 dollars, the whole of which is appropriated to the support of free and charity schools. In addition to this, the personal estate of any person who dies intestate, and leaves no relations within the fifth degree, is appropriated to this object, with the exception of the property of seamen who die in the port of Baltimore, which devolves to the Charitable Marine Society. The money received from the tax on bank stock is equally divided among all the counties in the state, although the population of some is much greater than that of others. Sunday schools are very numerous. —In 1807 the legislature founded, in the city of Baltimore, a college for the instruction of students in the different branches of medical knowledge, and, in 1812, the faculty of medicine was authorized to annex the faculties of divinity, law, and arts and sciences, the whole of which were incorporated under the name of the University of Maryland. The institution is governed by twenty-eight regents and a provost. The professor of theology and six ordained ministers constitute the faculty of divinity; the professor of law and six qualified members of the bar, that of law; that of medicine is composed of the professors of sur-

gery, anatomy, the theory and practice of physic, chemistry and mineralogy; institutes of medicine, obstetrics, and materia medica; that of arts and sciences is constituted of four professors and the principals of any three academies or colleges in the state. Each faculty organizes itself, chooses its own dean, fills its own vacancies, and makes such rules for its government as are not inconsistent with those enacted by the regents. The medical school offers great facilities for the acquisition of information in that department of science, as much pains has been bestowed in rendering it complete. The philosophical and chemical apparatus is extensive, and the museum contains a very valuable collection of anatomical preparations. The mineralogical collection is also very respectable. The state has recently granted 30,000 dollars to this rapidly growing institution.

Baltimore College, a chartered and respectable seminary, is in a very flourishing state. St. Mary's College belongs to the Roman Catholics, and is a very flourishing institution. It was incorporated in 1805

as a university, and has an extensive library, and philosophical and chemical apparatus. Its officers are a president, vice-president, and nine professors. In addition to the above, there are extensive academies at Somerset, Elkton, Washington, Talbot, Charlotte Hall, Frederick County, Garrison Forest, Franklin, (Allegany County,) Centreville, Rockville, Hagerstown, Cambridge, Hillsborough, West Nottingham, and Harford County. The arrangements for the promotion of knowledge in this state are highly liberal, and bid fair to produce the best effect.

The Roman Catholics in this state have one archbishop, the metropolitan of the United States, and 30 or 40 churches; the Methodists are numerous; the Episcopalians have 57 ministers; the Presbyterians, 11 ministers, 6 licentiates, and 1,058 communicants; the Baptists, 15 churches, 12 ministers, and 680 communicants; the German Reformed, 9 ministers; the Friends are numerous, and there are some Mennonites, one congregation of Unitarians, and one of the New Jerusalem Church.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

WESTERN SHORE.					
Counties.	Population, 1820.	Population, 1830.	Chief Towns.	Distance. A.* W.†	
Allegany, N. W.	8,654	10,602	Cumberland	165	132
Anne Arundel, M.	27,165	28,295	ANNAPOLIS		37
Baltimore, N.	33,663	40,251	{ Baltimore	30	28
Baltimore, city	62,738	80,625			
Calvert, S.	8,073	8,899	Prince Fredericktown	63	56
Charles, S.	16,500	17,666	Port Tobacco	69	32
Frederick, N.	40,459	45,793	Frederick	76	43
Harford, N. E.	15,924	16,315	Belair	53	61
Montgomery, W. M.	16,400	19,816	Rockville	52	15
Prince George's, S. M.	20,216	20,473	Upper Marlborough	23	18
St. Mary's, S.	12,974	13,455	Leonardtown	72	63
Washington, N. W. M.	23,075	25,265	Hagerstown	101	63
EASTERN SHORE.					
Caroline, E.	10,018	9,070	Denton	44	81
Cecil, N. E.	10,048	15,432	Elkton	80	88
Dorchester, S. E.	17,759	18,685	Cambridge	62	59
Kent, E.	11,453	10,502	Chestertown	47	82
Queen Anne's, E.	14,952	14,396	Centreville	32	69
Somerset, S. E.	19,579	20,155	Princess Anne	107	144
Talbot, E. M.	14,387	12,947	Easton	47	84
Worcester, S. E.	17,421	18,271	Snowhill	127	164
Total	407,350	446,913			

DIFFERENT CLASSES OF POPULATION IN 1830.

	Whites.	Slaves.	Free coloured persons.
Males	147,315	53,429	34,920
Females	143,778	49,449	28,023
Total	291,093	102,878	62,943

* From Annapolis.

† From Washington.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Baltimore, in population the third city in the United States, is built round a bay which sets up from the north side of the Patapsco river, and affords a spacious and convenient harbour. Annapolis, the seat of government, is on the south bank of the Severn, two miles from its mouth; population about 2000. Fredericktown, is a flourishing town on a branch of Monococy creek, forty-two miles west of Baltimore, and has about 5000 inhabitants. It is in the midst of a fertile country, and sends great quantities of wheat and flour to Baltimore. Hagerstown is situated in the fertile valley of Conococheague, on the west bank of the Antietam Creek, twenty-seven miles northwest of Fredericktown. Cumberland is at the head of boat navigation on the Potomac. The ports of entry, besides Baltimore and Annapolis, are St. Mary's, on the Potomac; Nottingham, on the Patuxent; Havre de Grace, at the mouth of the Susquehanna; Chestertown, on Chester River; Oxford, on Treadhaven Creek, which falls into the Choptank near its mouth; Vienna, on the Nanticoke; and Snowhill, on the Pocomoke. At each of the three last mentioned places a considerable amount of shipping is owned.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Is a tract of ten miles square, about equally divided by the Potomac, ceded by the states of Maryland and Virginia to the general government. [The Potomac had been considered the centre of the British provinces in North America long before the organization of a federal government was ever thought of by the north or the south. A few of the wise men of Virginia had, in their political forecasts, drawn upon their imaginations so far as to think it within the limits of conjecture, that through the Potomac the great western lakes would find a highway to the ocean, and the immense interior bordering on them would be opened to the advantages of commerce with foreign nations. When, or how, this was to be brought about, was not distinctly understood. The subject was one of those great matters of feeling and reasoning commingled, that are often the precursors of investigation and effort, and for many years remain as impressions and presentiments, before the event gives to vague conjecture the character of prophecy or foreknowledge. These opinions were gaining ground in Virginia, from age to age, and fastened themselves on the mind of Washington, from his earliest years; and so deep, that when his reputation had reached the acme of human glory, he was willing to risk some portion of his fame in making every exertion to direct his countrymen to this great national object,

connected with the government of the United States, and the future welfare of his country; but no place was now precisely designated.

In March, 1791, the President of the United States was authorized to appoint commissioners to lay out this city, and prepare suitable buildings for the government before the year 1800. By an act of May, 1796, the commissioners were authorized to borrow money for the advancement of the buildings, and to pledge the lots that had been given to the United States, as well as the faith of the government, to refund the loan. In 1798, there was an act passed, supplementary to the aforesaid, to hasten the progress of the public improvements. So far were the public buildings finished, that, in April, 1800, an act was passed authorizing the President to remove, with all the departments, from Philadelphia to the Federal City, which had been previously named the City of Washington, in honour of the President; and in pursuance of this act the government was removed and commenced operations in the city of Washington the first day of December, 1800. It cannot be denied but that the character, wishes, and influence of Washington, had no small share in fixing the seat of government. Like all other of his acts it has proved to have been dictated by wisdom, justice, and forecast; for the site is one of the finest in the world for a city. From the hill on which stands the capitol, the most noble view presents itself to the eye of the beholder that the imagination could paint. From the north, round to the south, a circular line of high grounds is seen, making within them the interior of an immense amphitheatre; which, it is said, resembles the appearance of Rome from some of the elevations in or near the *Eternal City*. The east view is extensive, but not bounded by high lands; the horizon sinks with the power of vision. On the south, the broad and peaceful Potomac is seen for many miles, extending to Alexandria, and even to Mount Vernon. The whole panorama is bold, magnificent, picturesque, and yet soft and beautiful; it only requires the moral consecration of long past events, the massy piles of ancient grandeur, the deep and solemn recollections of the mighty dead, to make the impression, at this view from the capitol, such as crowds on the mind when one views the Vatican or domes of St. Peter. It was laid out on a noble plan, but it will require the lapse of half a century to fully develop all its beauties. The eye of practical utility is long in discovering the harmonious proportions that philosophical forecast designs for the completion of distant ages. The colossal figures of Praxiteles were the subject of derision among mi-

ner artists, who did not foresee the elevation for which they were made; but when placed in the lofty niches of the temple, his master designs found their exact situations, and breathed harmony and sweetness on every beholder. The city of Washington struggled with every difficulty in its commencement. The great founder did not live to see it the seat of government; he died a year before the consummation of his wishes.

We had at the time of the beginning but few native artists to assist him, and the foreigners he employed had many preconceived opinions at war with his great plans. Economy was the order of the day, and it was hard to make frugal statesmen understand, that judicious expenditure, on a broad scale, would, in the end, be the most prudent course. They considered the necessities of a session; he, the requisitions of ages. The country was straitened in her finances, and the great mass of the legislature mistook the expansion of republican simplicity and grandeur in building a city, for regal munificence and aristocratic calculations; and of course every broad plan was narrowed down, and every detail cramped by the wants of the treasury. Other causes transpired to increase these difficulties. When the site of the federal city was fixed upon, speculators from every quarter of this country, and also from abroad, flocked in, to share in the chances of gain. Instead of forwarding the enterprise, they did much to retard it, by giving the lands a fictitious value and by keeping up nominal prices until there were no real ones. It was a fair subject of speculation, but it was managed badly. The agriculture of the surrounding country was not prepared to give a ready and an abundant supply to the calls of the newly congregated population, and the whole concern went sadly on, year after year: at this period the market for provisions was scanty, fluctuating, and often exorbitant; and sometimes it was hardly possible to procure wholesome provisions, at any rate. The dwelling houses in general were small and inconvenient; and not only the citizens, but public functionaries, and political dignitaries, were crowded into narrow lodgings; and amidst the most anxious struggles for appearances among the leaders of fashion, the nakedness of the land was often seen by the sojourners as well as felt by the inhabitants. The great mass of the population suffered in some way or other, and but few of the comforts of life, then, as well as at present, so fully enjoyed in the cities of the United States generally, were known in Washington.

In summer the streets were in a good measure deserted, and in winter all was bustle and confusion.

The streets were without sidewalks or pavements, and in this naturally humid climate and soft loamy soil, the mud was frequently deep and troublesome. The greater part of the visitors, and many of the members of congress, boarded in Georgetown. The English goods shops were there also, and many of the best wine and grocery stores. These daily inconveniences were annoying to the members of congress, and they were in ill-humour when any call for money was made for the city; and it was evident that the dislike to Washington, as a permanent seat of government, was fast advancing to a determination to remove it. The goodly streets and comfortable rooms in the dwelling houses in Philadelphia were remembered, and nothing but reverence for the name of Washington kept those feelings from breaking out into acts of legislation.

This was the state of things up to 1814, when the calamity which at first was supposed to have given a finishing stroke to all the hopes of the city fell upon it. In August, of that year, it was taken by the British without much bloodshed. The troops brought to defend it were well enough, and might have been made good soldiers, if there had been union, concert, and energy among the leaders. Civil and military authority and influence were jumbled together, and confusion, defeat, and disgrace, followed. The blame was shifted from one to the other, and has not as yet settled precisely any where; but error, and gross error, must rest somewhere.

The whole country was mortified at such an event, although it reflected no great honour on the enemy. The capitol, as far as it was finished was burnt; the President's house, the public offices, and the public property of the navy yard. The whole city resembled "*the skin of an immolated victim*;" and every appeal to the sympathies and pride of the country was made. When congress next assembled, after a few struggles for the removal of the seat of government, the most vigorous steps were taken to restore the city to tranquillity, and to repair the public losses. It being once settled that pride and justice would not suffer the removal of the seat of government, private enterprise followed public spirit. The corporation of the city seemed to be animated with a new soul, and individuals, relieved from the fear of change, risked all they could command in real estate. Landed property arose in value, and hope, energy, and active business, took the place of despair, listlessness, and wasting, repining indolence. New streets were opened, dwelling houses and stores were then erected. The trade came to the city, the boarders left Georgetown and came to Washington, and a new face was

put on every thing in the city; churches were built, institutions of learning arose, and large, if not ample provision, was made for other necessary improvements on the face of nature. This work has been going on ever since the close of the war; but it must be pleasant to the citizens of Washington to reflect, that when all things are taken into consideration, that they are not indebted to the government, in equity, for one dollar for all their grants and favours; but that, in truth, the government is indebted to the city for more than a million of dollars, putting a fair value on the property now owned by the United States within the city which cost them nothing. Blessings are said to come in clusters; for as soon as the city began to flourish, it became healthy. The low grounds were drained, and the fever and ague, once prevalent, are now rarely known among the evils of Washington; and at present the city is decidedly the most healthy of any in the United States, or perhaps in the world. The water of Washington is of the best quality, and can be brought to every door in the greatest abundance, at a very moderate expense. This was provided for in the charter given to the city under the administration of Mr. Jefferson.

The schools in Washington are respectable, and instructors very well supported. The spirit of religious freedom is as manifest here, as in older cities. Toleration, in general, is a growth of long experience and sound information; here intolerance had neither precedents or law. The restraints on the exercise of liberty are fewer here than in any other city known to civilized man; and yet the morals of the people are good, and every year growing better. The whole population of the city have been misrepresented as to manners, morals, habits, and dispositions. No people are more kind, or more hospitable, or have better feelings than the Washingtonians. The bland Marylander, the lofty Virginian, and intelligent, shrewd Eastern inhabitant, coalesce, commingle, and amalgamate, until the virtues of all are seen united in the most. As they become less dependent on congress, the more elevated is their standard of mind and morals. When they looked to the members of congress as superior beings, who might annihilate the city by a vote, the very vices of the legislators were copied, and the effect was bad. Taken as a whole, the members of congress were not of the highest order for imitation. Men are seldom virtuous in bodies, in which, in most cases, but little individual responsibility is felt or acknowledged. The corporation are assuming an energy of character worthy of freemen, and are looking at the true interests of the city, and the citizens are uniting their efforts

for the prosperity of themselves and neighbours. The patronage of congress, the attention of the corporation of the city, and the efforts of individuals, are now beginning to be seen and felt. In former years, their exertions were not properly appreciated, because they could not be seen in their effects; they were actually laying the corner-stone deep in the mire and water, where it was difficult for the nicest observer to fairly calculate the value of means used to produce ends; now all things are seen most fully; and effects are in proportion to labours; and whatever is done is visible in the improvements of the city. The city is indeed an emblem of our nation in its growth and character, if not at first, certainly in the later periods. It was most assuredly afflicted in its commencement, had no great seasons of prosperity in its early day, and in the end, owed its glory and stability to the outrage done upon it. The streets are now provided with ample sidewalks; new squares are opened, the streets are graduated, and put in a proper state to be ornamented with trees and fountains. The Ohio and Chesapeake canal, which has been begun, and will be put in operation by the enterprise of individuals, the spirit of the corporation, and the liberality of congress, is one day to be the pride, the convenience, and the source of prosperity to the city. The trade will increase, which will increase the number of inhabitants, and afford them many advantages, by bringing fuel and provisions to the city, and reduce the prices of all the necessaries of life, to as low a scale as that of the most favoured cities of the United States. The Washington market, with a little alteration, might be made as good as any we know of. The glades of Virginia furnish beef, pork, and butter, of the best kinds; and the immediate neighbourhood, with a little care and attention, would be sufficient, and more than sufficient, for all the demands of vegetables, and poultry. The soil and climate are well suited for all the fruits of the temperate zone. Peaches, plums, apples, and almost every other fruit, are, or may be raised, of the first order. Washington is the happiest region of flowers. A garden here might be made to yield something for the basket of Flora for nearly three quarters of the year. With a small expense a fountain might be made in every garden, to refresh the vegetation in the warmest seasons of the year. After the most prominent sites for business are filled up in the city, a better taste will prevail in erecting domicils, and those dwellings a little removed from the bustle will not be complete or satisfactory without a garden of flowers.

To pass from the *dulce* to the *utile*, there are fine building materials, in abundance, in or near the city,

or can easily be brought to it. The city abounds in the best of clay; and bricks can be furnished to any extent, at a few weeks notice; and fuel can easily be procured to burn the greatest number of kilns that may be set up. Ornamental trees for the high way or malls would be of rapid growth, much more rapid, take the whole number and variety of ornamental trees together, than that of any climate more southerly or northerly in this country. It is seldom that the winter is severe enough to injure them, and droughts in the summer are not common. Showers are frequent; the clouds following along the Shenandoah and the Potomac, in the highlands, spread over the country where the Potomac assumes a broader surface, and gives a freshness to the vegetation along its banks. The soil is porous and quickly imbibes the rain, so that no stagnant waters are found to originate diseases in the hottest weather. There is none of that spongy, humid state of the atmosphere here, so common at the north in August, generally denominated dog-days. The heat of Washington is not greater at any season than at Boston or Montreal; but is more oppressive by its long continuance, and the trifling change in the atmosphere from noon to midnight. This may be, and indeed is, exhausting; but in this season there are but few prevalent diseases; and the deaths that happen are often among those who have not been the most prudent, or whose constitutions have been broken and decaying in previous years. Man is subject to the first great denunciation of his Maker every where, *dust thou art, and to dust shalt thou return*; but he is as much privileged here, as any where, to escape it as long as possible. In fact, nature has done enough for the city to make it one of the most delightful abodes in the world; art now must do her share. Capital, industry, and business, are now only wanted, to give interest, beauty, yea, more, splendour, to all in and about Washington; commerce is wanted to obtain this capital and to secure prosperity to the city, but it can never be so great and all-absorbing as to endanger the welfare of the city by those fearful fluctuations that large commercial cities are liable to. None of those sudden changes in the markets can effect the great mass of the citizens, when but a small part of them are engaged in commerce, nor is it so near the sea as to fear that its usual supplies can be cut off by war or blockade. The back country is sufficient for all exigencies, and permanent requisitions for the main articles of life, and it will have easy communication with the eastern and southern cities by steam-boats and rail roads. If a real and not a fictitious value is given to property in the city of

Washington, it can not fail to advance most rapidly. The general temperature of the climate, the certainty of wholesome supplies of provisions, the chances of good schools, which will be found here if they are not common now; numerous and well organized associations, united to the easy access to genteel society, on those terms which can not be common in other cities, will induce many respectable families, with but moderate means, to make this a place of residence. It is a question, with many, if this golden age will ever come; but who can doubt it? Look at the changes of the last ten years, and say if these have in them no promising augury? If the citizens do not abandon real for imaginary right—if the congress of the United States do their duty, as we trust they will—the prosperity of the city of Washington is certain. Some of the citizens of the District of Columbia are anxious to be represented in congress; but it would be a miserable policy to change the hold they have on the general government for legislative protection, for the honour of having a single representative in congress. The government is growing rich, and the fostering hand of power will be, hereafter, extended more liberally to the district than it has been.

With industry, enterprise, prudence, and harmony, the city of Washington may be made a place of trade, manufactures, and learning. The trade will be very considerable when the canal is opened, and the surrounding country catches the spirit of the age. Manufactures will of course go *pari passu* with the demand of those articles that can be made here cheaper than elsewhere. In addition to the water power in the neighbourhood, fuel can be afforded cheap, by way of the river and canal, either in wood or coal for steam-engines. A well balanced business extending to all the common branches of industry might be carried on here for the prosperity of the city. Taste, and the arts, must grow up where there is no sudden influx of wealth, no deep commercial speculation, whose success gives no settled plans for mental improvement, and whose reverses damp the ardour and dry up the aliments of learning. Those cities whose income have been the most regular, not those which at seasons have been the most wealthy, have given the most encouragement to the arts. It is true the Medici, the great Florentine merchants, were patrons of the arts; yet not from the success of any particular enterprise, but from a settled plan to spend so much of their income as they could spare for this purpose, and they made as regular appropriations for letters and the arts as for household expenses. It is not with the excess of wealth that learning

flourishes, but with the judicious use of it. Pericles ornamented his native Athens to the delight of his own, and to the wonder and admiration of succeeding ages, and yet his revenues were not large; but who ever heard of the artists, or of the men of letters patronised by Cræsus. A national University to be established in this city, was contemplated by that great father of his country, Washington. His views were expanded and noble. The University was not only to be one in name, but in truth a place of letters and sciences, with the arts, both useful and ornamental in their train; a place where all that is known should be taught. Such a University, besides diffusing pure knowledge, would do much towards breaking down the prejudices that exist between the different sections of our country. Educated together, the youths of the north and the south, the east and the west, would scan each others' merits in their early days, and find out each others' mental powers. Such an education would give them opportunities of knowing each, too, when they came into active life, and assist them to form accurate opinions of each others' powers and capacities, and fitness for particular offices. Such a university would be a resort for men of taste and leisure, who with their families would come to attend the lectures of the professors of the university; as none but distinguished men could hold these offices. In truth, whatever way we look into our country's welfare, or however bold and sagacious our reach may be, on close inspection we shall find that the mind of Washington had been there before us, arranged our anticipations, and marshalled all our array of thoughts; and he with equal clearness saw all the difficulties we had to encounter, and the virtues it would require to overcome them. He prayed the nation might possess them; he believed it did, or would, so that his beloved republic would escape the fate of all former republics, whose histories are satires on the stability of governments and the virtue of the human race.

We are now, in fact, the only republic on earth; those so called in South America, and hailed with such enthusiasm by the lovers of liberty, are at present only mock-suns on the clouds formed by our rising brightness. The temples of South American liberty have not as yet been purified from the stains of the idols which inhabited them. Superstition and ignorance, and the sounds of strife and bloodshed, as yet drown the bustle of the comitia. They have ample means in their hands, and they have the wishes of the better part of mankind for their success. We have believed, and still fondly hope, that the American republic is not to be joined to those of

former ages, over which the plough-share of desolation has been driven, and on many of whose brightest deeds the pall of oblivion has fallen. That the fears of the timid may prove idle, that the anticipations of the wise may be realized, and the hopes of the most sanguine be fulfilled, should be every patriot's prayer; but neither prayers, or wishes, or hopes will avail, without enterprise, energy, learning, virtue and perseverance; all these are in the people, and if they be true to themselves they will perpetuate their liberties. Their destinies are in their own hands. The responsibility of this age is tremendous, and it will be increased with every succeeding one. The pillars of the temple are *knowledge* and *virtue*, and as long as these remain unbroken the edifice will stand; but faction, like the strong man, may break them down and strew destruction around; but this evil may God avert.

The capitol of the congress of the United States is a very noble building. The order is called Corinthian; but, in truth, it is a medley of all orders. The whole edifice is now completed. It covers an acre and a half and 1820 feet of ground. It has been an expensive building, having cost the United States nearly three millions of dollars. The square on which the capitol stands contains more than twenty acres, and is laid out in a very handsome style, and is filled up with trees and shrubbery in a flourishing state. The dome of this building is the third in point of size in the world; next to St. Paul's, and before St. Sophia's; but this building has been so often described, that I shall not attempt it; but give you a few remarks upon the ornaments of the building, which have not been so particularly mentioned.

Several artists of note have, from time to time, been employed on the capitol, and it bears marks of their taste and talents. They have ornamented the inside of the dome and other parts of the building with the labours of their art. Over the western door of the dome is a group in bass-relief, representing the preservation of Capt. John Smith from the wrath of Powhatan, by the kind interference of his daughter, Pocahontas. This is the work of Capelano, an artist of considerable talent; but he had seen more Italians than Indians, and his savages are Italian banditti, and his intended child of the forest an Italian queen. In this picture, however, notwithstanding all its defects, there is more variety of expression in the countenances of the group, than is generally found in stone. This work attracts much attention, and elicits many criticisms; but it will continue to be admired, in spite of its faults. Smith was a hero whose name

is imperishable; his life has more of romance in it than that of any other man in the annals of history. Over the east door is a representation of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, 1620. The Indians on the rocks, the boat, the shore, the sea, are all well executed; but the artist mistook the character of the comers to the new world; he has given the religious adventurers the hat of the ancient Pilgrim, and the dress also; when nothing would be farther from the truth. They were puritanical adventurers, and not crusading pilgrims. The subject is one much better for the pencil than the chisel; but it was given to illustrate a portion of American history, and the artist was told the story by those who, probably, did not precisely understand the capacities of his art, and he set about it as it was, a subject dictated to him, and which some body else would have been engaged to execute, if he had remonstrated against it. The Pilgrims of that day never thought of their glory in stone. The pen and the pencil have secured their immortality long since. The sculptor was Causici.

Over the north door is sculptured William Penn, making his treaty with the Indians, in 1680. He is holding the parley, in the fearlessness of innocence, with the savages, who seemed to have caught the same spirit and to be governed by the same peaceful principles. This treaty is worthy of all praise, for it was kept inviolate for seventy years; but the moral sublimity of the subject must be fully understood before you can relish the design. There is neither beauty or attraction in it, taken by itself. The capacities of the art do not reach such a subject. The painter would do better here also. "*Gods, not men, should breathe in stone.*" They are only seen in naked majesty. The modern succinct dress in marble may be made by skill so as to be endured, but never to be admired. Phidias could not have given immortality to a modern martinet, in dress, with all his frogs and taggery. The sculptor would have preferred the Winnebago, in his war dance, almost in native nakedness, to one so bedizened.

On the panels between the doors, looking above them, are several fine heads in bass-relief. One of Columbus is so near a resemblance to some fine pictures of him, that it is probable the sculptor had hit upon something near a true likeness. The head of Sir Walter Raleigh is also a fine one, resembling the best prints of him. They are richly deserving a place here. This talented but unfortunate Englishman, deserves to be remembered in a country on whose shores he made a vigorous struggle to plant a colony. It was not his fault if he did not succeed.

The heads of la Salle, and Sebastian Cabot, are rough statuary, but have considerable expression and life in them. They, too, merit a place in this pantheon, if enterprise and success are subjects of reward in this way. These are strong, and severe pieces of physiognomy, but not without talent and character. They could not be recommended as models, nor are they so recommended; but they are worthy of attention and notice.

Over the great eastern door, outside of the dome, there is a head of Washington, taken from a picture, or bust, of an earlier age in Washington's life, than is seen in Stuart's great picture. The bust has a striking likeness to the head of the late Judge Washington. It is a laboured production of Capelano's chisel. It is supported, to speak in the language of heraldry, by Fame, with her clarion on one side, and by the genius of Immortality, ready to place the wreath on his brow, on the other. It is admired by many, and is certainly a specimen of very good proficiency in the art. But it is beyond the art, and skill, and genius of Canova, to give us a just idea of Washington. The image in our minds was all perfect; the eye could not be satisfied with any effort, however mighty, to give it body and tangibility.

It was reserved for Luigi Persico to produce by patient labour, and unquestionable skill, united to the soul of genius, a work that will immortalize the sculptor, and do honour to our country. It is an ornament for the tympanum of the east front of the capitol. The figures are colossal; the design is full of meaning, and yet is marked with great simplicity. On the right of the spectator is seen Hope, leaning on her anchor, and extending her right hand to the skies, directing her looks to the Genius of America, a still loftier figure, in partial armour. Hope is describing to the Genius some of those visions of glory which are crowding on her soul; some of those unborn ages of her beloved republic; while the Genius of the Nation, with dignified mien and placid countenance, points over a third figure, which is Justice, of a size in keeping with the others, and seems to say, we ask nothing that we are not entitled to by the sternest decisions of the goddess. The eyes of Justice are not, as usual, blinded, but are opened on the day, that she may see and judge all that passes under the sun. Between Hope and the Genius of America, there is an American eagle, a noble piece of statuary; the talons grasp the emblematical weapons of defence, with characteristic power. The breast, the wings, the tail, are full of life and strength, as is the head and beak of majesty. The head of the eagle is turned to the Genius, and "*with eye retortive looks*

creation through." The easy, elegant, and natural flow of the drapery, the fine finish of the hands and arms, and the graceful attitudes of these figures, take away, even when you are close to them, all those impressions of coarseness which susceptibility and taste have felt at a near inspection of colossal figures. It is not in nature to love the person of a giant. It was only through the medium of his deeds of generosity and valour that Hercules won the hearts of those that praised him. Between the overgrown and the diminutive exist the forms of symmetry, grace, and beauty. That art must be exquisite that gives us those huge dimensions, as it were, directly in our eye-shot, and still contrives to take off the general impression of coarseness. Mr. Persico's work is now to be examined from the ground only; the proper line of vision being extended more than a hundred feet from the object. At this distance the figures appear about the size of human beings, full grown. I have no hesitation in saying, that they are far superior to any thing of the kind in this country, entirely free from that hoyden air, or that prominence of parts, often made in works of this sort, to catch the gaze of the tasteless spectator. This group appears all life, celestial life; spirits communing with spirits, in the dignity and calm repose of upper natures, without a single throe of mortal thought-bearing.

After having said so much of the work, it is proper that I should say something of the artist. Mr. Persico is a Neapolitan, of about thirty years of age, or perhaps he is a little older, and full of the inspiration of his art. The clash of parties does not interest him, or the animated debate detain him but for a moment. The gayeties of the saloon, or the festive board, have but few charms for him, notwithstanding he possesses the mercurial temperament of his nation. Distinction in his art is the predominant passion of his soul; and if he looks at a fair one ever so earnestly, it is only to find some line of beauty, or some grace of form or motion, to transfer to stone; or, if he listens to an orator in the glow of his genius, and when the light of his mind is beaming on all around him, it is only that he may catch all this to give it to after ages, when the image of the speaker has faded from the memories of living men.

The ornaments of the Superior Court Room are not numerous. The only one worthy of particular attention is a group opposite the bench of justice. On the left, as seen from the bench, is a figure too lank and lean for a cupid, or an angel; but is probably intended for one or the other of these supernatural beings, or perhaps for the Genius of the constitution. The figure has wings, and holds the con-

stitution of the United States in its hand. On the head of the figure, whatever it may be, is a glory, or a shekina. This is in bad taste. It is attempting too much, and therefore produces a failure. All the other parts of the design are classical. This is from sacred history. The middle figure is Justice sitting in a chair, (Phidias or Praxiteles knew nothing of such a seat for the goddess,) with her right arm leaning on her sword, and holding the equal scales in her left. The face of this figure is excellent, and the drapery flowing and easy. Her proportions are rather more delicate than those in which the ancients exhibited the inflexible goddess. Before her sits the bird of wisdom, perched near some volumes of law; but the owl is formed in the modern school; and the capitol to a groat, Minerva would not know her bird if she should see him so beaked, so feathered, so trim and dove-like, unless she should guess it out by recognising her sister Justice in the form of this belle, or resort to her divinity to discover the whole group in their transformation. This room is one of deep interest to every lover of his country. To see seven quiet, good looking men, covered with a slight robe of black, without enough of the insignia of office to tell them from so many pall bearers, sitting together, listening to the arguments of men from every state in the Union, on great and important questions, of municipal, civil, and international law; and thus without any emotion or excitement, settling all the numerous conflicting opinions that have grown up in this republic since its formation, is a specimen of the moral sublime, unequalled in the annals of civil or ecclesiastical history. These oracles of the Delphic cave have as yet been free from the corruption or fear of executive power, and uninfluenced by party strife in the halls of legislation. As long as this sanctuary is unassailed, and talents and integrity are selected and maintained in this branch of government, so long will it be the palladium of American liberties; but wo betide the hour when political rancour shall come within these walls, to poison the fountains of justice, or to weaken her arm. The bickerings above them in the senate chamber, may pass away, and the many boisterous and idle speeches be forgotten, while the country is safe; but once pollute this hall, and the guardian Genius of the liberties of this country will leave it for ever.

The president's house is a magnificent mansion. It stands near the centre of one of the largest squares of the city, on an eminence, nearly a mile and a half west from the capitol. The building is of the Ionic order, with a southern and a northern front. It is one hundred and seventy-five feet long

and eighty-five in width; it has two lofty stories above the basement. There are thirty-one rooms of considerable size within the walls. As you enter the north door there is a fine large hall, called the entrance hall. At the left of this is the eastern room, whose length is the width of the house, making a room in the clear eighty feet in length, forty feet in width, and twenty-eight feet in height, with four fire places, two of them of elegant marble jams, mantelpieces, &c. From the south of the Hall you enter the elliptical room, which is the general audience room on levee nights. The east room was intended for a general audience room; and the elliptical room to receive foreign ambassadors, and public functionaries, on occasions of ceremony; but the east room not having been furnished, until lately, the elliptical room has been used for all public ceremonies. East of the elliptical room is the *Green Drawing Room*; this is of a medium size for such an edifice. On the west of the elliptical room is the *Yellow Drawing Room*; on the west from this is the *large Dining Room*, of a fine size, and farther west still is the *small Dining Room*, and beyond this is the Porter's room.

The north front of the upper story contains six rooms for various purposes. The south front has seven rooms; the ante-chambers, the audience chamber, and Lady's parlour; this is directly over the elliptical room, and of the same size of that. The basement story contains eleven rooms, kitchen, pantry, butler's room, &c. These are cool and convenient in the summer, and warm in the winter from the massy walls of the edifice.

Some of the furniture of the house is elegant, but in general it looks much abused from the crowds of careless visitors. The Lady's parlour may be said to be superbly furnished, but this remark does not extend to many other rooms. Within twelve years past congress have expended eighty thousand dollars in furnishing this mansion, and there was some old furniture of the former stocks. Some portion of the plate is elegant, and is now worth twenty thousand dollars, or more.

The ornaments are sparse and not of high order. In the second southeast room there is a map of Virginia; a portrait of Bolivar; a bust of Washington, and one of Americus Vesputius. These latter ornaments are very good specimens of the arts. In the third room, the ante-chamber, there is an engraving of the declaration of independence in a gilt frame. In the yellow drawing room there is a portrait of Washington from the pencil of Stuart. In this room there is a French piano, which it is said can not be

kept in tune. In the days of omens, when Memnon's harp responded to the ray of the sun, or Æolus first breathed among the reeds, this might be thought to have a mysterious bearing on the jars of the cabinet councils; or at least, a Greek Poet would have said that the genius of the place was not always happy and tuneful. This palace belongs to the people, and should be adorned with the best specimens of the fine arts the country can produce. The works of the great painters should hang upon the walls, and those of their sculptors fill every niche. To the tenants of this house it can not be of much importance, for to them it is only a caravansary, where they throw down their wallets to cast a horoscope to lay spirits and raise spells, and their hour comes, and they take up their march without restoration to health, or a forgiveness of their sins. Such is the omnipotence of the public mind in a free government. The whole square, except a few spaces for iron-gates, is surrounded by a substantial stone wall of excellent masonry. The four public offices of the secretaries are within these walls. The view from the north front is extensive and beautiful, but from the south front it is more extensive and still more resplendent, embracing in its range a lovely prospect of the Potomac.

The site of the house is elevated about sixty feet above the river, and the descent is quite gradual to it. On the south eastern side of the wall there is a stone arch for a gateway: it looks, from the antiquity of the style and the colour of the material of which it is made, as if it had stood centuries defying the climate. Two large ancient weeping willows, one on each side of the arch, add much to its venerable appearance. These trees have not grown up since the date of the federal constitution. They are older than *the city's charter*. They were provincial seedlings, now national monuments. It is said that an accomplished lady of the *Great House* in former days, when congratulated upon her elevation, remarked with a smile, "I don't know that there is much cause for congratulation; the President of the United States generally comes in at the iron gate, and goes out at the *weeping willows*."

MERIDIAN HILL, as seen from the president's house, is situated about three quarters of a mile west of Columbia college, is a handsome seat, built by Commodore Porter at great expense, which has been the temporary residence of Mr. Adams, the late president of the United States. It probably derives its name from the expectation that an observatory would be erected there by the government of the United States. Toward such an object there were some steps taken.

In the year 1821, the president of the United States authorized, under a resolve of congress, William Lambert, Esq. a distinguished mathematician, to take proper measures for ascertaining with precision and accuracy the longitude of the Capital from Greenwich or Paris. He was assisted in taking his observations by William Elliot, Esq. who had an extensive astronomical knowledge and experience in the use of instruments. This commission was executed to the satisfaction of the president. The government also sent an experienced mathematician, Mr. Hasler, to Europe, to purchase, or cause to be made, all such instruments as might in his opinion be necessary for an observatory. A most costly and admirable set of instruments was procured, probably equal, or superior to any set in Europe; but the observatory was not erected, and when it was recommended by the next president, the whole was ridiculed and lost. The costly materials are nearly ruined by rust and neglect. It is not made the duty of any department to take care of them. If this plan of erecting an observatory had been carried into effect, we should now make all our calculations of longitude from Washington, instead of Greenwich, which might have been called an era of scientific independence, which it behooves this country to declare as soon as possible. They have scarcely a map or chart of their own, out of their own territories. They have in the midst of every boast been guided more by the light of other minds than their own, a mortifying fact to those of their countrymen who are willing to make every exertion to wipe away this stain from their "*proudly emblazoned escutcheon*," and to make this equal with other nations in contributions to the common stock of knowledge. Individuals have done much, government but little, in the cause of science. The government have done nothing of a public nature in the city to assist in measuring space or time. There is not even a public clock to regulate the hours of business or pleasure, or to tell the weary and restless applicant for office how pass his long and tedious days of heats and chills, in waiting for a definite answer from a department of the government. Indeed, I had almost forgotten to state that there is a sun-dial on the front of the department of state. This was probably put there as the device of some philosopher, to teach the passing generations of politicians a solemn moral; the design was a happy one, for it has often marked the hours of a great man's fame, and seen them pass away as a shadow on its face.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.—Congress had provided but few books for the general reader, until Mr. Jefferson offered his library to them as nucleus for a

future national library; the journals, laws, and state papers were about all the representatives of the United States could have access to in their public reading room, until the Jefferson library was purchased. It was a cheap one for the United States, considering how many excellent papers in the form of speeches, tracts, pamphlets, and books, it contains, upon revolutionary history. The arguments urged to bring on the contest, the reasoning required to keep the spirit of patriotism alive, to induce the people to form and accept a form of government, to secure the liberty they had achieved, are found in this library in greater abundance, than perhaps in any library belonging to an individual in this country. In forming this library, Mr. Jefferson had exercised his judgment, no doubt; but much of the most valuable part of it was the growth of the times of struggle and determination, and if they had not been gathered then, would have been lost by neglect, and they could not now be called back by any conjuration. The collections in this library of history, general politics, statistics, and scientific works and classical literature, is considerable; the deficiencies of Mr. Jefferson's library, have been supplied by the appropriations of congress for the library department; the library committee are members of congress of a high literary and scientific reputation, and what they recommend seldom meets with any obstacle. They have with great taste and judgment purchased many rare works of great value to scholars, as also many of high taste and fashion for those who have only time to indulge the eye upon wire-wove or vellum paper, or imperial bindings, or exquisite engravings. The expenditure of about five or six thousand dollars a year is a trifle for the government, and yet, by this appropriation, in twenty years this will be one of the first libraries in the world; as it now is, it probably stands the fourth in this country; but there are several of the minor class that are at present nearly equal to it, in point of numbers.

There is a very respectable library belonging to a company in the city. It contains between five and six thousand volumes, and these are very well selected. It is as rich in American literature as any miscellaneous library of its size in the United States.

This library is increasing under judicious management, and promises to be in a few years an extensive concern.

Each branch of the government has an accumulating library. That of the state department is of considerable magnitude; but is of very little value at present to any one, but those in its immediate neighbourhood. This is not as it should be; the

library of the state department ought to be kept in a spacious room, fitted with every convenience for taking notes and making extracts, &c. It should contain all the American works to be found in the book market, in proper order for the inspection of every visiter properly introduced. The sums now expended on European works are next to useless here; which under proper direction would, in the course of a few years, make up a very fine collection of American books. Of the current publications there are a considerable number of volumes deposited in that office by the laws of copy-right, and in addition to this supply, a few thousand of dollars annually would tell well in increasing the stock. The secretaries of state have generally been scholars, and it is therefore surprising that this library should not be found in a better state, one we mean more conducive to general convenience and the diffusion of information relating to our own country. It is but justice to say that these remarks apply to the library as it was before Mr. Van Buren came into office. It is to be hoped that he has made some reform in the premises.

The Columbian Institute was incorporated in 1819; it had existed for some time before this period as a literary and scientific society. It was founded upon a noble basis, to promote learning in all the various branches of arts, sciences, and letters. Its members are resident, corresponding, or honorary. Contributions are exacted of the resident members, of papers upon such subjects as each member chooses to write upon; and there has, from time to time, been a good deal of talent exhibited. These papers are kept on file, and will be useful to the society hereafter. Congress has granted to this institution the use of several acres of land for a botanic garden and other purposes. By the liberality and exertions of some of its members, this garden has been well laid out, and many of the trees and shrubs of other countries have been transplanted and nurtured there. This, with a little of that liberality that congress has shown to some other institutions or other projects, would flourish; for there are several literary and scientific men who would spend many of their leisure hours in the botanic department of the society, if they could do it to advantage.

Congress has furnished the society with a convenient room under the library of congress, where the collections of books, minerals, and curiosities, are deposited. Resident members are, it is said, receiving encouragement from corresponding members, by way of donations, books, and minerals, and works from their own pens; and after the bustle of politics is over,

it is to be hoped that the watchful eye of the scientific and literary part of congress will see the wants of the society, and that the liberal part will be disposed to aid in giving it something annually, to carry on their useful labours. The members are most certainly labouring for the good of the community at large, not for themselves; and therefore deserve encouragement. It has talent sufficient among its members to do honour to the reputation of the country in the literary and scientific world; as yet, their publications have been but few, but those are of a high order, and have been well received every where. The first was a Eulogy on Mr. Jefferson, by Mr. Harrison Smith. This is not only valuable as a composition, but it is more so as arising from a particular acquaintance of Mr. Jefferson, who knew him in the ease and freedom of domestic life. The second was an ample memoir of John Adams, by a relation, friend, and familiar acquaintance, Judge Cranch. This is a chaste, plain, sensible discourse upon the merits of the great patriot of the east. It abounds in facts and judicious reflections, and will be a valuable document for the future historian. The next was of a more general character, from Mr. Southard, the secretary of the navy. The general strain of the orator was to show that it was the duty of government to patronise the arts and sciences in this country. His doctrines were sound and most manfully enforced, and should have made a deeper impression on the national legislature than we fear they have. The last was from Mr. Everett, and, as might have been expected, was a splendid performance. *Line upon line, and precept upon precept*, are still wanted to rouse our government to become the patron of letters, the arts and sciences, and the friend to the learned men of the country.

The society, in the summer of 1827, met with a great loss in the death of Robert Little, who had been a most active member. He was a thorough scholar, a zealous promoter of letters and sciences, and deeply engaged in the welfare of the Columbian Institute. The death of a man of virtue and good sense is a calamity at all times, but the loss of an active, intellectual member, of an infant society, is incalculable. Mr. Little was an ardent, but practical man, and had the faculty of infusing his enthusiasm into others less apt to kindle than himself. He was devising liberal things for the Institute, which would soon have been carried into effect if he had been spared a short time only, to have matured his plans, and made a communication of them. Foreigners have as yet a right to smile at this government for their neglect of learning, but we trust that the groves of the academy are

To no one is Washington more indebted than to Mr. Jefferson. He, with the assistance of a French engineer, laid out the city of Washington on a novel plan; and many of the regulations of the corporation proceeded from him.

Thomas Jefferson was born on the 13th day of April, 1743, at Shadwell, in Albemarle county, not far from the seat where he died. He was educated at William and Mary's College, and graduated with distinction, when quite young. He was a great lover of learning, and particularly of natural philosophy. With the celebrated George Wythe he commenced the study of the law, and became a favourite pupil. Mr. Jefferson was never distinguished as an advocate, but was considered as a good lawyer. Soon after he came to the bar, he was elected a member of the house of burgesses, and in that body was duly appreciated for his learning and aptitude for business. He at once took fire at British oppression; and in 1774, he employed his pen in discussing the whole course of the British ministry. The work was admired, and made a text-book by his countrymen. In June, 1775, he took his seat in the Continental Congress, from Virginia. In this body he soon became conspicuous, and was considered a firm friend to American liberty. In 1776, he was chosen chairman of the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence. This instrument is nearly all his own, and was sanctioned by his coadjutors with few alterations. In 1778, Mr. Jefferson was appointed ambassador to France, to form a treaty with that government, but ill health prevented his accepting of this office. He succeeded Patrick Henry in 1779, as governor of Virginia, and continued in that station two years. In 1781, he composed his Notes on Virginia. In 1783, he was sent to France to join the ministers of our country, Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin. He joined them in August of that year. In 1785, he succeeded Dr. Franklin as ambassador, and continued performing the duties of that office two years, when he retired, and returned home. In 1789, he was made secretary of state, under Washington, in which situation he was highly distinguished for his talents. This station he resigned in 1793, and retired to private life. In 1797, he was elected vice-president of the United States, and took his seat as president of the senate on the following 4th of March. In 1801, he was elected president of the United States, which office he held for eight years. After completing this term, he retired to private life, in which he spent his days in philosophical pursuits, until the 4th of July, 1826, when he expired, just fifty years after penning the Declaration of Independence. His course was one of his own. Never lived there a politician who did more than Thomas Jefferson to bring his fellow-citizens to his own opinions.

Time will settle the amount of his merits. They were considerable; but of the course of his policy, his countrymen have had, and for a long time will have, different opinions.

There are some fine seats in Washington, several miles from the heart of the city—two of great beauty; one built by Commodore Porter, the other by Joel Barlow, who was a philosopher and a poet, was born at Reading, in Connecticut, in 1758, and received his education at Yale College. While quite young, he was distinguished for his taste in polite literature, and took at once a rank with Dwight, Hopkins, Humphrey, and other poets, who had struck their youthful lyres in College Hall. He was an ardent patriot, and, before the close of the war, was a volunteer soldier, and chaplain in the American army. He wrote many orations and essays, in times when the hearts of his countrymen required to be warmed, or their minds to be enlightened. Soon as he saw our constitution in operation, he hastened to France, and became an active patriot in that country. He had, for some time, contemplated his great poem, and he finally published it in France, with the title of "The Vision of Columbus," and dedicated the work to Louis 16th; but in the progress of the revolution in that country, he grew more and more liberal in his principles, and, changing the name of his epic to that of Columbiad, he enlarged it, and dedicated it to the times. It is truly a work of genius, but it is much questioned whether he made it better by his emendations. While in France he wrote some essays that had a great reputation at the time, particularly some addressed to privileged orders, which the nobility of any country would do well to read, at the present day. His prose is written in a chaste, neat style, and bears no mark of that vitiation of taste which is sometimes found in his poetry. Barlow was a favourite with Mr. Jefferson, who, when he came into power, appointed him consul to Algiers, and afterwards a minister to France. Before he went out to France, Mr. Barlow had resided for some years in Washington, at which place, about three miles from the capitol, he built himself an elegant house, on a picturesque spot, which he named Kalorama, and which is so called at the present time. Barlow died on his way to Wilna, to meet Napoleon, in 1812. His works were severely handled by the critics of his day, both in England and in this country. He had offended many by his avowal of skepticism in regard to the Christian religion, after he had once been a minister at the altar; and his democracy was too thorough-going for his old friends in America: but the future historian will say, that Barlow was a man of talents, of extensive acquirements, of an amiable disposition; and the critics of another age will forgive many things in his poem, that his contemporaries con-

demned. Several beautiful, and one superb edition of the Columbiad have been published in this country. The parts of this work on the great principles of imagination or the general doctrines of liberty, will never perish, but will give thrills of pleasure to freemen yet unborn; but those portions of his work written to catch the gaze of the passing hour, will secure no other immortality, but that which arises from their associations.

The major-general of the armies of the United States holds his head-quarters at Washington, from whence he issues his orders to all forts and fortresses extended throughout this immense country. Since the war, the office has been kept with great regularity and efficiency; first under General Jacob Brown, and now under Major-General Alexander Macomb. The efficiency of the army of the United States is not to be found in the number of its soldiers, but in the learning and abilities of the officers in the service. Most of the officers are well-informed young men, who, emanating from every part of the United States, received their education, scientific and military, at the school at West Point, where they imbibed high notions of discipline and honor, which give them prime advantages in their profession. Intelligence is the soul of an army. Men may be found any where, and can be disciplined in a short time; but it requires years to make engineers, tacticians, and disciplinarians.

CLERGY.—The religious denominations are as numerous in Washington, according to the number of inhabitants, as in any other place in our country; but if there is no great harmony among them, there is no discord. Each pursues his own course, and preaches his own doctrines, unmolested by controversy or opponents. Congress protects all, and cherishes none. They have a fair field for the display of their talents, in any form of Christian doctrine. There is, or rather has been, some opposition to the Unitarians; but that is nearly over; and the other denominations are learning a lesson from the Rev. Dr. Matthews, of the Catholic faith, *to do good, walk humbly, and love mercy, and live in unity with all mankind.* The clergymen of Washington, as a body, have as good a share of talents as those of other cities, and the religious character of the people stands as high. Considering that the city is a thoroughfare, it is astonishing that there is no more fanaticism prevalent here. A learned, pious, evangelical body of divines, is the greatest blessing to any place, in a free country, that can be imagined. The pulpit with them is a High School, in which, in addition to a common code of ethics, the great doctrines of divinity are taught, the precepts of salvation are explained, and heaven brought down to earth. Whatever there is deep in philosophy, beautiful in morals,

charming in literature, or sweet in affection, are made familiar to man by the zeal and learning of the pulpit. It brings man to a familiarity with his Maker, and takes away his enmities to his fellow men; it gives a high zest to life in the hopes of futurity, and takes away the darkness and horror from the grave, and the sting from death, by the light it gathers and sheds from the gospel. This country has been advanced half a century in its intelligence by the pulpit, notwithstanding that much time and breath has been wasted in idle disputes, and frivolous distinctions, in points that were nugatory, or in commentaries that were absurd.

The bar of the District of Columbia is numerous, for the population and business; but it is certainly respectable in point of talents and learning: but there does not appear to be that *esprit du corps* among them, as exists in some parts of our country, among the gentlemen of the bar; but they are gentlemanly and courteous towards each other. Men, similarly educated, are alike in every part of the world. If law be a science, it is only the science of bringing particular cases under fixed and settled rules. Morals change with every age, and opinions fluctuate with every hour, and old enactments give place to new; but that sagacity which brings all the powers of the mind to the standard set up, whatever it may be, makes the good lawyer, whether the possessor be in Turkey or in the United States.

Congress has made a very good judiciary system for the District of Columbia. A District Court has been established here, upon the same principles as those of other districts in the United States. This bench is filled by Judge Cranch, whose talents, learning, patience, and integrity, are well known to all who have the honour to know him.

There is also a Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, which is held four times a year. Judge Cranch is Chief Justice of this court; Judges Thurston and Morsell, are assistant justices. This court finds some little inconvenience, at times, from the singular fact, that what is law in one part of their jurisdiction, is not law in another; the statutes of Virginia, and in like manner those of Maryland, being still in force in those parts of the district which formerly belonged to those states; and in the growth of these states, there is no proof that they were ever so kind as to copy much from each other.

The professors of the healing art are numerous and highly respectable in Washington. Most of them are men of good education, and not a few of them have seen considerable practice before they came to this city. Some of them have served in the

army or navy, and others were educated, abroad, or in the first schools in this country. They deserve much credit for getting up a medical school, which has been in operation but a few years only; but the lectures delivered here, in the different departments, are of a high order, and have been delivered without any of that quackery, that struggles for effect; and that produced, thinks of nothing else. The graduates are well instructed; and if, as yet, they are not numerous, have been respectable for acquirements. It is connected with Columbia College, and is composed of a Dean and Faculty, made up of professors in such branches as are generally taught in such an institution.

The Washington City Orphan Asylum was got up by certain charitable ladies of distinction and worth in this city. With indefatigable labour and persevering exertion, they have laid the foundation of an excellent seminary, as well as an asylum for those helpless infants that have been deprived of their parents. It is not confined to one sex, but is intended to exercise charity on a broad scale. A lady of property, Mrs. Van Ness, gave the corporation a lot of ground, in a pleasant and central situation, in Tenth Street; and on it the association have erected a suitable building, for their kind purposes. The corner stone of this edifice was laid in the summer of 1828, with solemn and impressive ceremonies, accompanied with the orphan's prayer, and the good man's benison. These asylums have, after the fashion of this hospitable and industrious age, taxed the ladies of this city with making articles of taste and fancy, which, when mingled with other articles purchased for the occasion, are exposed at a *Fair*, and the sums realized from the sales are directed to the benefit of the institution. The Sisters of Charity have their fairs also.

Every age has something or other, for good or evil, to mark its existence. The brightest constellation of this age of improvement is its charities. They grow up in every society, they extend to every climate, and thus reach all mankind.

There has been established, by the Catholics in this city, for several years past, an institution of *charity* for orphan females; and connected with it a *primary school* for day scholars. This is a most excellent institution, under the care of intelligent Sisters, whose vows extend to a devotion of their time, that can be spared from their religious exercises, to the educating of the infant female mind in religious duties and useful knowledge. This delightful, but onerous task, is performed with true zeal, and untiring constancy, by those Sisters whose sole busi-

ness is to do good, and wish well to mankind. The school is an admirable one; each Sister has her branch of studies to attend to in these schools, and is not directed to others, but pursues that until teaching in it is easy and familiar. Their buildings are convenient, their grounds are laid out with taste, and every arrangement unites judgment, economy, cleanliness, and industry; and, in fact, all the household virtues are constant handmaids of religion with the Sisters of Charity. These schools are every day becoming more justly appreciated, and the knowledge of their merits more fully developed. It would be agreeable to the writer to enter into some of the minute facts relating to this institution, in which there are no pecuniary views, no particle of worldly ambition, none of the pride that seeks for praise only. They are ambitious only as far as their fame may benefit the houseless child of want, whose yearnings have elicited their pity, and whose cries have gone up to heaven for succour. The charities of this age are not confined to males or females; they belong to the warrior in the day of his glory, and to the female in the hour of her beauty and dominion; they preserve the peaceful walks in the feuds of party strife, and in the change of political power. Sectarians and oppositionists are all active in extending the influences of charity; and if she is made, by those of limited knowledge, and of narrow views of man, accessory to bigoted notions, and persecuting zeal, this is only accidental and short-lived, or occasional, while the great acts she is called to perform, in every country, are, as a whole, pure, lofty, and noble.

I can not pass over the Tyber without saying one word of that pleasant little stream.

"AND WHAT WAS GOOSE CREEK ONCE, IS TYBER NOW," was wittily said, and ought not to excite the indignation of our countrymen as much as it has done against the English Anacreon; for our part we will forgive him this splenetic remark, and all the other vituperations he was guilty of, save and except his attack on Washington himself, for the pleasure he has afforded us in his exquisite poetry since; and we can easily believe that he who wrote Sacred Melodies to atone for writing amorous ditties, has, in his heart, repented for his sins, in attacking the greatest patriot of all times. It falls out that if there is a satire in the line, there was not much truth in it. The name of the stream was not changed by way of making great things out of little, from Goose Creek to Tyber; Goose Creek belongs to the vulgate of the boys, who sailed boats, and shot ducks in the stream; but the old deeds of more than a century ago, call it by the

name of Tyber Creek. It is said that a landholder who lived on what is now called Capitol Hill, finding the strong resemblance in the natural panorama of the surrounding country, named his little territory Rome, and the brook at the foot of the hill Tyber; but this little brook may be of more importance to mankind than that Tyber which "*flows fast by the Eternal City.*" For this pure little stream, when other streams shall "*mourn their fountains dry,*" may be conveyed in abundance to every part of the city, to refresh and adorn it, when the malaria has made Rome a desert.

The manners and customs of Washington demand a moment's attention:

I have already in the historical sketch of the city, glanced at the general character of the inhabitants, but it may be well to speak of them more distinctly, as they are often either ignorantly or wilfully misrepresented; sometimes, indeed, caricatured by those who imagine they are praising them. And it must also be remembered that their general character must be every day changing, from the increase of population, and the great influx of strangers; who, finding now what could not have been offered them in the earlier years of the history of the city, comfortable quarters and good fare, are willing to make longer visits, and become more acquainted with the manners and habits of the citizens of Washington. The amiable and scholar-like Warden, now resident in Paris, who has written in a distant land a good history of this country, gave about thirteen years ago, a lively description of all he saw worthy of record in the District of Columbia, having spent the summer there; but many things have altered since that time, and what was then as much as could honestly be said of them, must fall short of the truth now. He seemed to feel alarmed for the society of the city, in contemplating the number of beauties married from the circles of fashion, by the members of congress, from time to time. This laudable custom still continues; but there are no complaints of it as an evil, at present; in fact, the dread of it as such, could only have existed in a bachelor's brain; and if he had thought as much of the doctrine of political economy, as of his affectionate gallantry, he would soon have discovered that "*the supply is increased by the briskness of the demand.*" The manners of a people are at all times affected by the greater or lesser importance they attach to themselves; particularly when this self esteem is made up in a considerable degree of the space they may fill in the public consideration. The people of Washington know, that whatever transpires in the city, of a public nature, is a matter of deep interest to the rest of the

nation. In such a place, the affairs of government are constantly discussed. The movements of the executive, and the doings of the legislature, are instantly known to all, and commented upon by all classes. The interest, however, which may be felt, is not precisely in proportion to the magnitude of the subject; but oftener according to the bearing it may have on themselves. The appointment of a minister or the recall of one, or of a judge of the Supreme Court, or the rapid advancement of a naval or military officer, great things in themselves, because they are important to the country, make up only an item in the mass of daily information; but the removal, or appointment of a clerk, or auditor, or any head of a Bureau, is an affair directly within their vision, and comes home to their business and bosoms. But all these things, however pleasant or painful they may be for the moment, are hardly remembered a day, and certainly are forgotten in a few weeks, in the *quid nunc* appetite of a free people. These changes produce a sort of mercurial disposition in a population; which may, and in fact does, tend more to their happiness than that apathetical character which despotic governments give to a people. Politics are all-absorbing topics of this republic. More time is certainly taken up than necessary; but still a goodly share of our time, and many exertions, are necessary to keep the lamp of knowledge and the torch of liberty in pure and regular burning, and to save it from being deadened by the chills of indifference, or blown out by the fierce storms of faction. Restlessness, anxiety, and the sickness and fever of party feuds, is the tax that intelligence has had, in every age, to pay for freedom; it was never sustained without it. The men of Athens, it is said, spent more than a fourth part of their time in politics. In Rome, the busy tribunes kept the people awake to their interests, and jealous of patrician power. The struggles between the nobles of Venice and the merchants, kept the whole population involved in endless disputes. In England, for centuries, public attention has been exerted, and great struggles made, for public and private rights.

The history of this country is a history of political discussions, and perpetual struggles for liberty. The people have, from the first settlement of the country, devoted more than a quarter part of their time in learning their rights and in defending them, and in building up their institutions. All, from twenty years of age to the grave, in any change of years or situation in life, are daily engaged, among other things, in politics. Washington is the centre of all this bustle, the very ear of Dionysius, in which every remote

whisper is reverberated. The complaints of the great and the little are all heard here; the feeble, who mutter, but dare not speak aloud; the bold, who rave in their disappointments, and invoke the curses of the upper and the nether world—are also heard. The people of this city have the finest opportunity of becoming acquainted with the talents and characters of the prominent men in the country. They see at every touch and turn the obsequious minion, with his simperings and flatteries, and the consequential patron, bloated with “a little brief authority.” They not only see, but read, and read pretty thoroughly too, the true character of men in power. It falls to their lot often to see men one day surrounded by secretaries, foreign ministers, and a bowing crowd; who, on the next, pass off to private life, without a farewell salutation; and another set arrive, who bustle through their reign, and then sleep, either living or dead, with their predecessors. This proves the force and majesty there is in the people; but it lessens the importance of the individuals. To the great politicians of former ages, such a government, had it been truly sketched, would have justly been classed among the wildest fictions ever created; but its perpetuity is a problem the most timid need not a solution of. The intelligence of the community may safely be trusted in modelling anew, or repairing the defects of any form of government. There is no virtue or spell in any system of a constitution. The whole political safety, in a republic, consists in the purity and in the soundness of the great body politic.

The literary taste of the inhabitants now does them credit, and it is every day growing better. The visitors find but little time to devote to reading, and their previous acquirements are sufficient for all the demands of the occasion; and to the honour of the country, I speak of the ladies more particularly, these are sufficient for their purpose. In some of the prettiest, a close observer will see the lisp or drawl of the drawing room conversation, which is only a manner put on for the time. In the moments of intoxicated vanity from admiration and flattery, even the political philosopher looks wise, and straightens up; and can youth and beauty be expected to be more firm or insensible? The diplomatic corps at Washington have not, in former years, done much either to enrich, embellish, or enlighten the city. Those who have been sent here in former times, have, with some honourable exceptions, been of a secondary order of diplomatists, with their equipage and parties, and after making a dash, have hardly been heard of again. Many of them, no doubt, were men of talents; but there was no opportunity of displaying their intellectual powers

here. The corps are now, however, very respectable. The English minister is a scholar and a gentleman. The French minister, I make no distinction in their different ranks, is said to be a man of courtesy and learning; and those from Netherlands, Holland, and Russia, are thought to be men of fine manners and high intelligence. South America, in her infancy, has sent us a good share of talents; men of the most inquisitive minds, who are indefatigable in studying the political institutions of this country, and in making themselves acquainted with the manners and customs of it. This remark is not confined to the representatives of the new republics alone; for no man in Washington was more respected and loved for his amenity, frankness, integrity, talents, and patriotism, than the late Brazilian minister, Mr. Rebello. His name is in every literary and scientific institution, and the poor have blessed him for his kindness. In former times, a man was thought to have every claim to society, who was known to be familiar with a baron, count, or minister; but the people are growing more republican every day, and the smiles of a diplomatist is not now the standard for the admeasurement of claims to society. Now and then a romantic girl is found flirting to catch an attache; but she is, fortunately, ninety-nine times out of the hundred, unsuccessful.

During the session of Congress, the amusements of Washington absorb no small portion of the attention of the visitors, as well as members. Political struggles produce a sort of dramatic influence on society; not that the theatre is very well attended—but for the short time it is kept open, it finds a very tolerable support when the press of visitors is great. The President's levees, and the parties of the secretaries, foreign ministers, heads of Bureaus, and those citizens who can afford to make parties, are frequent, and well attended. At these parties are collected the most distinguished men, not only of the nation, but many foreigners of note. The visitors, who do not think of distinction, like well enough to see what is passing, and they find easy access to the social circles, and mingle in the throng, to see and examine for themselves. It is not difficult to get an introduction to men of importance, and to pass a social half hour with them. These routs are rather to be remembered, than enjoyed at the moment. These parties are so crowded as to level all distinctions. Governors, generals, judges, and political managers, whose influence is something in a little district, are all lost in this congregation. Orators, whose speeches were fine at home, and doubtless raised a most noble flame among their political partisans, are astonished

at being overlooked ; and poets, whose works have been printed on wire-woye and hot-press paper, and sent to the ladies' toilets in silk or morocco binding, are mortified that not even a belle lisps a line of their works, or ever whispers their names. The traveller, who has seen every kingdom on which the sun looks down, is put precisely on a par with him who has just come down from the mountains, or out of the West, or from the East. Fashion is the bed of Procrustes, and all are suited to its dimensions. A whiskered dandy, a black-stocked, officer-like looking man, and a quizzing-glass attache, are all moving about, regardless of those they jostle or crowd. If you inquire who it is that pushes you out of the way to get at a partner for the waltz, nobody can tell you, and perhaps he hardly could himself, if you were to ask him, who he was ; no matter, he seems genteel, and that is sufficient for the hour. The waltz goes on, much to the gratification of the exquisites ; for belles—aye, grave matrons, are swimming round in the dance, if Dervise-like whirling can be called dancing, and you see blowsy impudence and simpering familiarity gazing with Asiatic voluptuousness upon seemingly unsuspecting innocence, made giddy by unnatural motion, or unmeaning flattery. There is not much harm in all this ; for each one is taught to play a part, and it is all acting. There is an apparently sober, quiet part of the joyous whole, who are insinuating the little rumours of the day ; of this lady's partialities, and of that gentleman's indiscretions, and without any decided ill nature, but just by the way of amusement,

" Distort the truth, accumulate the lie,
And pile the pyramid of calumny."

This is a picture of all societies, where persons unknown to each other, except from the introduction of the moment, assemble.

There can come no harm from our looking out of the limits of the city for a moment. The College of Georgetown is delightfully situated on an eminence, that commands a fair prospect of all around. This institution was established about forty years since. It is a Catholic seminary, and was made a University by Congress in 1815, with the power of granting degrees. The college buildings are commodious, and sufficiently elegant for all the purposes of a school. The library is respectable, and the system of education is liberal ; the modern languages are taught there, with the classical, and youths of all denominations are received as students. The faculties are composed of pious and learned men, and the young gentlemen I have known, who were educated there,

have been well instructed. The Catholic clergy of Maryland are in possession of handsome revenues, arising from large tracts of glebe lands, throughout the state. These revenues have been kept for the true purposes of religion and learning, and the ecclesiastical orders have never been charged with ambition, as they have in other countries, nor have they aspired to high offices in the state or general government. The Protestant denominations of every shade of doctrine have, unquestionably from principle, in some period or other of the history of Maryland, been openly and secretly hostile to the Catholic church ; but it has gone on with such a tolerant spirit as to disarm all sects of their enmity, and nearly all of their opposition. The clergy of Maryland protected those persecuted by the Church of England on one side of them, and those exiled by the Puritans of the East on the other. In a free country, all men should, in the article of religious belief, be persuaded in their own minds, and the constitution of every state should give equal protection to all creeds ;

" Tros, Rutulus ve, nullo discrimine habebo,"

should be the language of the lawgiver in every age and nation. In the District of Columbia, this principle is fairly acted upon, and the community feel its beneficial effects.

The Convent of Visitation is an object of deep interest to all who take a part in what may be emphatically called the glory of this country—its education. Seminaries for boys are sufficiently numerous in most parts of the country ; the people have now to refine and exalt their character, not add to their numbers ; but well regulated female schools are yet much wanted. This Convent was established more than thirty years ago, by Archbishop Neale, a most worthy prelate, and upon a most improved plan, with the piety and zeal of the order of which it is a part. There is infused into the constitution of it some of the most liberal principles of the age. The superior is elected by the sisterhood every three years, and is ineligible for more than two terms in succession. Thus the elective franchise in this country, in its most republican form, has found its way into " the convent's shade."

The number of Sisters, or nuns, is about fifty ; and they are all devoted to religious duties and to the education of females. The younger Sisters are set to keep an eleemosynary school, and do much good by diffusing correct principles and information among the poor ; but the most valuable part of the establishment is the boarding school for young ladies. This is in a most flourishing condition. The Sis

ters themselves are highly educated, in every branch of science, and in all the current and fashionable literature of the age, as well as in the profound ethics and the sublime doctrines of the Christian religion. In this institution the great evil of most schools is avoided; this evil is to make one person teach many branches, and of course no one can be profound in all. Here, each sister selects her department, and never walks out of it; six or seven, therefore, are united as instructors in the same branch, and the indisposition of one or two does not interfere with the course of instruction in any branch.

The languages are taught here with great accuracy, and with a pure, lady-like, and natural accent, the charm of polished society. The system of education here, extends to the minute duties of housewifery, and the pupils graduate with a thorough acquaintance with the science of the kitchen and mysteries of the culinary art, without which no woman can be said to be all-accomplished.

The system of government in this school is admirably strict, not severe; decided, not imperative. There is no espionage; no making use of one to find out the faults of another; but their care and watchfulness are so sisterly and maternal, that the pupil is naturally moulded, not drilled, to good manners. Discipline is constantly going on even in those hours of relaxation in which girls left to themselves often acquire an awkwardness of manners that cleave to them for the whole course of their lives. Such schools are rare. The Ursulines have just opened one on the same plan, near Boston, which is flourishing under a most accomplished superior.

If this age has any thing to boast of over those that are gone by, it is in the difference of education, and the facilities it has invented to give a genteel education to female youths, without endangering the health, or diminishing the grace and beauty of their persons.]

Alexandria, an incorporated city on the west bank of the Potomac, is a place of extensive business, and of fashionable resort during the sittings of congress. It contains a court-house, six churches, and a theological seminary. The museum at this place contains, among its valuables, an elegant satin robe, scarlet on one side and white on the other, in which General Washington was baptized; a penknife with a pearl handle, given to him by his mother, when he was in his twelfth year, and which he kept fifty-six years; a pearl button, from the coat he wore at his first inauguration as President of the United States in the old City Hall, New York; a black glove, worn by him while in mourning for his mother; part of the last stick of

sealing wax which he used; the original of the last letter written by him, being a polite apology, in behalf of himself and Mrs. Washington, for declining an invitation to a ball at Alexandria; (it is penned with singular neatness, accuracy, and precision, and contains this expression—"Alas! our dancing days are over;") a beautiful masonic apron, with the belt of scarlet satin, and the white kid gloves, worn by him the last time he shared in the social ceremonies of the "mystic tie."

The Chesapeake and Ohio canal was commenced in 1828. The proposed length is 341 1-4 miles; the breadth, at the surface of the water, sixty to eighty feet; at the bottom fifty feet; the depth of water, six to seven feet. According to the plan of this canal, it will pass from the tide-water of the Potomac above Georgetown, and terminate near Pittsburgh, in Pennsylvania. Five miles from Georgetown, the canal is so planned that a branch may be constructed to Alexandria, another to Baltimore, and another to the navy-yard in Washington. The first estimate of the cost was 22,375,000 dollars, but it is maintained that the cost will not exceed 10,000,000 dollars. The United States have authorized a subscription of 1,000,000 dollars to the stock of this company. To be constructed by the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company. The charter was granted by Virginia in 1824, and confirmed by Maryland and congress in 1825.

The Baptists in this District have 18 churches, 10 ministers, and 1,658 communicants; the Presbyterians, 9 churches, 11 ministers, 5 licentiates, and 996 communicants; the Methodists, 1,400 members; and the Episcopalians, 5 ministers; the Catholics, several churches; and the Unitarians, 1 minister.

Population.

	1810.	1820.	1830.
Washington	8,208	13,274	18,827
Alexandria	7,227	8,218	8,263
Georgetown	4,948	7,360	8,441

VIRGINIA.

This is at once the most ancient and most extensive state in the union. It is bounded on the north by Pennsylvania, on the northeast by Maryland, on the east by the Atlantic, on the south by North Carolina and Tennessee, and on the west by Kentucky and Ohio. In longitude, it extends from 75° 25' to 83° 4'; and in latitude from 36° 30' to 40° 37'. Its greatest length is 430 miles, and its mean width upwards of 150 miles, comprising about 700,000 square miles.

Though the zones of Virginia are not very distinctly





HARRIS FERRY.

DESIGNED BY J. H. HARRIS. ENGRAVED BY J. HARRIS.



Engraved by W. G. Anderson, New York.

Engraved by T. W. Anderson, New York.

NATURAL BRIDGE, VIRGINIA.

Engraved by T. W. Anderson, New York.

marked, each part has its appropriate character. The oceanic section of Virginia is its tropical climate. Latitude, exposure, and depressed level, all combine to give the Chesapeake counties a much more elevated temperature than is found in the interior. This difference is seen on vegetation. In the lower counties, cotton may be cultivated successfully, whilst the uncertainty of grain and meadow grasses evinces a southern summer. The middle, in all the Atlantic states south from Pennsylvania, we find to be the arcadia of the state. Middle Virginia is, however, blended with the mountainous, the former containing the whole or great part of the valley counties, Berkeley, Jefferson, Frederick, Shenandoah, Rockingham, Augusta, Rockbridge, Botetourt, Montgomery, Wythe, and Washington. The real mountain section, lies northwest from the middle, and extends to the Ohio. The extreme western part is, indeed, composed of a congeries of hills with alluvial bottoms, but the actual mountain ridges approach so near Ohio River, and the hills are in themselves so generally abrupt and lofty, as to give an alpine appearance to the country. Taken as a whole, central Virginia has the best soil, though in the mountainous part there is much that is excellent. With the exception of the south eastern counties, grain and orchard fruits are highly conge-

nial to Virginia, and their various products are the natural, actual, and, we may safely say, the permanent staples of the state. Of metals, iron ore is abundant in the central and western sections. Brine has been procured on the Great Kenhawa, and salt extensively manufactured.

Virginia is justly celebrated for the grandeur of its scenery. The natural bridge over Cedar creek, twelve miles south west of Lexington, is esteemed one of the most extraordinary natural curiosities in the world.* The passage of the Potomac through the Blue Ridge, at Harper's Ferry, is also celebrated.† There are several interesting caves, of which the most extraordinary is Wier's Cave, on the northwest side of the Blue Ridge. It is between 2,000 and 3,000 feet in length, and comprises various apartments, containing beautiful stalactites and incrustations, which display the most sparkling brilliancy when surveyed by the light of a torch. Near this there is another singular cavern, called Madison's Cave; and in one of the ridges of the Alleghany mountains, is Blowing Cave, from which a current of air continually issues, strong enough to prostrate the weeds at the distance of sixty feet. One of the largest mounds in the valley of the Ohio is in Virginia, near the Ohio, fourteen miles below Wheeling. It is

* We give Mr. Jefferson's description from his Notes on Virginia.—"It is on the ascent of a hill which seems to have been cloven through its length by some great convulsion. The fissure, just by the bridge, is by some admeasurements, 270 feet deep, by others only 205. It is about 45 feet wide at the bottom, and 90 feet at the top; this, of course, determines the length of the bridge, and its height from the water; its breadth in the middle is about 60 feet, but more at the ends, and the thickness of the mass, at the summit of the arch, about 40 feet. A part of this thickness is constituted by a coat of earth, which gives growth to many large trees; the residue, with the hill on both sides, is one solid rock of lime-stone. The arch approaches the semi-elliptical form, but the larger axis of the ellipse, which would be the chord of the arch, is many times longer than the transverse. Though the sides of this bridge are provided in some parts with a parapet of fixed rocks, yet few men have resolution to walk to them, and look over into the abyss: you involuntarily fall on your hands and feet, creep to the parapet, and peep over it. Looking down from this height about a minute gave me a violent headache. If the view from the top be painful and intolerable, that from below is delightful in an equal extreme; it is impossible for the emotions arising from the sublime to be felt beyond what they are here: so beautiful an arch, so elevated, so light, and springing as it were up to heaven! the rapture of the spectator is really indescribable! The fissure continuing narrow, deep, and straight, for a considerable distance above and below the bridge, opens a short but very pleasing view of the North Mountain on one side, and Blue Ridge on the other, at the distance each of them of about five miles. This bridge is in the county of Rockbridge, to which it has given name, and affords a public and commodious passage over a valley which can not be crossed elsewhere for a considerable distance. The stream passing under it is called Cedar Creek; it is a water of James' River, and sufficient in the driest seasons to turn a grist mill, though its fountain is not more than two miles above."—*Notes on Virginia*, pp. 21, 22.

† "The passage of the Potomac through the Blue Ridge is per-

haps one of the most stupendous scenes in nature. You stand on a very high point of land; on your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the foot of the mountain a hundred miles to seek a vent; on your left approaches the Potomac, in quest of a passage also; in the moment of their junction they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea. The first glance of this scene hurries our senses into the opinion, that this earth has been created in time, that the mountains were formed first, that the rivers began to flow afterwards, that in this place particularly they have been dammed up by the Blue Ridge of mountains, and have formed an ocean which filled the whole valley; that, continuing to rise, they have at length broken over at this spot, and have torn the mountain down from its summit to its base. The piles of rock on each hand, but particularly on the Shenandoah, the evident marks of their disrapture and avulsion from their beds by the most powerful agents of nature, corroborate the impression. But the distant finishing which nature has given to the picture, is of a very different character; it is a true contrast to the foreground; it is as placid and delightful as that is wild and tremendous: for the mountain being cloven asunder, she presents to your eye, through the cleft, a small catch of smooth blue horizon, at an infinite distance in the plain country, inviting you, as it were, from the riot and tumult roaring around, to pass through the breach, and participate of the calm below. Here the eye ultimately composes itself; and that way too the road happens actually to lead. You cross the Potomac above the junction, pass along its side through the base of the mountain for three miles, its terrible precipices hanging in fragments over you, and, within about twenty miles, reach Fredericktown, and the fine country round that. This scene is worth a voyage across the Atlantic; yet here, as in the neighbourhood of the Natural Bridge, are people who have passed their lives within half a dozen miles, and have never been to survey these monuments of a war between rivers and mountains, which must have shaken the earth itself to its centre." *Jefferson's Notes on Virginia*, pp. 17, 18.

about 300 feet in diameter at the base, sixty at the top, and the perpendicular height is seventy feet. It contains thousands of human skeletons.

This state has a large fund, the income of which is appropriated to internal improvements. Dismal Swamp Canal, twenty-two miles long, opens a communication between Norfolk, in Virginia, and Elizabeth City, in North Carolina. There are various other canals for the improvement of the navigation of the James, the Jackson, and the Shenandoah rivers.

No provision had been made for a general system of education, to be supported by the state, until the formation of the Literary Fund. Academies and colleges were established by the legislature, and the trustees incorporated, on the application of individuals. The colleges are, William and Mary, at Williamsburgh, founded during the reign of the sovereigns whose names it bears; Hampden Sydney, in Prince Edward county, incorporated in 1783; and Washington, at Lexington, originally Liberty Hall Academy; in 1796, its name was changed to Washington Academy, on receiving a donation of the shares in the James River and Potomac Companies, which had been presented by the legislature of Virginia to General Washington, and which he had declined to accept, unless permitted to turn their destination from his private emoluments to objects of a public nature; in 1812 its name was still further changed to Washington College, which it now bears. A college, to be denominated the Central College, was about to be established at Charlottesville, by the pri-

vate contributions of some of the most enlightened and patriotic citizens in Virginia, when the legislature, in appropriating the interest of the Literary Fund, provided for the University of Virginia. The commissioners appointed to determine the site of the University, selected the very spot intended for the Central College. The lands and other property of the Central College were then conveyed to the president and directors of the Literary Fund, and the University established on the proposed site. This edifice, in which all the orders of architecture are introduced, has been reared up under the parental care of Mr. Jefferson. Combining the effect of the scenery presented by the surrounding country with the plan and execution of the buildings, the University of Virginia is pronounced by competent judges to be equal, if not superior, to any thing of the kind in Europe. This institution, the pride of Virginia, which has had but little more than 200,000 dollars expended on it, (an inconsiderable sum, compared with the magnitude of the object,) requires nothing but the aid of a library and the necessary apparatus to put it into complete operation. In 1823 the legislature made arrangements, which, it is hoped, will speedily effect this desirable object.

The Baptists in this state have 337 churches, 192 ministers, and 39,440 communicants; the Methodists, 77 preachers and 27,947 members; the Presbyterians, 104 churches, 75 ministers, 15 licentiates, and 7,508 communicants; the Episcopalians, 45 ministers; the Friends are numerous, and there are some Lutherans, Roman Catholics, and Jews.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

EASTERN DISTRICT.							
Counties.	Whites.	Slaves.	Free Blacks.	Total Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Distance R.* | W.†	
Accomac, E.	9,458	4,654	2,544	19,656	Accomac, C. H.	214	206
Albemarle, M.	10,455	11,689	484	22,618	Charlottesville	81	123
Amelia, S. M.	3,293	7,518	220	11,031	Amelia, C. H.	47	169
Amherst, M.	5,879	5,927	263	12,072	Amherst, C. H.	136	180
Bedford, S.	11,113	8,790	341	20,253	Liberty	145	223
Brunswick, S.	5,397	9,760	612	15,770	Lawrenceville	69	191
Buckingham, N. M.	7,172	10,928	245	18,351	Buckingham, C. H.	87	162
Campbell, S. M.	7,497	7,735	473	15,704	Campbell, C. H.	132	210
Lynchburgh, town	2,490	1,751	385	4,626	Lynchburgh	120	198
Caroline, E. M.	6,490	10,764	520	17,774	Bowling-Green	44	78
Charles City, E. M.	1,782	2,957	761	5,504	Charles City, C. H.	30	152
Charlotte, S. M.	5,583	9,433	236	15,252	Charlotte, C. H.	96	187
Chesterfield, E. M.	7,709	10,337	591	18,637	Chesterfield, C. H.	14	136
Culpepper, N. M.	12,044	11,419	563	24,026	Culpepper, C. H.	94	76
Cumberland, M.	4,054	7,309	326	11,689	Cumberland, C. H.	55	140
Dinwiddie, S. M.	7,709	10,337	591	18,637	Dinwiddie, C. H.	40	162
Petersburgh, town	3,440	2,850	2,032	8,322		22	144
Elizabeth City, S. E.	2,704	2,218	131	5,068	Hampton	96	199

* From Richmond.

† From Washington.

Counties.	Whites.	Slaves.	Free Blacks.	Total Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Distance.	
						R.*	W.†
Essex, E.	3,647	6,417	467	10,531	Tappahannock	50	109
Fairfax, N. E.	4,892	3,972	311	9,206	Fairfax, C. H.	129	21
Fauquier, N. M.	13,116	12,612	621	26,379	Warrenton	107	51
Fluvanna, M.	4,223	3,795	203	8,221	Palmyra	59	136
Franklin, S.	9,728	4,988	195	14,911	Rocky Mount	185	263
Gloucester, E.	4,314	5,691	603	10,608	Gloucester, C. H.	82	166
Goochland, M.	3,857	5,706	795	10,358	Goochland, C. H.	28	127
Greenville, S.	2,104	4,681	332	7,117	Hicksford	63	185
Halifax, S.	12,915	14,527	590	28,032	Halifax, C. H.	130	220
Hanover, E. M.	6,526	9,278	449	16,253	Hanover, C. H.	20	102
Henrico, E. M.	5,717	5,934	1,089	12,738	{ RICHMOND		122
Richmond, city	7,757	6,345	1,960	16,060			
Henry, S.	4,058	2,868	174	7,100	Martinsville	207	299
Isle of Wight, S. E.	5,023	4,272	1,222	10,517	Smithfield	180	204
James City, E.	1,284	1,983	571	3,838	Williamsburgh	60	163
King and Queen, E.	4,714	6,514	416	11,644	King and Queen, C. H.	49	142
King George, N. E.	2,475	3,635	287	6,397	King George, C. H.	88	78
King William, E. M.	3,155	6,310	347	9,812	King William, C. H.	27	120
Lancaster, E.	1,976	2,631	195	4,800	Lancaster, C. H.	53	145
Loudon, N. E.	15,517	5,360	1,062	21,938	Leesburgh	153	31
Louisa, M.	6,468	9,392	301	16,151	Louisa, C. H.	54	110
Lunenburg, S.	4,479	7,233	245	11,957	Lunenburg, C. H.	91	213
Madison, M.	4,389	4,873	71	9,236	Madison	110	96
Mathews, M.	3,995	3,481	189	7,663	Mathews, C. H.	100	184
Mecklenburgh, S.	7,443	11,950	874	20,366	Boydton	118	224
Middlesex, E.	1,870	2,137	118	4,122	Urbanna	83	142
Nansemond, S. E.	5,143	4,943	1,698	11,784	Suffolk	102	224
Nelson, M.	5,186	5,946	122	11,251	Lovington	118	160
New Kent, E. M.	2,586	3,530	342	6,457	New Kent, C. H.	30	133
Norfolk, S. E.	8,180	5,842	966	14,998	{ Portsmouth	116	219
Norfolk, borough	5,131	3,757	928	9,816			
Northampton, E.	3,573	3,734	1,334	8,644	Eastville	112	235
Northumberland, E.	4,029	3,357	567	7,953	Northumberland, C. H.	174	244
Nottoway, S. M.	2,949	6,985	223	10,141	Nottoway, C. H.	92	151
Orange, M.	6,456	7,983	198	14,637	Orange	67	189
Patrick, S.	5,494	1,782	117	7,393	Orange	80	92
Pittsylvania, S.	14,690	10,992	340	26,022	Patrick, C. H.	241	333
Powhatan, M.	2,661	5,472	384	8,517	Pittsylvania, C. H.	167	259
Prince Edward, S. M.	5,039	8,593	475	14,107	Scottsville	32	138
Prince George, E. M.	3,066	4,598	700	8,368	Prince Edward, C. H.	75	176
Prince William, N. E.	5,127	3,842	361	9,330	City Point	34	156
Princess Anne, S. E.	5,023	3,736	343	9,102	Brentsville	104	48
Richmond, E.	2,975	2,630	451	6,056	Princess Anne, C. H.	137	240
Southampton, S. E.	6,573	7,755	1,745	16,073	Richmond, C. H.	56	118
Spotsylvania, E. M.	4,685	6,925	310	11,920	Jerusalem	81	203
Fredericksburgh, town	1,798	1,125	384	3,307	{ Fredericksburgh	66	56
Stafford, N. E.	4,713	4,164	485	9,362			
Surry, S. E.	2,865	3,377	866	7,108	Stafford, C. H.	76	46
Sussex, S. E.	4,118	7,736	866	12,720	Surry, C. H.	60	183
Warwick, S. E.	619	892	27	1,570	Sussex, C. H.	50	172
Westmoreland, E.	3,718	3,845	543	8,411	Warwick, C. H.	81	184
York, E.	2,129	2,598	627	5,354	Westmoreland, C. H.	70	116
					Yorktown	72	175
Total	375,940	416,259	40,780	832,979			
WESTERN DISTRICT.							
Allegany, M.	2,197	571	42	2,816	Covington	191	233
Augusta, North, M.	7,208	1,677	257	9,142	{ Staunton	121	163
Augusta, South, M.	8,048	2,588	147	10,783			
Bath, M.	2,803	1,140	65	4,008	Bath, C. H.	170	212
Berkley, N.	8,323	1,919	276	10,528	Martinsburgh	172	71
Botetourt, S. M.	11,808	4,170	386	16,354	Fincaastle	196	235
Brooke, N. W.	6,774	227	39	7,040	Wellsburgh	373	250
Cabell, W.	5,267	561	56	5,884	Cabell, C. H.	344	393
Frederick, East, N.	8,104	5,342	653	14,099	{ Winchester	150	71
Frederick, West, N.	9,260	2,088	598	11,946			
Giles, W.	4,779	470	49	5,298	Giles, C. H.	240	297
Grayson, S.	7,161	462	52	7,675	Grayson, C. H.	276	354
Greenbrier, W. M.	7,791	1,159	65	9,015	Lewisburgh	221	263
Harrison, East, N. W.	9,443	626	50	10,119	{ Clarksburgh	260	226
Harrison, West, N. W.	4,404	145	10	4,558			
Hampshire, N.	9,796	1,330	153	11,279	Romney	195	116
Hardy, N.	5,408	1,167	223	6,798	Moorfields	195	128
Jefferson, N.	8,438	3,999	493	12,927	Charleston	182	60
Kenhawa, W.	7,468	1,718	75	9,261	Kenhawa, C. H.	308	356
Lee, S. W.	5,830	612	19	6,461	Jonesville	392	468

* From Richmond.

† From Washington.

Counties.	Whites.	Slaves.	Free Blacks.	Total Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Distance. R.* | W.†	
Lewis, w. m.	6,066	162	13	6,241	Weston	249	249
Logan, w.	3,511	163	6	3,680	Logan, C. H.	324	383
Monongalia, East, n.	6,352	233	103	6,688	} Morgantown	293	215
Monongalia, West, n.	7,223	129	16	7,368			
Mason, w.	5,776	713	45	6,534	Point Pleasant	371	352
Monroe, w. m.	7,033	682	83	7,798	Union	208	267
Montgomery, s. w.	10,212	2,037	55	12,304	Christiansburgh	206	282
Morgan, n.	2,517	153	22	2,692	Berkley Springs	186	93
Nicholas, w. m.	3,229	119	1	3,349	Nicholas, C. H.	268	310
Ohio, n. w.	15,033	362	195	15,590	Wheeling	357	264
Pendleton, n. m.	5,750	498	23	6,271	Franklin	171	171
Pocahontas, w. m.	2,297	227	17	2,541	Huntersville	191	233
Preston, n.	4,947	125	27	5,099	Kingwood	261	183
Randolph, n. m.	4,426	259	115	5,000	Beverly	210	231
Rockbridge, m.	10,465	3,398	381	14,244	Lexington	156	198
Rockingham, m.	17,814	2,331	548	20,693	Harrisonburgh	122	144
Russell, s. w.	6,002	679	36	6,717	Lebanon	330	394
Scott, s. w.	5,349	338	15	5,702	Estillville	368	444
Shenandoah, East	7,171	992	164	8,327	} Woodstock	156	100
Shenandoah, West, n. m.	9,698	1,431	294	11,423			
Tazewell, s. w.	4,912	820	18	4,104	Tazewell, C. H.	290	352
Tyler, n. w.	3,991	108	5	5,750	Middlebourne	307	273
Washington, s. w.	12,785	2,568	261	15,614	Abington	309	385
Wood, w.	5,487	873	49	6,409	Parkersburgh	299	299
Wythe, s. w.	9,952	2,094	117	12,163	Wythe	253	329
Total	318,505	53,465	6,323	378,293			
Total of Virginia	694,445	469,724	47,103	1,211,272			

Richmond, the seat of government, has a beautiful and picturesque situation, at the head of the tide and at the falls of James River, and is the largest town in the state; it is favourably situated for trade and manufactures, and has an extensive commerce. Norfolk, on Elizabeth River, 8 miles above its entrance into Hampton Road, has a good harbour, and is the most commercial town in Virginia. The site is low, and in some places marshy, and the houses are not remarkable*for elegance. At Gosport, near Norfolk, there is a United States navy-yard. Petersburg, on the Appomatox, at the head of the tide, is the third commercial town, and has considerable trade in flour, tobacco, and cotton. Lynchburg, on James River, where it passes through a mountain ridge, 118 miles west of Richmond, is a flourishing town, and has an extensive trade and considerable manufactures: flour, tobacco, hemp, and other produce, are transported down the river from this town to Richmond. Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock, near the head of navigation, has considerable commerce; and Winchester, to the west of the Shenandoah, is a handsome and flourishing inland town. Williamsburg, a town now decayed, is famous for having formerly been the capital of Virginia; Yorktown, for the surrender of the British army under Cornwallis; Charlottesville, as the seat of the University of Virginia; Lexington, as the seat of Washington College; Harper's Ferry, for the passage of the Potomac through the Blue Ridge, and for a United States armoury; and the

* From Richmond.

flourishing town of Wheeling, for its situation at the point where the Cumberland Road reaches the Ohio. Mount Vernon, a pleasant eminence on the Potomac, nine miles below Alexandria, is famous for having been the residence of Washington; and Monticello, near Charlottesville, for having been the seat of Jefferson.

KENTUCKY.

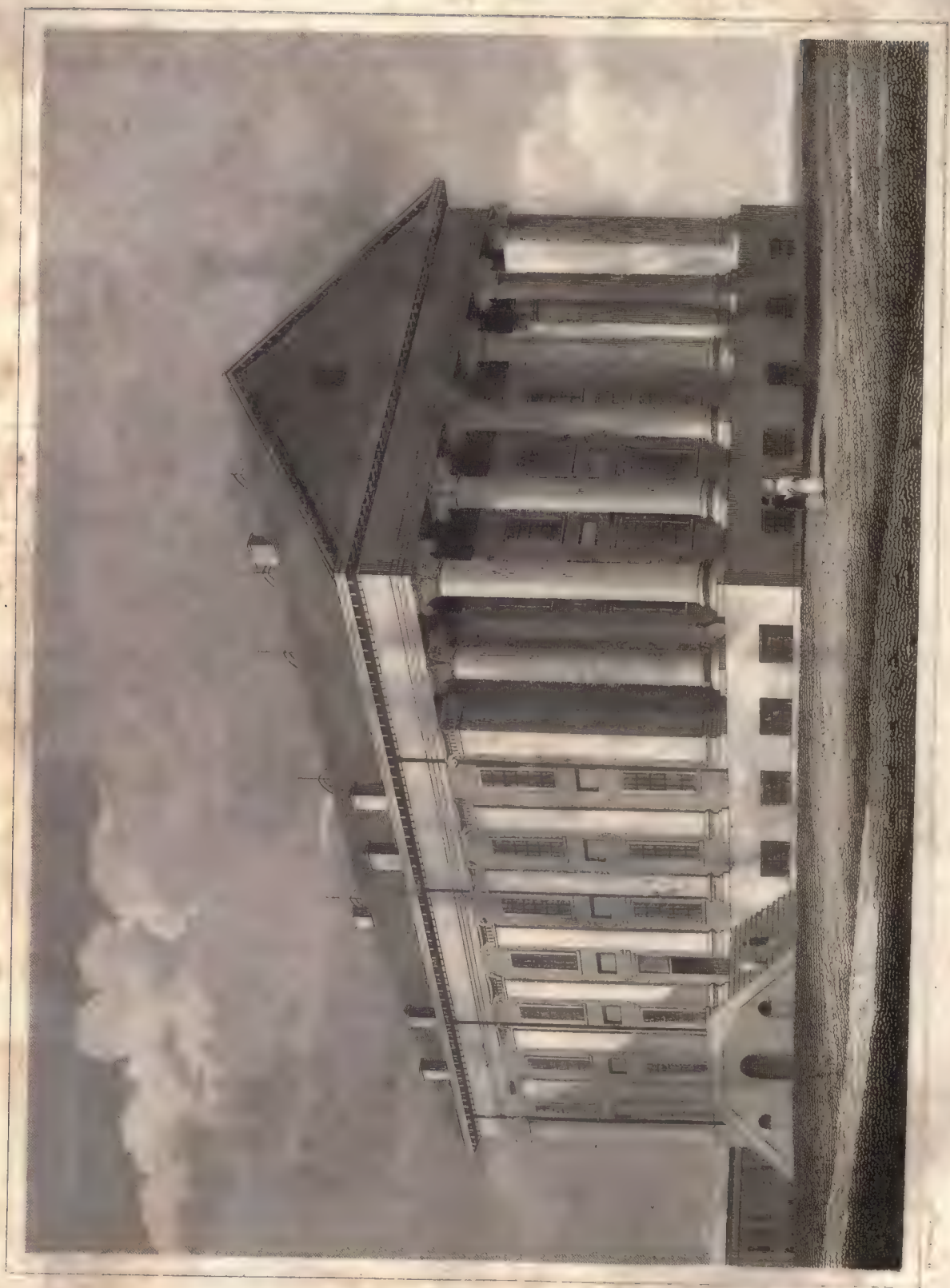
This rising state is the most central in the union, as at present organized. It is bounded on the north-east by the state of Ohio; on the east by Virginia; on the south by Tennessee; and on the northwest by Illinois and Indiana. It extends from longitude 81° 50' to 89° 29'; and from latitude 36° 30' to 39° 10': its extreme length is 380 miles; mean width 99; and area 37,680 miles.

The eastern counties, bordering on Virginia, are mountainous and broken. A tract from five to twenty miles wide along the banks of the Ohio, is also hilly and broken, interspersed with fertile valleys. Between this strip, Green River, and the eastern counties, lies what has been called the garden of the state; it is the most populous part, and is about 150 miles long, and from fifty to 100 wide. The soil is excellent, and the surface is agreeably diversified. The lands produce much timber, with an abundance of grape-vines. There is a tract of country in the southwestern part of the state, east and north of Cumberland River, and watered by Green and Barren rivers, about 100

† From Washington.

THE GREAT GEORGE AND BENEDICT, YLE CLINIA.





CAPITOL OF VIRGINIA, RICHMOND.

miles in extent, called the Barrens, which a few years since was a prairie destitute of timber. It is now covered with a young growth of various kinds of trees. The soil is of an excellent quality, being a mixture of clay, loam, and sand. Through this country there runs a chain of conical hills, called knobs. Ancient fortifications and mounds of earth are found in almost all parts of Kentucky. It is also distinguished for some stupendous caves. One, called Mammoth Cave, 130 miles from Lexington, on the road leading to Nashville, is said to be eight or ten miles in length, with a great number of avenues and windings. Earth strongly impregnated with nitre is found in most of these caves, and there are many establishments for manufacturing it. From 100 pounds of earth, fifty pounds of nitre have frequently been obtained. A number of the rivers in this state have excavated the earth so as to form abrupt precipices, deep glens, and frightful gulfs. The precipices formed by Kentucky River are in many places awful, presenting perpendicular banks of 300 feet of solid limestone, surmounted with a steep and difficult ascent four times as high. The banks of Cumberland River are less precipitous, but equally depressed below the surface of the surrounding country.

In the southwestern counties near and on the Tennessee, Cumberland, and the Mississippi rivers, cotton is a staple; whilst all the grains, fruits, and meadow grasses, of the northern and middle states, flourish in the other sections. Wheat, tobacco, and hemp, are staple productions; but Indian corn is the principal grain raised for home consumption. Rye, oats, barley, buckwheat, flax, potatoes, &c., are cultivated; apples, pears, peaches, cherries, and plums, are the most common fruits. The domestic animals are large and beautiful, particularly the horse. Swine, horned cattle, horses, and mules, are annually driven to the neighbouring states for a market, and pork, bacon, and lard, are exported. The fattening of animals is the chief mode of consuming the surplus grain, on account of the expense of conveying it to market. Considerable quantities of whiskey are made. Marble of excellent quality abounds, and the whole state may be said to repose on a bed of limestone. Salt and iron are among its minerals. The most extensive works for the manufacture of salt established west of the Allegany mountains, are on the waters of Kentucky; and they supply not only this state, but a great part of Ohio and Tennessee. Kentucky,

from its position and fairs, has also become a manufacturing state.

Louisville and Portland Canal is about two miles in length, fifty feet wide at the bottom, with a lockage of twenty-two and a half feet. It was not completed in 1831. It passes from the Ohio at Louisville, to a point of the same line below the rapids near Portland-street. The banks are to be elevated two feet above the highest water-mark known at Louisville, which makes forty-two feet from the bottom of the canal. Underneath there is a solid bed of stone for a foundation the whole length of the canal, and this is to be cut perpendicularly to the requisite depth, varying from one to ten feet; the slope above which, to the top of each bank, is to be faced with stone.

The principal literary institution is Transylvania University, at Lexington. It was incorporated before the separation of Kentucky from Virginia. In 1818, it was re-organized under a board of thirteen trustees, who are chosen biennially by the legislature. In 1826, its officers were, a president, nine professors, including six medical professors, five tutors, and a principal of the preparatory department; the library is large and valuable; and a considerable sum has been recently expended in the purchase of a chemical and philosophical apparatus. The number of students, including medical students, and those in the preparatory department, in 1825, was 403, of whom 272 were medical. There are also three colleges in different parts of this state, supported by different religious societies; viz. St. Joseph's, at Bardstown, by the Roman Catholics; Centre College, at Dainville, by the Presbyterians; and Augusta College, in Bracken county, by the Methodists. Little has yet been done for public schools in this state. A school fund has, however, been established, which, if managed with prudence and integrity, may yet subserve the great purpose of general education. Efforts have been made within the last two or three years to introduce a system of common schools into this state.

The Baptists in this state have 25 associations, 442 churches, 289 ministers, and 37,520 communicants; the Methodists, 77 preachers, and 23,935 members; the Presbyterians, 103 churches, 61 ministers, 6 licentiates, and 7,832 communicants; the Roman Catholics, about 30 priests; the Episcopalians, 5 ministers; the Cumberland Presbyterians are also numerous.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE UNITED STATES. POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population.	Towns.	Population.	Distance.	
				F.*	W.†
Adair, s. m.	8,220	Columbia	422	91	622
Allen, s.	6,486	Scottsville	180	151	686
Anderson, m.	4,542	Lawrenceburgh	320	12	563
Barren, s. w. m.	14,821	Glasgow	617	126	661
Bath, e. m.	8,799	{ Owingsville	241	73	486
Boone, n.	9,012	{ Sharpsburgh	158	62	497
		Burlington	276	72	513
		{ Paris	1,219	43	516
Bourbon, n. e. m.	18,434	{ Millersburgh	470	50	515
		{ Middletown	195	53	505
Bracken, n.	6,392	Augusta	691	73	489
		{ Hardinsburgh	316	118	656
Breckenridge, w. m.	7,345	{ Cloverport	194	129	667
		{ Stephenport	64	116	554
Butler, s. w. m.	3,055	Morgantown	76	141	692
Bullitt, n. w. m.	5,560	{ Shepherdsville	278	74	612
		{ Mt. Washington	226	56	600
		{ Princeton	366	229	766
Caldwell, w.	8,332	{ Eddyville	167	241	778
Callaway, s. w.	5,159	Wadesborough	163	262	801
Campbell, n.	9,893	{ Newport	717	79	498
		{ Covington	743	79	498
Casey, m.	4,342	Liberty	118	66	597
Christian, s. w.	12,694	Hopkinsville	1,263	206	745
Clarke, m.	13,052	Winchester	620	45	516
Clay, s. e.	3,549	Manchester	159	115	558
Cumberland, s.	8,636	Burkesville	340	119	628
Daviess, w. m.	5,218	Owensborough	229	150	688
Edmondson, s. w. m.	2,642	Brownsville	125	138	678
Estill, e. m.	4,618	Irvine	91	71	531
Fayette, m.	25,174	{ Lexington	6,104	25	534
		{ Athens	134	35	544
Fleming, n. e.	13,493	Flemingsburgh	642	79	493
Floyd, e.	4,266	Prestonsburgh	81	142	445
Franklin, m.	9,251	{ FRANKFORT	1,680		538
		{ South Frankfort	307		
Gallatin, n.	6,680	Port William	324	57	565
Garrard, m.	11,870	Lancaster	570	52	559
Grant, n. m.	2,987	Williamstown	197	44	520
Graves, s. w.	2,503	Mayfield	44	284	823
Grayson, w. m.	3,876	Litchfield	166	110	661
Greene, m.	13,718	{ Greensburgh	665	90	625
		{ Campbellsville	126	78	613
Greenup, n. e.	5,853	Greenupsburgh	204	132	428
Hancock, w. m.	1,494	Hawsville		130	668
Hardin, w. m.	13,148	Elizabethtown	601	80	631
Harlan, s. e.	2,928	Harlan, C. H.		168	490
		{ Cynthia	977	38	134
Harrison, n. m.	13,180	{ Leesburgh	138	28	235
		{ Clayville	48	50	955
		{ Munfordsville	193	105	656
Hart, s. w. m.	5,292	{ Woodsonville	48		
Henderson, w.	6,649	Hendersonville	483	180	718
Henry, n. m.	11,395	New Castle	539	37	556
Hickman, s. w.	5,193	{ Clinton	81	308	847
Hopkins, w.	9,763	{ Columbus	186		
		Madisonville	112	200	738
		{ Louisville	10,352	52	590
Jefferson, n. w. m.	24,002	{ Shippingport	607	54	592
		{ Portland	398		
		{ Williamsville	70		
		{ Nicholasville	409	37	546
Jessamine, m.	9,961	{ North Liberty	62		
Knox, s. e.	4,321	Barboursville	139	122	533
Laurel, s. e. m.	2,182	{ Hazle Patch		102	558
Lawrence, e.	3,897	{ London	15		
		Louisa	87	127	435
		{ Clarksburgh	62	96	446
Lewis, n. e.	5,206	{ Vanceburgh	93	99	443
		{ Concord	34		
Lincoln, m.	11,012	{ Stanford	363	51	567
		{ Crab Orchard	234	61	577
Livingston, w.	6,607	{ Salem	254	245	783
		{ Smithland	388	260	798

* From Frankfort.

† From Washington.

Counties.	Population.	Towns.	Population.	Distance.	
				F.*	W.†
Logan, s.	13,002	Russellville	1,358	171	711
M'Cracken, w.	1,298	{ Wilmington	12	282	827
Madison, m.	18,035	{ Paducah	105	279	817
Mason, n.	16,203	Richmond	947	50	537
Meade, w. m.	4,111	{ Washington	868	63	482
		{ Maysville	2,040	67	478
		Brandenburg	331	90	622
		{ Harrodsburgh	1,051	30	565
		{ Danville	849	40	571
Mercer, m.	17,706	{ Perryville	283	40	575
		{ Salvisa	78	21	572
Monroe, s.	5,125	Tompkinsville	930	144	653
Montgomery, m.	10,221	{ Mount Sterling	561	60	501
Morgan, e. m.	2,857	{ Jeffersonville	33		
Muhlenberg, s. w. m.	5,341	West Liberty	50	107	484
		Greenville	217	177	715
		{ Bardstown	1,625	55	606
Nelson, w. m.	14,916	{ Bloomfield	301	44	595
		{ Fairfield	88	48	589
Nicholas, n. e. m.	8,832	Carlisle	430	58	510
Ohio, w. m.	4,913	Hartford	242	154	632
		{ Westport	314	44	577
Oldham, n. m.	9,563	{ Bedford	104	53	574
		{ Brownsville	57	41	574
		{ La Grange	27	35	568
Owen, n. m.	5,792	{ Owenton	143	28	536
		{ New Liberty	161	36	544
Pendleton, n.	3,866	Falmouth	207	60	502
Perry, s. e.	3,331	Perry, C. H.		148	550
Pike, e.	2,677	Pikeville	49	165	422
Pulaski, s. m.	9,522	Somerset	231	85	601
Rockcastle, s. e. m.	2,875	Mount Vernon	142	73	582
Russell, s. m.	3,883	{ Jamestown	67	109	615
Scott, n. m.	14,677	{ Creelsburgh	37	110	641
		Georgetown	1,344	17	534
Shelby, n. m.	19,039	{ Shelbyville	1,201	21	572
		{ Simpsonville	77	29	580
		{ Christiansburgh	78	15	566
Simpson, s.	6,099	Franklin	280	165	705
Spencer, m.	6,815	Taylorsville	248	35	586
Todd, s.	8,801	{ Elkton	362	186	726
		{ Trenton	178	200	771
Trigg, s. w.	5,889	{ Cadiz	168	226	765
		{ Canton	146	235	774
Union, w.	4,435	Morganfield	292	205	743
Warren, s. w. m.	10,947	Bowling-Green	815	145	685
		{ Springfield	618	50	601
		{ Lebanon	384	59	594
Washington, m.		{ Mackville	83	44	595
		{ Fredericksburgh	58	59	610
		{ Newmarket	43	65	600
Wayne, s.	8,731	Monticello	207	110	607
Whitely, s. e.	3,807	{ Whitely, C. H.		130	557
		{ Williamsburgh	50		
Woodford, m.	12,294	{ Versailles	904	13	546
		{ Mortonsville	145	20	553
Total	688,844, of whom 165,350 are slaves.				

The above table contains all the towns and villages in Kentucky of which the population is given in the census of 1830. When two or more towns are given for the same county, the one placed first is the seat of justice.

Frankfort, the seat of government, is regularly laid out on the east side of Kentucky River, sixty miles above its confluence with the Ohio. The site of the town is a semicircular plain, from 150 to 200 feet lower than the table land in its rear. The river is here about eighty yards wide, and, after heavy rains,

frequently rises sixty feet. Steam-boats of 300 tons come up the river as far as this place when the water is high. Population in 1820, 1679. Lexington, the largest and wealthiest town in the state, is delightfully situated, twenty-five miles east-south-east of Frankfort, in a beautiful valley on Town Fork, a small stream which falls into the south branch of Elkhorn River. It is regularly laid out, and contains numerous and extensive manufacturing establishments. The growth of this town has been exceedingly rapid. In 1797, it contained only about fifty houses, and the

* From Frankfort.

† From Washington.

best farmers lived in log cabins. It is now a large and respectable town, covered with handsome buildings. The surrounding country is much admired for its scenery, and is adorned with more than fifty country-seats. Population in 1820, 5,279. Louisville, on the Ohio, immediately above the rapids, fifty miles west of Frankfort, is the second town in the state in wealth and consequence. The great command of water power afforded by the rapids of the river, and the other advantages of its situation, have given birth to several extensive manufacturing establishments. A very active commerce is carried on between this place and Natchez, New Orleans, and St. Louis. There were in 1821 upwards of twenty-five steam-boats, measuring together 6,050 tons, employed in this trade. The population of the town in 1820, was 4,012. Most of the foreign goods consumed in Kentucky are landed here or at Maysville. The other principal towns are, Maysville on the Ohio, sixty-three miles northeast of Lexington, the chief port for the northeast part of the state, containing, in 1820, 1,130 inhabitants; Russellville, situated in a very fertile country, 200 miles southwest of Lexington, and containing, in 1820, 1,712 inhabitants; Henderson, on the Ohio, seventy-five miles below Louisville, a place of some trade, and containing, in 1820, 532 inhabitants; Newport, on the Ohio, immediately above the mouth of Licking River, and opposite Cincinnati; it contains a United States arsenal, and had, in 1820, 611 inhabitants; and Paris, in Bourbon county, a flourishing town, with a population of about 1,200 persons, several rope-walks, and manufactories of cotton bagging.

Mr. Marshall has written the history of this state, in 2 vols. 8vo.

NORTH CAROLINA.

The boundaries of this state are, on the north, Virginia; on the east and southeast, the Atlantic; on the south, South Carolina; on the northwest, Tennessee. It extends from longitude $75^{\circ} 45'$ to 84° , and from latitude $33^{\circ} 50'$ to $36^{\circ} 30'$. Its extreme length from the western border of Haywood county to Cape Hatteras, in a direction but little

* We extract the following interesting particulars from the American Almanac:—"The first notice of gold from North Carolina, on the records of the mint of the United States, occurs in the year 1814, within which it was received to the amount of 11,000 dollars. It continued to be received during the succeeding years, until 1824, inclusive, in different quantities, but all inferior to that of 1814, and on an average not exceeding 2,500 dollars a year. In 1825, the amount received was 17,000 dollars; in 1826, 20,000 dollars; in 1827, about 21,000 dollars; in 1828, nearly 46,000 dollars; and in 1829, 128,000 dollars. This state is rich in gold mines. The gold region is far more extensive in the south than most suppose. It commences in Virginia, and extends southwest

inclined from east and west, is 420 miles; the area above 50,000 square miles, and the mean width 120 miles.

North Carolina, in its whole width, for about sixty miles from the sea, is generally a dead level, varied only by occasional openings in the forest with which it is covered. After traversing this tedious plain, we are at length relieved by the appearance of hills and mountains, from the summits of which we behold a beautiful country, stretching far to the westward. That portion of the state which lies west of the mountains is, for the most part, remarkably fertile.

No state differs more in soil than North Carolina. Those zones which diversify New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, are still more conspicuous in this state. The variety of the climate is fully evinced by the indigenous vegetables. The dwarf palms and the live-oak grow around the mouth of Cape-Fear River, whilst in the western counties, the forests mark a climate of much lower temperature. In the southeastern counties, and partially on the whole seaward zone, cotton is a staple production. As an advance is made westward, this is entirely superseded by grain, of almost every species cultivated in the United States, except rice. The fig-tree flourishes on Lower Cape-Fear River; and in the western and central counties, the apple is produced in abundance. The peach succeeds over the whole state, precarious as it is in every other section of the United States. The soil and productions, in the hilly country, are nearly the same as in the northern states. Wheat, rye, barley, oats, and flax, are the crops generally cultivated, and they seem to suit the nature of the soil. Throughout the whole state, Indian corn and pulse of all kinds are abundant. Cotton is raised in considerable quantities.

North Carolina abounds in iron ore; and it is the only one of the states in which gold has been found in considerable quantities. The gold mines, which have lately excited a good deal of interest, though they have not yet proved very productive, are found on the Yadkin and its branches, and extend over a district comprising about 1000 square miles.* In al-

though North Carolina, nearly in the middle of the state, as regards its length; along the northern part of South Carolina, into Georgia, and thence northwardly into Alabama, and ends in Tennessee. The mines in North Carolina and Georgia are now worked to a great extent; those of Virginia and South Carolina to a small extent; and those in Tennessee have not been worked at all, although it is probable that they will be soon. In this state, the counties of Burke and Rutherford contain the best gold washings, as they are called,—that is, the gold there is found in small and pure particles mixed with the sand, which lies in deposits, as if it occupied (as the miners believe) the beds of what were once streams of water. But the counties of Mecklenburgh, Rowan,

most any part of this territory, gold may be found in greater or less abundance, mixed with the soil. It exists in minute grains or particles, and is also sometimes found in lumps of one or two pounds' weight.

North Carolina is far removed from that perfection of culture, which is necessary to give it the full advantage of the natural richness of its soil and the value of its productions. One great cause of its backwardness in agricultural improvement, is the want of inland navigation and of good harbours. It has several large rivers, but their mouths are blocked up with bars of hard sand. The best of the indifferent harbours in this state are those of Wilmington, Newbern, and Edenton. Most of the produce of the upper country, consisting of tobacco, wheat, maize, &c., has hitherto been carried to Charleston, South Carolina, and to Lynchburg, and Petersburg, Virginia. Since 1815, the state has been zealously engaged in an extensive system of internal improvements, relating to the navigation of the sound, inlets, and the rivers

Roanoke, Tar, Neuse, Cape Fear, Yadkin, Catawba, &c.; the construction of canals and roads, and the draining of marshes and swamps.

Within a few years much zeal has been displayed in the establishment of academies and schools. Until 1804, there were but two academies in the state. The number at present is 60, and it is rapidly increasing; and there is a flourishing university at Chapel Hill, 28 miles west of Raleigh, called the university of North Carolina.

The Baptists in this state have 14 associations, 272 churches, 139 ministers, and 15,530 communicants; the Presbyterians have 126 churches, 57 ministers, 9 licentiates, and 5,907 communicants; the Methodists, 32 preachers, and 12,641 members; the Lutherans, 45 congregations, 16 ministers, and 1,888 communicants; the Episcopalians, 11 ministers; the United Brethren, 4 congregations and 1,727 members; and the Friends, a number of societies.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population, 1820.	Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Distance.	
				R.*	W.†
Anson, s.	12,534	14,061	Wadesborough	134	410
Ashe, n. w.	4,335	6,991	Jefferson	205	399
Beaufort, e.	9,850	10,949	Washington	122	302
Bertie, e. m.	10,805	12,276	Windsor	130	275
Bladen, s.	7,276	7,801	Elizabethtown	55	385
Brunswick, s.	5,480	6,523	Smithville	178	445
Buncombe, w.	10,542	16,259	Ashville	259	513
Burke, w.	13,412	17,727	Morgantown	179	453
Cabarras, w. m.	7,248	8,796	Concord	141	402
Camden, n. e.	6,347	6,721	New Lebanon	201	248
Carteret, e.	5,609	6,607	Beaufort	166	383
Caswell, n.	13,253	15,188	Caswell, C. H.	93	264
Chatham, m.	12,661	15,499	Pittsborough	33	319
Chowan, n. e.	6,464	6,688	Edenton	155	284
Columbus, s.	3,912	4,141	Whitesville	138	462
Craven, e.	13,394	14,325	Newbern	120	337
Cumberland, m.	14,446	14,824	Fayetteville	61	347

Davidson, and Cabarras, are the richest in what may be properly called gold mines,—that is, where the gold is found in ore, and not distinguishable by the eye, and which is separated by smelting, using quicksilver for the purpose of detaching the gold from the gross earthy substances. The best veins of gold are not horizontal, nor often vertical, but have a dip of forty-five degrees to the horizon. They vary in width from a few inches to several feet. They are not confined to hills at all, but are found also in the low lands. These veins are often parallel to each other at unequal distances. Their depth in most places has not been ascertained. There have been no shafts sunk lower than 120 feet. It is not five years since these mines began to be worked to any considerable extent, and yet many of them are worked upon an extensive scale, and mills for grinding the ore, propelled by water or by steam, are erected in vast numbers. One of the Messrs. Bissels, who are probably doing more at the business than any others, told me recently, that their company employs 600 hands; and he stated that the whole number of men now employed at the mines in these southern states is at least 20,000. He also estimated the weekly product of these mines to be equal in value to 100,000 dollars, or 5,000,000 dollars annually. But a small part of the gold is sent to the United States mint; by far the larger part is sent to Europe, particularly to Paris. The chief miners (I mean labourers) are foreigners,—

Germans, Swiss, Swedes, Spaniards, English, Welch, Scotch, &c. There are no less than thirteen different languages spoken at the mines in this state; and men are flocking to the mines from all parts, and find ready employment. Hundreds of land owners and renters work the mines on their grounds on a small scale, not being able to encounter the expense of much machinery. The state of morals among the miners is represented to be deplorably bad.—The village of Charlotte, in Mecklenburgh county, is in the immediate vicinity of several of the largest mines; it is growing rapidly. There are indubitable evidences that these mines were known and worked by the aboriginal inhabitants, or some other people, a long period since. Many pieces of machinery which were used for this purpose have been found. Among them are several crucibles of earthenware, and far better than those now in use. Mr. B. told me that he had tried three of them, and stated that they last twice or three times as long as even the Hessian crucibles, which are the best now made. These gold mines prove that the whole region in which they abound was once under the powerful action of fire; and the miners who have come from the mines in South America and in Europe, pronounce this region to be more abundant in gold than any other that has been found on the globe."—*American Almanac*, p. 226—228.

* From Raleigh.

† From Washington.

Counties.	Population, 1820.	Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Distance.	
				R.*	W.†
Currituck, N. E.	8,098	7,654	Currituck	211	257
Davidson, W. M.		13,421	Lexington	110	362
Duplin, S. M.	9,744	11,373	Kenansville	120	356
Edgecombe, M.	13,276	14,933	Tarborough	72	252
Franklin, N. M.	9,741	10,665	Louisburgh	30	255
Gates, N. E.	6,837	7,866	Gates, C. H.	241	254
Granville, N.	18,222	19,343	Oxford	47	259
Greene, M.	4,533	6,313	Snow Hill	84	298
Guilford, W. M.	14,511	18,735	Greensborough	85	315
Halifax, N.	17,237	17,738	Halifax	86	216
Haywood, W.	4,073	4,593	Haywood, C. H.	295	549
Hertford, N. E.	7,712	8,541	Winton	129	240
Hyde, E.	4,967	6,117	Lake Landing	207	387
Iredell, W.	13,071	15,262	Statesville	146	396
Johnston, M.	9,607	10,998	Smithfield	27	313
Jones, S. E.	5,216	5,628	Trenton	140	357
Lenoir, M.	6,799	7,635	Kingston	80	316
Lincoln, S. W.	18,147	22,625	Lincolnton	169	430
Macon, W.		5,390	Franklin	333	587
Martin, E. M.	6,320	8,544	Williamston	106	268
Mecklenburgh, S. W.	16,895	20,076	Charlotte	150	402
Montgomery, W. M.	8,693	10,918	Lawrenceville	109	382
Moore, M.	7,128	7,753	Carthage	69	355
Nash, M.	8,185	8,492	Nashville	44	273
New Hanover, S. E.	10,866	10,759	Wilmington	149	416
Northampton, N.	13,242	13,103	Northampton, C. H.	95	225
Onslow, S. E.	7,016	7,814	Onslow, C. H.	188	405
Orange, M.	23,492	23,875	Hillsborough	41	296
Pasquotank, N. E.	8,008	8,616	Elizabeth City	189	260
Perquimans, N. E.	6,857	7,417	Hertford	282	267
Person, N.	9,029	10,027	Roxborough	60	271
Pitt, E. M.	10,001	12,174	Greenville	97	277
Randolph, W. M.	11,331	12,400	Ashborough	72	345
Richmond, S.	7,537	9,326	Rockingham	113	399
Robeson, S.	8,204	9,355	Lumberton	94	380
Rockingham, N.	11,474	12,920	Wentworth	108	292
Rowan, W. M.	26,009	20,796	Salisbury	118	379
Rutherford, S. W.	15,351	17,557	Rutherfordton	223	484
Sampson, M.	8,908	11,768	Clinton	96	382
Stokes, N. W.	13,033	16,196	Salem	127	355
Surry, N. W.	12,320	14,501	Rockford	151	379
Tyrrell, E.	4,319	4,732	Columbia	170	332
Wake, M.	20,102	20,417	RALEIGH		270
Warren, N.	11,004	10,916	Warrenton	57	229
Washington, E.	3,986	4,562	Plymouth	128	290
Wayne, M.	9,040	10,902	Wanesborough	51	337
Wilkes, N. W.	9,967	11,942	Wilkesborough	175	403
Total	638,829	738,470, of whom 246,462 are slaves.			

POPULATION OF THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS IN 1830.

Newbern,	3,776	Raleigh,	1,700	Tarborough,	971
Fayetteville,	2,868	Salisbury,	1,613	Warrenton,	962
Wilmington, 1820,	2,633	Edenton, 1820,	1,561	Plymouth,	660

Raleigh, the seat of government, is pleasantly situated near the centre of the state. Newbern, the largest town, is on a flat sandy point of land, at the junction of the Neuse river with the Trent. Fayetteville is regularly laid out near the west bank of Cape Fear river, at the head of boat navigation, and is one of the most flourishing commercial towns in the state. Wilmington is on the east side of Cape Fear river, just below the confluence of the two branches, 35 miles from the sea. The harbour admits vessels of 300 tons; but the entrance is rendered dangerous and difficult by a large shoal. More produce is exported from this port than from any other

in the state. Edenton is on Albemarle Sound, near the mouth of Chowan river.

Dr. Williamson, the historian of this state, has some very judicious observations of general applicability to other southern regions of the union. The remarks on the soil and produce, and on the state of health in different parts of the country, will be read with advantage. As a medical philosopher he will rank higher than as an historian.

"The climate of North Carolina," says he, "is usually thought to be unhealthy, but this character is not applicable, except to the eastern part of the state; the part that is best known to strangers and

* From Raleigh.

† From Washington.

most frequented, because it is intersected by navigable rivers, and is the general seat of commerce. Other parts of the state are exceedingly healthy. By taking a short view of the face of the country, we shall immediately perceive the cause of this remarkable difference.

"Carolina is a perfect plain for sixty miles from the Atlantic ocean, without hills or stones. It has been covered by water, at no great distance of time. Beds of oyster shells and other marine exuviae, are found near the surface, in many parts of the flat country. Those concretions of shells are burnt for making lime. The gulf stream runs along the coast, within six or seven leagues of the shore. The soundings change suddenly at the edge of the gulf stream, for the margin is nearly a perpendicular bank. A great fissure, nearly in the direction of northeast and southwest, has been made in the bottom of the ocean, by some convulsion of nature. Such at least appears to have been the case. The ground rose to the northwestward of the chasm, and sunk to the southeastward. The sandy bottom of the sea, by this elevation to the westward, was converted into dry land. In this case, the rivers coming down from the original dry land, made a crooked path for themselves through the sandy plain. Those rivers had little descent; wherefore, in their tardy course, they deposited the vegetable mould that came down from the higher grounds. In some cases, the sandy plain had been depressed five or six feet below the level of the common surface. In those parts, it must have happened that ponds of stagnant water were formed, until the sunken ground was filled up by vegetable mould. By this hypothesis we are enabled to explain all the present phenomena of the flat country. In some parts we find large sandy tracts, perfectly level, that hardly contain any mixture of clay or vegetable soil. The growth is pine or black jack. In other parts the land is of an excellent quality, with a stiff clay bottom. Those lands are low, and in many places they require draining. The rivers are bordered by a strip of land that is lower than the common surface of the country. Those river lands are exceedingly rich, for they consist of vegetable mould, three or four feet deep, with a small mixture of sand or clay. In many places those river lands are three or four times the breadth of the river. There are other large tracts detached from the rivers, in which the soil is nearly of the same quality with that of the river lands. But it is seldom mixed with sand or

clay. In those tracts the vegetable soil is commonly five or six feet deep, and the whole of it is saturated with water. Such are the Dismals, so called, and the other great swamps that are numerous in the flat country.

"Supposing as above, that the original surface, where the swamps are found, had been covered for many years with stagnant water, because it was somewhat depressed; it would follow, that the chief rivers at every great fall of rain must have thrown part of their turbid stream into those stagnant ponds, until they were so filled with adventitious soil, as to produce reeds and other aquatic plants. The luxuriant growth in those swamps, in the progress of time, caused the surface to rise; so that in many cases it is higher than the adjacent sandy and dry plain. Some of those swamps are fifteen or twenty miles in diameter, and they are chiefly covered, at present, with a thick growth of cypress* or Juniper.† In some parts they are covered with maple,‡ poplar,§ and white oak,|| intermixed with tall reeds, magnolia,¶ and green briars.

"The soil increases every year by the addition of decayed vegetables; but the water is detained by the leaves and the roots of trees, so as to have little motion, though the surface has become much higher than the water in the adjacent rivers.

"Some years ago, Mr. Josiah Collins of Edenton, and one or two other gentlemen, projected a canal, about five miles long, through a swamp of this kind, in Tyrrel county, that was chiefly covered with stagnant water. Their original object was to drain a lake that is eight or nine miles long, and nearly of the same breadth. Upon making a survey, it appeared that the water in the lake was three feet higher than the richest part of the swamp, and the surface of that swamp was seven feet higher than the water in the nearest river. By that survey it was discovered that they were in possession of an excellent rice swamp; above ten thousand acres in one body, that may be covered at pleasure with fresh water, eighteen inches or two feet deep. By finishing the canal, and erecting three or four mills, that are turned by the waters of the lake, and by raising a few crops of rice and wheat, they have shown that lands, formerly of little value, may be made the most profitable lands in the state. The rice produced on those lands is not exceeded in quality by any rice in Georgia or South Carolina. Mr. Collins, to vary the crop, has occasionally sown part of those lands with

* *Cupressus disticha*, foliis disticis patentibus.

† *Cupressus tryoides*, foliis imbricatis frondibus ancipitibus.

‡ *Acer rubrum*.

§ *Arbor tulipifera* Virginiana.

|| *Quercus alba* Virginiana.

¶ *Magnolia glauca*, foliis oblato oblongis, subtus glaucis.

wheat, and they produce thirty-four to thirty-five bushels per acre.

"In digging the canal from the lake to the river, many large trees were found in a state of good preservation, though they had been covered four or five feet deep by vegetable soil. A clear indication of the manner in which the soil has been formed.

"It is conjectured that the swamps, within forty miles of the coast, do not occupy less than a fifth part of the surface. It will readily be perceived, that so large a quantity of stagnant water among putrescent vegetables, must be unfriendly to the health of the inhabitants. Intermitting fevers are very frequent in the summer and autumn; but fevers with inflammatory symptoms, that have a putrid tendency, prevail in the winter. The progress of time and cultivation of the soil, cannot fail to make a considerable change in the climate, in the flat lands of Carolina. And the effect of that change must be favourable to the health of the inhabitants. The natural operations of time would reduce those extensive and numerous swamps, to the condition of firm and dry land; but this event must be greatly accelerated by the progress of cultivation. The subsidence of water is very observable, in many parts along our coast. Where the lands are high, this circumstance has been little observed; but in flat countries, where the water is troublesome, it claims more attention. There are considerable tracts, now planted with corn, that, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, were covered by water. This was not the effect of drains or ditches; it was caused by the waters sinking in the adjacent rivers or sounds. There are two causes that equally contribute to the failure of water in the low country;—the cultivation of the interior lands, and the regular subsidence of water in the ocean. Most of the large rivers in Carolina discharge themselves into a sound, that communicates with the Atlantic by small inlets. The water in the sound is nearly fresh; it is perfectly fresh in the rivers. These rivers have no tide, and they have little motion through the whole of the flat country. The waters are observed to swell in the rivers and in the sound by a heavy fall of rain. From this circumstance we infer, that every decrease of rain will be attended by a decrease of water in the rivers, and by a consequent decrease of water in the sound. The general decrease of rain is easily accounted for by the progress of cultivation. We account, in the same manner, for the decrease of fresh water in all our rivers. As the waters decrease or sink, the lands appear to rise, and the marshes, that communicate with the rivers, become dry land; except in cases

where a level surface and thick growth prevents the rain water from running off. The decrease of the rivers, from this cause alone, with the aid of ditching and draining, would soon reduce all the great swamps to the condition of arable land. But there is another cause that co-operates with the decrease of river water. The waters on the coast are supposed to sink. We have no solid marks on our coast, by which we can estimate the accidents of ocean water; but we allege the general subsidence of the ocean here, from what is observed in other countries. The inhabitants of West Bothnia have observed, by marks on the rocks, that the sea decreases four inches five lines every ten years, or forty-four inches and two lines every century. Dalen calculates, that the waters in Sweden sink thirty-seven inches in one hundred years. Ravenna, in Italy, is no longer a sea-port. There seems to be good evidence, that a direct communication by water formerly existed between the Baltic and the Euxine or Black Sea.

"Herodotus alleges, that great part of Poland and Russia had been covered by water. And Orpheus, in his Argonauts, supposes that one might sail from the Euxine to the Baltic. There must have been a tradition, that such a passage had formerly been effected. Ptolemy speaks of Scandinavia as an island. Homer describes the island of Pharos as a day's sail from Egypt; and we know, that the present city of Alexandria is built on the very spot that was the original harbour of the old city. This remarkable subsidence of the ocean has been accounted for by different theories; none of them, as I think, satisfactory. It is not to be supposed, that the bed of the ocean is deepened by the attrition of the water; for more earth or clay is doubtless brought into the ocean by rivers, than is taken out of it by other means.

"There may be caverns in the earth by which water is occasionally absorbed. Islands have been raised in the ocean by the help of subterranean fire. A small one has lately been added to the Azores; but the space they formerly occupied does not contain much water. When we consider the numerous and frequent volcanic eruptions that have appeared in the great chain of islands that extend through the Pacific ocean, near the equator; the numerous eruptions that have appeared in the Cordillera of the Andes; and the constant flames that appeared in Greenland and other high latitudes, giving light and heat to those frozen regions; we must suppose that the earth abounds in caverns whereby water has been absorbed. But we are also to consider that dry land has disappeared or sunk in different parts of the world; and

the absorption of water by volcanic eruptions is neither great nor regular.

"There is another process by which, as I conceive, the decrease of water may be accounted for. It is the regular and constant conversion of water into shells, madrepores, and corals. Fixable air abounds in water, by means of which it unites with calcareous bodies. Corals and other substances, formed by this union, are specifically heavier than water, nearly as two and a half to one.

"We do not pretend to know, by what process certain animals or insects in the ocean cause the formation of shells, madrepores, and corals, from water, or from earth and air that are attached to water, and seem to be part of that fluid; for they increase its bulk; but the process is constant. The shells that appear in shallow water, on our coast, are of little importance; but the madrepores and corals, formed in the ocean, are of prodigious magnitude. We are told, by late navigators, that in some parts of the South Sea navigation has become dangerous; and in other parts it is absolutely impracticable, by the formation of great ledges of madrepores or corals, where the water had been very deep. When we consider that more than two inches of water are required to form one inch of those weighty substances, we shall discover a probable cause for the subsidence of ocean water. Whatever the cause may be, it can hardly be doubted, that the ocean is retiring from the land, or decreasing in depth. Nor is it to be doubted, that the quantity of water discharged by the rivers in Carolina, and in every new country, is decreasing every year. It must inevitably follow, from one or both of these causes, that the marshes or swamps in Carolina will soon disappear. The progress of agriculture is a steady auxiliary to the operations of nature in producing this desirable change. It is already discovered, as we have seen, that marshes are drainable; and the soil, when fitted to the plough, is excellent in quality. In process of time all those swamps will be cultivated.

"Intermitting fevers are the usual complaints in the eastern part of Carolina. Those fevers seem to arise, as we have already observed, from the exhalations of stagnant water or putrid vegetables. They prevail more or less, according to the quantity of water that is exhaled, impregnated with putrescent vegetables. All our observations tend to confirm this opinion. When stagnant water is not exhaled, intermitting fevers are less prevalent. When putrescent vegetables are exposed to the action of the sun, intermittents are frequent. In the midst of great forests, the sun never visits the surface; his rays

being fully intercepted by a thick growth of cypress, juniper, magnolia, and reeds. Intermitting fevers do not prevail in such places. Families who live in the Dismals, employed in making shingles, without a perch of clear or dry ground, enjoy more health than people who live on their new plantations, near the rivers or swamps. The bad effect of recent cultivation, by which decaying vegetables are exposed to the sun, is severely felt in flat countries and warm climates. Carolina was less sickly before the country was opened. The second colony of adventurers remained twelve months in the country, and they lost only five men out of one hundred and seven, though they were badly sheltered, and suffered much by the scarcity of provisions. A gentleman in Craven county lived on his farm above forty years, without suffering by intermitting fevers, though his family consisted of fifty or sixty persons. There were about one hundred acres of clear ground in front of his house that had been cultivated many years: but there was a thick wood behind the house. In the beginning of the year 1785, he caused all the timber and shrubs that were behind his house, within four or five hundred yards, to be cut down. His object was pasture, and a free circulation of air. One third of his family, on the next summer, was taken down by intermitting fevers. Such complaints were not more prevalent than usual, during that summer, in other parts of the flat country. Those fevers were certainly caused by exposing to the sun a large surface of fresh land, covered with putrescent vegetables. Similar effects are very common in the West Indies, where they are fatal to such a degree, that soil, newly turned up, is supposed by the planters to contain some pestilential quality. Putrid exhalations are the general cause of those bilious intermittents; but in tropical climates, where the sun is vertical, and the tendency to putrefaction great, and where the influence of heat on the living body increases the malignancy of the complaint, those fevers become most fatal. The simple intermitting fever that prevails during the summer season, in Carolina, is seldom fatal to the natives, except in cases where the frequent recurrence of such fevers may occasion an indurated spleen and other visceral obstructions. The consequence of such obstructions is a dropsy or other cachectical complaint, of which the patient dies. Fevers of the warm season sometimes become dangerous, especially to strangers, by the imprudent conduct of the patient. Upon the approach of febrile symptoms, strangers are apt, as they express themselves, to brave the fever. In this case, by taking exercise, increasing the muscular motion, and not unfrequently by the use of ardent spirits or

other stimulating drinks, they bring on a typhus or other constant fever instead of a simple intermittent. A warm season, followed by a considerable drought, often produces an endemical flux or dysentery. Those complaints are doubtless of the putrid kind, and should be treated accordingly.

"People on the low grounds of Carolina, are frequently attacked by fevers in the winter, which are called inflammatory; for they are attended by pain in some part of the head or the breast. These fevers, in many cases, prove fatal in three or four days. By the general symptoms, compared with the circumstances and places in which those fevers prevail, they seem to be of the putrid kind. They prevail in districts that are subject to intermitting fevers; whence they may be presumed to arise, in some measure, from the same cause; but they prevail in a different season of the year; whence it may be inferred, that there is a combination of causes in one fever that does not occur in the other. It has already been observed, that intermitting fevers are more or less frequent in the lowlands of Carolina, according to the quantity of putrescent vegetable substance that is exposed to the action of the sun. From this circumstance it is conjectured, that the most simple species of intermitting fevers are, in some measure, the effect of putrefaction; but the most dangerous putrid fevers arise from the same cause. The difference then between the appearance or the effects of those fevers must depend on the state of the solids or the fluids of the person affected, or upon the acrimony or virulence which the putrescent matter may have acquired before it is absorbed. The appearance of those fevers in the summer, when putrescent matter is plentifully diluted by rain, seems to be determined, in some measure, by the constitutions of the several patients. Strangers, from a northern climate, who have a vigorous constitution, whose muscular system is well braced, instead of having a moderate fever, in the summer or autumn, that will duly intermit after the first or second day, in many cases have an ardent fever with full pulse. Instead of intermitting, it puts on the appearance of a typhus, or a nervous fever, in a few days, and terminates fatally. The same cause should produce the same effect upon similar bodies; but the effects upon the native and stranger are not alike; hence we infer, that a tense

fibre or vigorous constitution, which naturally excites more heat, or causes the fever to be more ardent, produces, at the same time, a different and dangerous type. According to this theory, we observe, that by taking violent exercise, when the symptoms of an intermitting fever are coming on, the fever becomes ardent, and in many cases it is attended with danger. From these facts it would appear, that the affecting cause remaining the same, the fever is more or less dangerous according to the constitution of the patient, or any other circumstance that tends more or less to brace the system, or produce symptoms of inflammation.*

"Though the fevers that appear in winter are not usually called intermittents, they are not less effected by putrescent vegetable matter than the autumnal fevers. Those winter fevers have been deemed inflammatory, because they are usually attended by a pain in the head, or by a pain in the breast, that resembles pleurisy. They prevail, not only in the same districts in which intermittents are common, but they are most likely to attack people who on the preceding autumn had suffered by intermitting fevers. These circumstances make it probable, but there are other circumstances from which it is certain, that the fevers to which I refer arise from a septic cause. In different years they prevail in different neighbourhoods, affecting one or more persons in every family. When this disease is most prevalent, it may generally be traced to the vicinity of a marsh, or the bed of a river, where mud or other putrescent vegetable substance has been exposed to the sun, in dry weather. The effects of dry weather on similar grounds, in the summer season, is frequently a flux or dysentery, which are also of the putrid kind. If the same cause, that would produce a simple intermittent, may also be found to produce an ardent fever, tending to putrefaction, by the sole concurrence of muscular motion, or the direct operation of the sun, whereby heat is excited, we are to presume that winter colds would produce remarkable effects on the appearance of that fever. The common effect of cold is to brace the solids and check the perspiration. In the case before us, the perspiration being obstructed, the offending matter, that has been absorbed, is retained in the system, and gives a septic disposition to the fluids, by the increased action of the muscles.† It is generally

* A young man, near Pasquotank, heated himself by dancing, after he had been affected some hours by a slight pain in the brow. This happened in the winter season, during the prevalence of a complaint, that is called, however improperly, "a pleurisy in the head." He died within two days. This disease having obtained the name of an inflammatory fever, is usually treated like such complaints, by copious blood-letting. Though the patients, most

of them, die, the lancet continues to be used with too much freedom; because it seems to give temporary relief, and it can be used by men who have never taken the trouble to learn the nature of the disease, nor its proper remedy.

† It has been alleged, that the endemic fevers of summer and winter are equally caused by the absorption of putrid matter into the system. In support of this opinion we observe, that being

observed, that men suffer more than women or children by this disease. In the months of December and January, 1794—5, eight or nine men, the heads of families, who lived near the river Neuse, were taken off by a fever such as I have mentioned; but no other people in that vicinity suffered by the disease. Some cause must have existed for this remarkable difference. The complaints of those men were not produced by intemperance alone; for though ardent spirits injure the system not only by destroying the powers of the solids, but also by vitiating the fluids, whence they bring on death in various forms, some of the men who fell under that bilious pleurisy, were not intemperate. In this case, the disease seems to have arisen from obstructed perspiration. It can not escape notice that men in Carolina are chiefly exposed to complaints which arise from that source. The temperature of the weather, in the eastern part of the state, is very changeable. When the wind is at north-west, there is occasional hard frost; but the weather at other times is moderate and soft. As there are not many cold days, nor many days in which flannels or thick woollen garments are necessary, people fit their dress for the temperate weather, and not for the few days of incidental cold. They do not consider that warm clothes may be worn, in temperate weather, without danger; but thin clothes, in cold weather, expose the wearer to mortal disease. Women and children are not only more temperate than men, but they are usually at home; and they can increase their clothes upon a sudden approach of cold, or they can sit by the fire. Men are frequently surprised by rain or sudden cold, when they are abroad, and are not provided with a suitable dress. Prudence is the child of experience, but heedless men are seldom taught by the experience of other people. Personal experience, in this as in many other cases, frequently comes too late. When the planters, they especially who have been visited by intermitting fevers during the summer or autumn, and those who live in the flat country, shall have the prudence to keep themselves dry, and shall be provided, in all their excursions, during the winter, with clothing fitted to cold

exposed to a heavy shower in summer or autumn, in warm climates, is usually followed by intermitting fevers; but people at sea, in the same latitude and season of the year, expose themselves to showers without danger, because the atmosphere, at sea, is not charged with putrescent exhalations. It may also be observed, that people who use unguents, in warm climates, are less endangered by those fevers. Black people, and white people, who have a copious perspiration, are also less subject to those complaints. Cold evenings in the autumn, and rain, by shutting the pores of the skin, are known to be the cause of innumerable fevers. While the perspiration is free, the putrid matter, that may be taken in by the absorbing vessels, is immediately discharged from the system; but in the case of obstructed perspiration, it is retained among the

weather;* when they shall exchange the use of grog and ardent spirits for beer well seasoned with hops, or water, that is less dangerous than either, we may be assured that many useful lives will be saved to the community.

“When the country shall be sufficiently cleared, and the lands perfectly drained, there is much reason to believe, that people near the sea-coast will enjoy a desirable state of health through the latter part of the summer, which is now called the sickly season. The weather will also be less variable during the winter season, for reasons that have been stated; and a free circulation of air will diminish the summer's heat.

“There are not many countries, in which the state of health differs so much as it does at present in the different parts of North Carolina. At the distance of sixty or seventy miles from the coast, the land begins to rise into small hills, stones appear on the surface, and the streams ripple in their course. As we advance a little farther to the westward, we find all the variety of hills and dales that may consist with a fertile country, fit for cultivation. In that happy climate, where the soil is good, and the water pure; where the inhabitants enjoy the desirable effects of winter, without suffering by the rigorous severity of cold; there are few of the diseases which are most painful and destructive in cold climates: neither are the inhabitants wasted by the more fatal diseases of warm climates. There are not many parts in the United States, perhaps there is not any part of the world, in which families increase faster than in the western part of Carolina. When we consider, that the inhabitants are seldom affected by coughs, consumptions, or inflammatory complaints, for the winters are temperate; that intermitting, bilious, or putrid fevers, are seldom found among them; we naturally infer, that the climate must be healthy. It is not denied, that people, in many other climates or countries, are equally healthy with those in the western part of Carolina; but the winters in other regions, that are deemed healthy, are more severe, or the land is less fertile, or it is not so cheap, or the means of supporting a family, from one cause and

circulating fluids, and becomes the seed of mortal disease. In cold weather, the complaint is usually thrown upon the head or breast.

* Such is the commendable industry of women in Carolina, that two thirds of the inhabitants are clothed in cotton that is raised, spun, and woven by themselves. This is an excellent dress for warm or temperate weather; but a garment of soft wool, to be worn next the skin, is greatly to be preferred by valetudinarians. It is found that sheep thrive very well in Carolina, and their wool is good in quality. Planters, such of them especially as are invalids, and they who live in sickly districts, should never go abroad in the winter season, without a flannel waistcoat under the shirt, and a substantial greatcoat to be worn in case of a sudden change of weather.

another, are more difficult than in Carolina; whence it follows, that early marriages are not so frequent, and the increase of families is not so great. We have not the means of comparing the increase of people in Carolina with that in foreign countries, but it has been compared with the increase in other states. It appears by the census taken in the year 1791, that the number of inhabitants above sixteen years old, exceeded the number under sixteen in all the northern and middle states, including Maryland. In the southern states there was a difference in favour of those under sixteen, and this difference was greater in North Carolina than in any other state, except Kentucky. This difference might be explained by supposing that the duration of human life is shorter in the southern states, and that sixteen years is nearer the middle of the general extent; but this solution can not be admitted, because in the most healthy parts of the southern states, the difference was greatest in favour of the class under sixteen. The greater proportion of people below sixteen must be the combined effect of early marriage and a good climate. Families are easily supported where the lands are good, and the winters mild. In this case, people marry young, and have many children; but early marriage alone will not produce a great proportion of children when compared to that of grown persons, because sickly climates are not less fatal to infants than to those who are more advanced in years. This distinction is fully supported by the census in North Carolina. The number of males in the whole state, below sixteen, was to that above sixteen, nearly as eleven to ten; but this difference can not be the effect of early marriage alone, or the facility of maintaining a family; it depends very much on the salubrity of the climate. People live in the district of Edenton with more ease than in the district of Salisbury; for their cattle require less feeding in winter,* and they have a plentiful supply of fish; but the proportion of persons under sixteen, was to that above sixteen, in Salisbury district, compared to that in Edenton district, nearly as three to one. In Salisbury district there were fifteen thousand eight hundred and twenty-six males under sixteen, and thirteen thousand nine hundred and eight above sixteen. The difference is nearly equal to a seventh part of the whole number of the older class. In Edenton district, the number of males under sixteen, was eight thousand six hundred and ninety-six, and the number above sixteen, was eight thousand three hundred and ninety-four. The difference being less than a twenty-seventh part of the

number of the older class. This remarkable excess, in favour of Salisbury district, can only be explained by the greater salubrity of the climate. There are some very old people in the western parts of Carolina, but they were not born in that country; they are older than the settlement. After the country shall have been planted two or three centuries, and the natives shall have attained the length of years that corresponds with the climate, a greater proportion of the inhabitants above sixteen years will doubtless be found."

TENNESSEE

Is bounded on the north by Kentucky and Virginia, on the south east by North Carolina, on the south by Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and on the west by Arkansas territory. Its length is 420 miles, extending from longitude $81^{\circ} 28'$ to $91^{\circ} 37'$; its breadth 102 miles, from latitude 35° to $36^{\circ} 30'$; comprising an area of 43,000 square miles.

Tennessee is marked by bold features. It is washed by the great river Mississippi on the west, and the fine rivers Tennessee and Cumberland pass through it in very serpentine courses. The western part is undulating; some of it level; in the middle it is hilly; and the eastern part, known by the name of East Tennessee, abounds in mountains, many of them lofty, and presenting scenery grand and picturesque. Of these mountains, the Cumberland, or Great Laurel Ridge, is the most remarkable. Stone, Yellow, Iron-Bald, Smoky, and Unaka mountains, join each other, and form, in a direction nearly north east and south west, the eastern boundary of the state. North west of these, and separated from each other by valleys of from 5 to 15 miles wide, are Bay's mountain, Copper Ridge, Clinch mountain, Powell's mountain, and Welling's Ridge. The last four terminate north of Tennessee river. They are all encircled by valleys, which open passages for rivers and roads, and give occasion to many beautiful views. Caves of great depth and extent are found throughout the state.

The climate is generally healthy. In East Tennessee it is so tempered by the mountain air on one side, and by refreshing breezes from the gulf of Mexico on the other, that this part of the state has one of the most desirable climates in North America. The middle part resembles Kentucky. The winter in Tennessee resembles the spring in New England. Snow seldom falls to a greater depth than ten inches,

* The flat lands near the coast, except such of them as are composed of sand, are generally covered by a thick growth of canes.

The leaves of this plant are green all winter. They are long and succulent, and cattle in general are greatly attached to them.

or lies longer than ten days. Cumberland river has been frozen over but three times since the country was settled. Cattle are rarely sheltered. In the western parts there are some low bottoms, on which the inhabitants are subject to bilious fevers, and fever and ague in the autumn.

A considerable portion of the state is bedded on limestone. A large deposit of gypsum has been discovered. Copperas, alum, nitre, and lead, are among the minerals. Some silver has been found. Coal is supposed to be plentiful. Saltpetre is so abundant as to form a great article of commerce. There are several mineral springs, and many valuable salt springs. The western part of the state has a black, rich soil; in the middle are great quantities of excellent land; in the eastern, the mountains are lean, but there are many fertile valleys. There is a great profusion of natural timber, and in many places are great quantities of cane remarkably thick and strong. The state also abounds with medicinal plants. But the great business of the state is agricultural. The soil produces abundantly cotton and tobacco, which are the staple commodities. The inhabitants also raise a plentiful supply of grain, grass, and fruit. They export cotton, tobacco, and flour; also saltpetre, and many other articles. The principal commerce is carried on through the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, and from them by the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. This state also supplies Kentucky Ohio, &c. with cotton for inland manufactures; and

from East Tennessee considerable numbers of cattle are sent to the seaports on the Atlantic. It is probable that a new avenue to commerce will soon be opened, by means of roads or a canal between the Tennessee River and the navigable waters of the Tombeckbee. The Chickasaws possess all the western parts of this state, between the Mississippi and Tennessee. The Cherokees own a large tract near the south east part, on the Hiwassee.

There are nominally four colleges in this state; one at Greenville; one at Knoxville; one at Nashville, and one in Washington county. Greenville College is a flourishing institution. It has a philosophical apparatus, a library of between one and two thousand volumes, and between seventy and eighty students. The college at Knoxville was founded several years since, but has not yet come into operation. It is entitled to the benefit of a donation from congress, which it is expected will yield a capital of 50,000 dollars.

The Baptists in this state have 11 associations, 214 churches, 141 ministers, and 11,971 communicants; the Methodists, 125 preachers, and 38,242 members, including a few belonging to adjacent states; the Presbyterians, 105 churches, 60 ministers, 20 licentiates, and 6,214 communicants; the Lutherans, 10 ministers. The Cumberland Presbyterians, computed at about 100,000, reside chiefly in Tennessee and Kentucky.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

WEST TENNESSEE.						
Counties.	Population, 1820.	Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Distance. N. * | W. †		
Bedford, M.	16,012	30,444	Shelbyville	52	692	
Carroll, W.		9,378	Huntingdon	109	823	
Davidson, M.	20,154	22,523	{ NASHVILLE			714
Nashville, town		5,566				
Dickson, W. M.	5,190	7,261	Charlotte	40	754	
Dyer, W.		1,904	Dyersburgh	168	882	
Fayette, S. W.		8,654	Somerville	184	873	
Fentress, N.		2,760	Jamestown	131	600	
Franklin, S.	16,571	15,644	Winchester	82	684	
Gibson, W.		5,801	Trenton	139	853	
Giles, S.	12,558	18,920	Pulaski	77	739	
Hardiman, S. W.		11,628	Bolivar	158	849	
Hardin, S. W.	1,462	4,867	Savannah	112	803	
Haywood, W.		5,356	Brownsville	275	891	
Henderson, W. M.		8,741	Lexington	130	840	
Henry, N. W.		12,230	Paris	108	810	
Hickman, M.	6,080	8,132	Vernon	66	766	
Humphreys, W. M.	4,067	6,189	Reynoldsburch	77	792	
Jackson, N.	7,593	9,902	Gainesborough	79	652	
Lawrence, S.	3,271	5,412	Lawrenceburgh	75	756	
Lincoln, S.	14,761	22,086	Fayetteville	73	722	
Madison, W.		11,750	Jackson	147	861	
Maury, M.	22,141	28,153	Columbia	42	733	
M'Nairy, S.		5,697	Purdy	128	819	

* From Nashville.

† From Washington.

Counties.	Population, 1820.	Population, 1830.	County Towns.	Distance.	
				N.*	W.†
Montgomery, N.	12,219	14,365	Clarksville	46	746
Obion, N. W.		2,099	Troy	161	863
Overton, N.	7,188	8,246	Monroe	109	622
Perry, W. M.	2,384	7,038	Shannonsville	114	805
Robertson, N.	7,270	13,302	Springfield	25	727
Rutherford, M.	19,552	26,133	Murfreesborough	33	686
Shelby, S. W.	344	5,652	Memphis	224	915
Smith, N.	17,580	21,492	Carthage	52	670
Sumner, N.	19,211	20,606	Gallatin	25	699
Stewart, N. W.	8,397	6,988	Dover	81	787
Tipton, W.		5,317	Covington	197	894
Warren, M.	10,348	15,351	McMinnville	74	644
Wayne, S.	2,459	6,013	Waynesborough	92	783
Weakley, N. W.		4,796	Dresden	132	834
White, M.	8,701	9,967	Sparta	92	623
Williamson, M.	20,640	26,608	Franklin	18	732
Wilson, N. M.	18,730	25,477	Lebanon	31	683
Total	287,501	488,448, of whom 124,492 are slaves.			
EAST TENNESSEE.					
Anderson, M.	4,668	5,312	Clinton	195	534
Bledsoe, M.	4,005	6,448	Pikeville	109	608
Blount, E.	11,258	11,027	Marysville	197	532
Campbell, N.	4,244	5,110	Jacksonborough	215	543
Carter, N. E.	4,835	6,418	Elizabethtown	316	420
Claiborne, N.	5,508	8,470	Tazewell	243	491
Cocke, E.	4,892	6,048	Newport	247	479
Granger, E. M.	7,651	10,066	Rutledge	232	483
Greene, E.	11,221	14,410	Greenville	273	454
Hamilton, S. E. M.	821	2,274	Hamilton, C. H.	148	619
Hawkins, N. E.	10,949	13,683	Rogersville	264	451
Jefferson, E.	8,953	11,799	Dandridge	229	497
Knox, E. M.	13,034	14,498	Knoxville	199	516
McMinn, S. E. M.	1,623	14,497	Athens	153	572
Marion, S.	3,888	5,516	Jasper	114	653
Monroe, S. E.	2,529	13,709	Madisonville	168	561
Morgan, N.	1,676	2,582	Montgomery	46	746
Rhea, E. M.	4,215	8,182	Washington	129	593
Roane, E. M.	7,895	11,340	Kingston	159	556
Sevier, E.	4,772	5,117	Sevier, C. H.	225	515
Sullivan, N. E.	7,015	10,073	Blountsville	306	409
Washington, E.	9,557	10,995	Jonesborough	298	429
Total	135,312	196,374, of whom 17,890 are slaves.			

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Population.		Increase.		Slaves.	Increase.
In 1800,	105,602			13,584	
1810,	261,727	From 1800 to 1810,	156,125	44,535	30,951
1820,	420,813	1810	1820,	80,107	35,572
1830,	684,822	1820	1830,	142,382	62,275

The population of none of the towns in Tennessee is given by the new census, with the exception of Nashville, the seat of government, and much the largest town. Some of the other most considerable towns are Murfreesborough, once the seat of government, Clarksville, Franklin, Fayetteville, and Memphis, in West Tennessee; and Knoxville, in East Tennessee.

CHAPTER V.

SOUTH CAROLINA—GEORGIA—ALABAMA—MISSISSIPPI—LOUISIANA.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

THIS state, recently so conspicuous in its opposition to the tariff, is bounded on the north and north-

east by North Carolina; on the southeast by the Atlantic, and on the west by Georgia. It extends from longitude 78° 24' to 83° 30', and from latitude 32° to 35° 8'; is 275 miles long, and 120 broad, and contains 23,000 square miles.

Like some other states, South Carolina is naturally divided into three zones. The maritime zone rises by a very gentle acclivity from the ocean; the rivers are shallow near their mouths, and much of the surface is flooded by the tides and land floods. This outer belt is followed, about the lower falls of the rivers, by a still more sandy zone, which is in turn succeeded by the hilly tract between the head of tides and the mountains. The third or mountainous tract, with the exception of the mountain ridges and

* From Nashville.

† From Washington.

a still increased elevation, differs in no essential respect from the middle or hilly zone. Both the latter sections of South Carolina partake of the general diversity of surface, salubrity of climate, and fertility of soil, which distinguishes the verge of the Apalachian system in all its length. The extreme north-western part of South Carolina is on the great table land from which the sources of the Tennessee flow north and northwest; those of the Chatahooche from southwest; and those of the Savannah and Santee southeast. It is probable that an allowance of two degrees of Fahrenheit will be a moderate estimate for the effect on temperature by difference of level, from the southeast to the northwest angle of this state, and the difference of latitude being $3^{\circ} 10'$, the entire difference of temperature will exceed 5° of Fahrenheit.

The soil of South Carolina is divided into six classes:—1. tide swamp; 2. inland swamp; 3. high river swamp, or low grounds, distinguished by the name of second low grounds; 4. salt marsh; 5. oak and hickory high land; 6. pine barren. The first two classes are peculiarly adapted to the culture of rice and hemp; the third is most favourable to the growth of hemp, corn, and indigo. The salt marsh has been much neglected. The oak and hickory land is remarkably fertile, and well adapted to the culture of corn, as well as indigo and cotton. The pine barren, though the least productive, is so much more salubrious than the other soils in the low country, that a proportion of it is an appendage indispensable to every swamp plantation. The staple commodities of this state are cotton and rice, of which great quantities are annually exported. These articles have so engrossed the attention of the planters, that the culture of wheat, barley, oats, and other crops equally useful, but less profitable, has been almost wholly neglected. So little wheat is raised throughout the state, that considerable quantities are annually imported. Cotton was not raised in any considerable quantities till so late as 1795. Before that period indigo was, next to rice, the most important article of produce; but it is now neglected. Tobacco thrives well. The fruits which flourish best are pears, pomegranates, and watermelons: the latter, in particular, grow to an enormous size, and are superior, perhaps, to any in the world. Other fruits are figs, apricots, nectarines, apples, peaches, olives, almonds, and oranges.

The period of vegetation comprehends, in favourable years, from seven to eight months, commencing in January or February, and terminating in October

or November. The frosts generally, in the months of November, December, January, and February, are too severe for the delicate productions of more southern latitudes. The low country is seldom covered with snow, but the mountains near the western boundary often are. Frost sometimes occurs, but seldom penetrates deeper than two inches, or lasts longer than three or four days. At some seasons, and particularly in February, the weather is very variable. The temperature has been known to vary forty-six degrees in one day. In Charleston, for seven years, the thermometer was not known to rise above 93° , or to fall below 17° above 0. The number of extremely hot days in Charleston is seldom more than thirty in a year; and there are about as many sultry nights in which the heat and closeness of the air are such as to prevent the enjoyment of sound sleep. The low country is infested with all the diseases which spring from a warm, moist, and unelastic atmosphere. Of these the most frequent are fevers, from which the inhabitants suffer more than from any, or perhaps from all other diseases together. The districts of the upper country enjoy as salubrious a climate as any part of the United States.

A rail-road from the city of Charleston to Hamburg, on the Savannah, opposite to Augusta, is in progress. The whole length of the rail-road, when completed, will be about 135 miles; and according to a report made several months since, eighty-eight miles were then under contract. Several miles, extending from Charleston, were completed in 1830, and a steam car has been placed upon it, moving at the rate of fifteen miles an hour.

South Carolina College, at Columbia, is a flourishing institution, and has been liberally patronized by the state. Colleges have been incorporated in Charleston, Abbeville district, in Beaufort, and in Winnsborough, but they have not taken a higher rank than academies. The Medical College at Charleston, is an institution of some promise. Free schools are established throughout the state, and the sum of 37,000 dollars annually has been appropriated by the legislature for their support.

The Methodists in this state have 54 preachers and 25,114 members; the Baptists, 6 associations, 159 churches, 131 ministers, and 12,316 communicants; the Presbyterians, 77 churches, 46 ministers, 7 licentiates, and 6,671 communicants; the Episcopalians, 34 ministers; there are also some Associate Presbyterians, Lutherans, Roman Catholics, and Unitarians.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE UNITED STATES.

DISTRICTS AND SEATS OF JUSTICE.

Districts.	Seats of Justice.	Distance. C.* | W.†		Districts.	Seats of Justice.	Distance. C.* | W.†	
Abbeville, N. W.	Abbeville	100	534	Lancaster, N.	Lancaster, C. H.	73	442
Anderson, N. W.	Anderson, C. H.	129	550	Laurens, W. M.	Laurens, C. H.	79	498
Barnwell, S. W.	Barnwell, C. H.	62	562	Lexington, M.	Lexington, C. H.	12	512
Beaufort, S.	Coosawhatchie	147	613	Marion, N. E.	Marion, C. H.	115	424
Charleston, S. E.	Charleston	110	544	Marlborough, N.	Marlborough, C. H.	102	426
Chester, N.	Chester, C. H.	57	448	Newberry, W. M.	Newberry, C. H.	45	493
Chesterfield, N.	Chesterfield, C. H.	102	426	Orangeburgh, M.	Orangeburgh, C. H.	43	538
Colleton, S. E.	Walterborough	93	588	Pickens, N. W.	Pickens, C. H.	157	550
Darlington, N. E.	Darlington, C. H.	86	435	Richland, M.	COLUMBIA		500
Edgefield, W.	Edgefield, C. H.	57	557	Spartanburgh, N.	Spartanburgh, C. H.	104	477
Fairfield, M.	Winnsborough	29	476	Sumter, M.	Sumterville	44	481
Georgetown, E.	Georgetown, C. H.	134	482	Union, N.	Unionville	77	467
Greenville, N. W.	Greenville, C. H.	117	509	Williamsburgh, E.	Kingstree	86	488
Horry, N. E.	Conwayborough	150	459	York, N.	York, C. H.	78	432
Kershaw, M.	Camden	33	467				

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Population.		Increase.		Slaves.	Increase.
In 1790,	249,073			107,094	
1800,	345,591	From 1790 to 1800,	96,518	146,151	39,057
1810,	415,115	1800	1810,	196,365	50,214
1820,	502,741	1810	1820,	258,475	62,110
1830,	581,459	1820	1830,	315,365	56,890

POPULATION OF THE DISTRICTS AND OTHER DIVISIONS, AS GIVEN IN THE CENSUS OF 1830.

Abbeville district	28,134	Georgetown district	19,943
Anderson ditto	17,170	Greenville ditto	16,476
Barnwell ditto	19,236	Horry ditto	5,323
Charleston city	30,289	Kershaw ditto	13,545
Charleston Neck	10,054	Lancaster ditto	10,361
St. Andrews' parish	3,727	Laurens ditto	20,863
St. John's Colleton	10,045	Lexington ditto	9,076
St. James, Goose Creek	8,632	Marion ditto	11,208
St. Stephen's	2,416	Marlborough ditto	8,578
Christ Church	3,412	Newberry ditto	17,441
St. James, Santee	3,743	Orangeburgh ditto	18,45
St. Thomas and St. Dennis	3,055	Pickens ditto	14,475
St. Peter's parish	3,834	Richland ditto	11,465
St. Helena	8,799	Columbia town	3,310
St. Luke's	9,659	Spartanburgh district	21,148
Prince William's	9,040	Sumter ditto	28,278
Chester district	19,182	Union ditto	17,908
Chesterfield ditto	8,472	Washington ditto	13,728
Colleton ditto	27,256	Williamsburgh ditto	9,015
Edgefield ditto	30,511	York ditto	17,785
Fairfield ditto	21,546		

Total population, 581,458. Slaves, 315,665.

Charleston, the largest town in the state, is situated on a peninsula, between the rivers Ashley and Cooper, which unite immediately below the city, and form a spacious and convenient harbour, communicating with the ocean at Sullivan's Island, seven miles southeast of the city. The harbour has a bar at its mouth, through which are two channels; the deepest has sixteen feet of water at low tide. It is defended by Fort Pinkney and Fort Johnson, which are on islands, the former two, and the latter four miles below the city; and by Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island. Charleston contains a city-hall, an exchange,

a custom-house, a guard-house, a theatre, an orphan-house, an hospital, an alms-house, two arsenals, two markets, a college, and nineteen houses of public worship. The Charleston library contains about 13,000 volumes. The Orphan Asylum is a noble and well endowed institution, which supports and educates nearly 200 orphan children. There are several other charitable societies richly endowed. The city is regularly laid out in parallel streets, which are intersected by others nearly at right angles. The tongue of land on which it is built was originally indented with creeks and narrow marshes, which have

* From Columbia.

† From Washington.

been filled up; and it is drier and more elevated than most parts of the low country of South Carolina. Many of the houses are elegant, and furnished with piazzas. It is much the largest town in the state, and was formerly the seat of government. It has an extensive commerce: the shipping owned here in 1816, amounted to 36,473 tons; in 1820, to 28,403 tons. That dreadful distemper, the yellow fever, has made frequent ravages in Charleston, but its effects have been chiefly confined to persons from more northern situations; and the climate of the city is accounted healthy to the native inhabitants, more so than that of most other Atlantic towns in the southern states. Its superior salubrity attracts the planters from the surrounding country, and it is the favourite resort of the wealthy from the West Indies. It affords much agreeable society, and is reckoned one of the gayest towns in the United States.

Dr. Ramsay, the celebrated philosopher, has done much to promote a knowledge of South Carolina; and Dayton's work has materials of value to the historian.

Mr. Robert Mills, in an elaborate and recent work on the statistics of South Carolina, has furnished a minute account of the benevolent, literary, and other institutions which dignify the city of Charleston. From his publication the following extract is made.

"After this enumeration," says Mr. Mills, "of benevolent establishments in Charleston, the remark made in the beginning, that this city possesses a greater number of charitable institutions, in proportion to its population, than any other in the union, will not be regarded as unfounded in fact; and truly it is cause of humble rejoicing, that there exists such a spirit of piety in a spot where so great a field for doing good is opened. Charleston is the centre of a vast circle, which will be benefited in proportion to the exertions made in it to promote the cause of virtue and truth.

"The Medical Society, for the advancement of the healing art, was formed in 1789, and incorporated in 1794. It has contributed much to medical science, and the public weal. In all cases respecting the medical police of the city, application was made to this society for their advice, and it always cheerfully gave it, and essentially contributed to form beneficial regulations for preserving the health of the inhabitants.

"These institutions emanated from this medical society, of great public utility: the Humane Society; the Charleston Dispensary; and the Botanic Garden; all still in operation, except the latter, which has declined.

"The Medical Society, within two years past, has enlarged its sphere of usefulness, having established a college, and endowed professorships; a course of lectures is annually delivered to students in medicine, and diplomas are granted to such as take their degrees. This society has been eminently successful, and now possesses able professors. The first year of its duties, (Nov. 1824,) the number of students was between 40 and 50; the second year, the number was nearly doubled; and there is every prospect that this institution will command a most extensive patronage. The number who have graduated and received diplomas amounts to 33.

"The St. Cecilia Society is of very old standing. It was established some time in 1762. Music has always been highly admired and patronized in this city, and still is, though more in a private way.

"It has contributed much to establish a good taste for music in the state. At one time it gave annual salaries of 2 to 3000 dollars, to secure first-rate professors.

"The Free Masons, in this city, constitute one of the largest and most respectable associations in the United States. They comprise 14 lodges, and include about 1500 members; their charities amount annually to near \$1500.

"The Charleston Library Society was established in 1748, and incorporated in 1754. It is composed of upwards of 300 members, and comprises now between 13 and 14,000 volumes, besides a number of fine engravings, port-folios of views, &c. In the great fire that took place in 1778, a large portion of the original library was destroyed, with a valuable philosophical apparatus.

"Its capital in bank shares and stock, amounts to \$11,600, and yearly income to \$3,000. Average annual expenses, \$2,500, including the purchase of books and contingencies.

"This library occupies the principal part of the attic story of the court-house.

"There have also been founded in this city, within a few years, two other library societies, the Franklin and Ramsay, the latter composed chiefly of young men.

"The Literary and Philosophical Society is an institution that does great honour to the state. It was founded in 1813, and comprises a large mineralogical cabinet, with a number of subjects of natural history and botany.

"The Museum is situated on Chalmers-street, nearly fronting the city square, and is well stored with curious subjects in natural history, Indian antiquities, foreign and native works of art, &c.

"The institutions for educating youth in this city are both numerous and highly respectable. At the head of these is the Charleston College, established soon after the revolutionary war. It commenced as an academy under the superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Robert Smith, (afterwards Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church.) By his exertions in obtaining the best qualified classical teachers, it soon was incorporated as a college, of which he was appointed as principal. Bishop Smith held this office until 1798, when he resigned it.

"After the state institution went into operation at Columbia, this college declined, and remained inoperative until within a few years, when an effort was made by a few gentlemen to restore its usefulness,—in which they succeeded. It is now upon a permanent footing, possesses able teachers, and promises to redeem its original character. This important institution is now under the care of trustees.

"The first Free School in this state, was founded in Charleston, as early as 1712; since which, extensive means have been created to dispense knowledge among the destitute, both by the state, and by various benevolent societies, already noticed. There are four Free Schools established in Charleston, under legislative patronage. The liberal salary of \$1,200 is allowed to each teacher. These, with the numerous private academies and schools distributed through the city, evince the particular attention paid to this most important subject.

"Many valuable institutions, devoted to the instruction of female youth, are established in Charleston, where every branch of useful, elegant, polite, and ornamental education, is taught.

"Besides the circulating libraries, (of which there are several, both extensive and respectable, in Charleston,) there are innumerable fountains of knowledge opened in every part of the city. Every public house has a reading-room, where the periodical papers of the day, and those from different parts of the union, are received. A taste for reading and polite literature is extending itself generally among our citizens, and a happy circumstance it is, as during a certain part of the year considerable leisure occurs, the season of business being of limited duration.

"Among the private establishments of this character, 'Walker's reading-room' is the most extensive, both in the variety and interest of the periodical productions received there, and particularly in English literature, independent of newspapers.

"Every bookstore presents a mental feast, and for number, elegance, and richness of literary lore, are not exceeded by any city in the union. Wherever

our steps are directed, the improvement of Charleston in literature and the arts manifests itself. The book stores of Messrs. Hurlbut, Mill, Berret, and many others, are not only extensive in the number, but choice in the selection of their books.

"In reviewing the springs of knowledge in this city, we must not forget to mention one, from which much benefit is anticipated to be derived, namely, the Apprentices' Library Society, instituted in 1824, expressly to benefit the youth devoting their attention to mechanical pursuits.

"The library at present consists of upwards of 3,000 volumes, mostly presented by donation. The subscription amounts annually to two dollars, which is chiefly laid out in the purchase of suitable books. The library room is over the centre market-house, the use of which has been liberally granted by the commissioners of the market.

"There are four daily public journals printed in this city; their titles, according to seniority, are, the City Gazette, Courier, Southern Patriot, and Charleston Mercury; all edited with ability, and conducted upon liberal principles. There are besides, three weekly journals issued, devoted principally to religious subjects, the Southern Intelligencer, Catholic Miscellany, and Wesleyan Journal. The Gospel Messenger, (an Episcopal work,) and Medical Journal, are published monthly, besides a work devoted to agricultural subjects."

Columbia, the seat of government, is regularly laid out on an elevated plain on the banks of the Congaree. Georgetown is on Winyaw Bay, near the mouth of the Pedee, thirteen miles from the sea. It is well situated for trade, being in the neighbourhood of fertile lands, and connected by the Pedee and its branches with an extensive back country; but there is a bar at the mouth of Winyaw Bay, which prevents the entrance of vessels drawing more than eleven feet water. Beaufort is on an island, seventy-two miles southwest of Charleston.

It deserves to be stated, that the botany of this state and of Georgia, has found an able writer in the late Stephen Elliot, Esq., a gentleman of profound science in natural history. His work is in two volumes, large octavo, 1821-4.

GEORGIA

Is bounded on the north by Tennessee, on the northeast by South Carolina, on the southeast by the Atlantic, by Florida on the south, and by Alabama on the west. It extends from longitude 80° 50' to 86° 6', and from latitude 30° 30' to 35°. Length

from north to south, 300 miles ; mean breadth, 203 ; and area, 61,000 square miles.

Georgia is divided by the hand of nature into three zones, with very distinct features. The lowest, and what may be called the tropical zone, rises by a very slow acclivity from the Atlantic ocean, commencing in a series of islands. This is, in its oceanic margin, a recent alluvion ; and is followed by a sandy tract of little more elevation, but reaching to the falls of the rivers. The third, or hilly and finally mountainous section, is the most extensive, fertile, and salubrious. From the level of the Atlantic Islands to the mountain vales of Chatahooche and Etowah Rivers, must be an elevation of 12 or 1500 feet ; at the lowest an equivalent to 3° of latitude ; which, added to 4° 38', gives a difference of 7° 38' in temperature. The mountainous northern extremity rises into an elevation favourable to apples and the grasses ; while the southern extremity on the Apalachicola, Suwanne, St. Mary's, Santilla, and Alatomaha, has a temperature suitable to the sugar cane, orange, olive, date, and lemon. Between those extremes vegetable production has an extensive range. To those already named, may be added cotton, rice, tobacco, and indigo ; of fruits, the peach, fig, pomegranate, plum, &c. The sea border is a region of palms, and has a mean temperature at least two degrees above that of equal latitudes in the basin of Mississippi. In summer the Atlantic border is a real tropical climate, whilst towards North Carolina and Tennessee the mountain vales smile under a mitigated sun. Cotton, rice, and sugar, may be regarded as its staples. The former has, however, so far predominated, the Atlantic islands producing a peculiar kind of superior value, that it might, without much error, be considered the exclusive staple of the state. The sweet orange and sugar cane can be cultivated with success along the whole ocean border, and for some distance inland.

In the northern part of Georgia there are interesting falls on the head waters of Savannah River. The river Terrors descends, in the space of a mile, 300 feet, and has one cataract of sixty feet nearly perpendicular. Toccoa Falls, on a small rivulet, are a beautiful cascade of 186 feet perpendicular.—The principal mineral waters in Georgia are the Indian Springs, which are west of Milledgeville, and much visited ; and Madison Springs, northwest of Athens. Valuable gold mines have been lately discovered in the northern parts of the state, near the sources of the Chatahooche, Tallapoosa, and Coosa.

Many writers have favoured the public with observations on the climate and diseases of Georgia ; but a general reference to their papers in the periodi-

cals must suffice. Some interesting remarks of the late governor, Henry Ellis, of this state, merit a more particular notice. This distinguished individual, more than seventy years ago, drew up a number of valuable reflections on the climate, in a communication to a friend, and their pertinency even at this day will be seen by the contemplative reader. His letter is dated July 17, 1758, and may be seen in the American Medical and Philosophical Register, vol. 2, published at New York, and edited by Professors Hosack and Francis, of that city.

"Though some weeks have passed since I wrote you," says Gov. Ellis to his friend, "yet so little alteration has happened in the state of our affairs, that nothing occurs to me, relative to them, worth committing to paper. This, indeed, I need not regret, as one cannot sit down to anything that requires much application, but with extreme reluctance ; for such is the debilitating quality of our violent heats in this season, that an inexpressible languor enervates every faculty, and renders even the thought of exercising them painful.

"It is now about three o'clock ; the sun bears nearly S. W. and I am writing in a piazza, open at each end, on the northeast side of my house, perfectly in the shade ; a small breeze at S. E. blows freely through it ; no buildings are nearer, to reflect the heat, than sixty yards ; yet in a thermometer hanging by me, made by Mr. Bird, and compared by the late Mr. George Graham, with an approved one of his own, the mercury stands at 102. Twice it has risen this summer to the same height, viz. on the 28th of June, and the 11th of July. Several times it has been at 100, and for many days successively at 98 ; and did not in the nights sink below 89. I think it highly probable, that the inhabitants of this place breathe a hotter air than any other people on the face of the earth. The greatest heat we had last year was but 94, and that but once ; from 84 to 90 were the usual variations ; but this is reckoned an extraordinary hot summer. The weatherwise of this country say it forebodes a hurricane ; for has it always been remarked, that these tempests have been preceded by continual and uncommon heats. I must acquaint you, however, that the heats we are subject to here, are more intense than in any other parts of the province, the town of Savannah being situated upon a sandy eminence, and sheltered all around with high woods. The people actually breathe so hot an air as I describe ; yet this very spot, from its height and dryness, is reckoned equally healthy with any other in the province.

"I have frequently walked a hundred yards under an umbrella, with a thermometer suspended from it

by a thread, to the height of my nostrils; when the mercury has risen to 105, which is prodigious. At the same time I have confined this instrument close to the hottest part of my body, and have been astonished to observe, that it has subsided several degrees. Indeed, I never could raise the mercury above 97 with the heat of my body.

"You know, dear sir, that I have traversed a great part of this globe, not without giving some attention to the peculiarities of each climate; and I can fairly pronounce, that I never felt such heats any where as in Georgia. I know experiments on this subject are extremely liable to error; but I presume I cannot now be mistaken, either in the goodness of the instrument, or in the fairness of the trials, which I have repeatedly made with it. The same thermometer I have had twice in the equatorial parts of Africa; as often at Jamaica, and the West-India islands; and, upon examination of my journals, I do not find that the quicksilver ever rose in those parts above the 87th degree, and to that seldom; its general station was between the 79th and 86th degree; and yet I think I have felt those degrees, with a moist air, more disagreeable than what I now feel.

"In my relation of the late expedition to the north-west, if I recollect right, I have observed, that all the changes and variety of weather, that happen in the temperate zone, throughout the year, may be experienced at Hudson's Bay settlements in twenty-four hours. But I may now extend this observation; for in my cellar the thermometer stands at 81, in the next story at 102, and in the upper one at 105, yet these heats, violent as they are, would be tolerable, but for the sudden changes that succeed them. On the 10th of December last, the mercury was at 86; on the 11th it was so low as 38 of the same instrument.

What havoc must this make with a European constitution? Nevertheless, but few people die here out of the ordinary course; though, indeed, one can scarce call it living, merely to breathe, and trail about a vigourless body; yet such is generally our condition, from the middle of June to the middle of September."

The University of Georgia consists of a college called Franklin College, established at Athens, and or an academy, either established, or to be established, in each county. This body of institutions is under the direction of a *Senatus Academicus*, consisting of the governor and senate of the state, and fifteen trustees. The *Senatus Academicus* appoints a board of commissioners in each county, to superintend the academy of the county and the inferior schools. In 1817, 200,000 dollars were appropriated by the legislature for the establishment of free schools throughout the state. "In 1801," says Mr. Sherwood,* "only six academies had been incorporated in the state." "The importance of education, about 1811, seemed to be more appreciated; and academies sprang up in almost every town. Few persons born since that period are entirely destitute of education; but thousands who were brought into the world before 1800, know not a letter." The total number of academies is now nearly ninety.

The Baptists in this state have 12 associations, 390 churches, 205 ministers, and 31,797 communicants; the Methodists, 64 preachers, and 27,038 members; the Presbyterians, 55 churches, 31 ministers, and 3,034 communicants; the Christians, 3 churches, and 28 ministers; the Episcopalians, 4 churches and 4 ministers; the Roman Catholics, 3 churches and 3 ministers; there are also some Lutherans, Friends, and Jews.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Whites.	Coloured.	Total Population.	County Towns.	Distance.	
					M.†	W.‡
Appling, S. M.	1,284	184	1,468	Appling, C. H.	125	787
Baker, S. W.	977	276	1,253	Byton	155	797
Baldwin, M.	2,724	4,565	7,289	MILLEDGEVILLE		642
Bibb, M.	4,138	3,005	7,143	Macon	35	677
Bryan, S. E.	723	2,416	3,139	Bryan, C. H.		
Bullock, E. M.	1,933	653	2,586	Statesborough	117	671
Burke, E.	5,066	6,767	11,833	Waynesborough	37	689
Butts, N. M.	3,225	1,687	4,912	Jackson	51	707
Camden, S. E.	1,458	3,120	4,578	Jefferson	212	744
Campbell, N. W.	2,694	629	3,323	Campbellton	134	715
Carroll, N. W.	2,723	696	3,419	Carrollton	153	746
Chatham, E.	4,325	9,905	14,230	Savannah	167	662
Clarke, N. M.	5,438	4,738	10,176	Watkinsville	69	623
Columbia, N. M.	4,471	8,135	12,606	Applingville	93	602
Coweta, N. W.	3,634	1,372	5,006	Newman	129	722

* Gazetteer of Georgia, second edition, 1829

† From Milledgeville.

‡ From Washington.

Counties.	Whites.	Coloured.	Total Population.	County Towns.	Distance M. • | W. +
Crawford, W. M.	3,591	1,723	5,314	Knoxville	89 702
Decatur, S. W.	2,541	1,307	3,848	Bainbridge	206 848
Dekalb, N. W.	8,376	1,671	10,047	Decatur	117 850
Dooly, W. M.	1,757	348	2,135	Berrien	97 739
Early, S. W.	1,505	546	2,051	Blakely	227 889
Effingham, E.	1,746	1,223	2,969	Willoughby	181 671
Elbert, N.	6,501	5,853	12,354	Elberton	101 579
Emanuel, E. M.	2,168	513	2,681	Swainsborough	79 833
Fayette, N. W.	4,268	1,233	5,501	Fayetteville	187 700
Franklin, N.	7,712	2,423	10,135	Carnesville	114 578
Glynn, S. E.	597	3,970	4,467	Brunswick	200 733
Greene, N. M.	5,026	7,525	12,551	Greensborough	44 628
Gwinnett, N. W.	10,938	2,282	13,220	Lawrenceville	93 656
Habersham, N.	9,733	915	10,648	Clarksville	144 608
Hall, N. W.	10,573	1,182	11,755	Gainesville	123 686
Hancock, N. M.	4,607	7,215	11,822	Sparta	24 618
Harris, W.	2,831	2,274	5,105	Hamilton	134 776
Henry, N. W. M.	7,991	2,576	10,567	McDonough	85 687
Houston, W. M.	5,161	2,208	7,369	Perry	60 702
Irwin, S. M.	1,066	114	1,180	Irwin, C. H.	
Jackson, N.	6,184	2,816	9,000	Jefferson	98 614
Jasper, M.	6,767	6,364	13,131	Monticello	35 668
Jefferson, E. M.	3,603	3,706	7,309	Louisville	52 644
Jones, M.	6,469	6,873	13,342	Clinton	22 665
Laurens, M.	3,188	2,390	5,578	Dublin	47 689
Lee, W. M.	1,367	307	1,674	Pindertown	130 772
Liberty, S. E.	1,588	5,646	7,234	Riceborough	202 692
Lincoln, N. M.	2,824	3,313	6,137	Lincolnton	100 570
Lowndes, S.	2,113	340	2,453	Franklinville	187 829
Madison, N.	3,365	1,261	4,626	Danielsville	92 600
McIntosh, S. E.	1,095	3,903	4,998	Darien	187 720
Marion, W. M.	1,327	109	1,436	Marion, C. H.	174 816
Meriwether, N. W.	3,018	1,406	4,424	Greenville	111 753
Monroe, M.	8,836	7,366	16,202	Forsythe	60 702
Montgomery, M.	934	335	1,269	Mount Vernon	89 721
Morgan, N. M.	5,146	6,877	12,023	Madison	44 648
Muscogee, W.	2,261	1,247	3,508	Columbus	120 762
Newton, N. W. M.	8,131	3,023	11,154	Covington	60 662
Oglethorpe, N. M.	5,554	8,004	13,558	Lexington	62 803
Pike, W. M.	4,362	1,694	6,056	Zebulon	86 725
Pulaski, M.	3,117	1,782	4,899	Hartford	67 709
Putnam, M.	5,512	7,744	13,256	Eatonton	22 650
Rabun, N.	2,114	61	2,175	Clayton	174 611
Randolph, W.	1,508	683	2,191	Randolph, C. H.	170 812
Richmond, E.	5,163	6,481	11,644	Augusta	90 580
Scriven, E.	2,387	2,389	4,776	Jacksonborough	144 634
Talbot, W.	3,839	2,101	5,940	Talbotton	112 754
Taliaferro, N. M.	2,162	2,770	4,934	Crawfordsville	47 615
Tatnall, E. M.	1,519	520	2,039	Perry's Mills	115 757
Telfair, M.	1,569	567	2,136	Jacksonville	111 753
Thomas, S.	2,127	1,169	3,296	Thomasville	235 877
Troup, W.	3,607	2,192	5,799	Lagrange	133 752
Twiggs, M.	4,495	3,534	8,029	Marion	37 697
Upson, N. W. M.	4,444	2,569	7,013	Upson, C. H.	87 729
Walton, N. W. M.	7,763	3,168	10,931	Monroe	72 641
Ware, S.	1,132	62	1,194	Waresborough	161 776
Warren, N. M.	6,044	4,802	10,846	Warrenton	49 617
Washington, M.	5,905	3,915	9,820	Sandersville	27 669
Wayne, S. E.	676	286	962	Waynesville	190 721
Wilkes, N. W.	5,265	8,972	14,237	Washington	54 573
Wilkinson, M.	4,603	1,955	6,558	Irwinton	20 682
Total.			516,567	of whom 217,470 are slaves.	

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Population.	Increase.	Slaves.	Increase.
In 1749, 6,000			
1790, 82,548		29,264	
1800, 162,686	From 1790 to 1800,	59,699	30,435
1810, 252,433	1800 1810,	89,747	45,519
1820, 348,988	1810 1820,	88,456	149,656
1830, 516,567	1820 1830,	165,578	217,470
			67,814

POPULATION OF THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS.

Savannah, 7,303	Macon, 2,609	Milledgeville, 1,599
Augusta, 6,696	Columbia, 2,000	Athens, 1,100

* From Milledgeville.

† From Washington.

Savannah, the largest town, and the centre of commerce for the state, is on the Savannah River, eighteen miles from the bar at its mouth. Vessels drawing fourteen feet water can come up to the city; larger vessels receive their cargoes three miles below. Augusta is on the Savannah, just below the falls, 127 miles by land north of the Savannah. Large quantities of cotton and other produce are brought to Augusta from the back country, and carried down the river to Savannah. Milledgeville, the seat of government, is on Oconee River, near the centre of the state. Darien is on Altamaha river, twelve miles from the bar at its mouth. It will probably soon be a place of importance, as it is the centre of commerce for the country on the Altamaha and its branches, which is rapidly becoming populous. Sunbury, Brunswick, and St. Mary's, are on the sea-coast, southwest of Savannah. Petersburg is on the Savannah, fifty-three miles above Augusta. Washington is fifty miles northwest of Augusta. Athens is on a branch of the Oconee, about seventy miles north of Milledgeville.

ALABAMA

Is bounded on the north by Tennessee, on the east by Georgia, on the south by Florida, and the Gulf of Mexico, and on the west by Mississippi. It extends from longitude 85° to $88^{\circ} 30'$, and from latitude $30^{\circ} 10'$ to 35° ; is 336 miles long and 195 wide, containing 51,770 square miles.

Alabama, like several other states, is naturally divided into three zones; the northern, traversed by the southwestern extremity of the Apalachian chain, and drained by numerous small rivers flowing into Tennessee, may be considered, if not mountainous, at least very broken, and most pleasantly diversified. The middle or central zone, drained by the various branches of the Coosa, Cahawba, Tuscaloosa, and Tombigbee rivers, gradually assumes a more level surface, and has a soil in general very inferior to the northern. The southern or Pine region is still less broken by hills than the central, and contracted by the western projection of Florida to a strip of sixty miles wide, along Mobile Bay, terminates in the sandy alluvium of the Mexican Gulf.

Extending over almost five degrees of latitude, and rising from the level of the sea on the south to a considerable elevation, perhaps 1000 feet in the north, this state exhibits a marked difference of temperature. It touches rather than enters the region of the sugar cane, but admits in all its extent of the profitable cultivation of cotton. Fruits, from the fig to the apple, flourish abundantly; but even the south-

ern section does not admit the successful production of the orange. Small grain is cultivated, though maize predominates as a crop. Cotton is the staple of the state, but might be superseded by tobacco or indigo, and perhaps by other vegetables. Alabama has been too recently settled to admit the full development of its metallic wealth; nor, except iron, do the known specimens promise great abundance. The climate is mild; indeed, it might be with safety called delightful. Much of the soil is fertile, none utterly barren. By navigable rivers this state possesses great commercial advantages, though comprising only one direct outlet to the sea. Besides many of less note, Alabama is watered by the Tennessee, Tombigbee, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, Cahawba, Coosa, Talapoosa, and Conecuh rivers.

When Alabama was admitted into the union in 1819, the government granted to the state, on certain conditions, one section, or the thirty-sixth part of every township, for the support of schools, and two townships for the establishment of a university. The prospects of the University of Alabama seem to be pleasing. In 1826, the number of acres appropriated for its benefit which had been sold, was 12,718; producing, with interest and rents, the sum of 276,956 dollars. There remained unsold, 33,361 acres, and it is supposed the proceeds of the whole will not be much short of 750,000 dollars.

The University of Alabama, since the period of this European publication, has gone into successful operation. That valuable record of American affairs, the American Almanac, of 1834, has the following account of this institution.

"This institution was incorporated by the General Assembly, Dec., 1820, under the title of the 'University of the State of Alabama;' and, in 1821, two trustees from each judicial circuit were elected by the legislature for three years, the governor of the state being *ex officio* president of the board. The trustees were authorized and required to sell by auction or to rent the University lands; to select a site for the institution; to superintend the erection of the buildings; to appoint officers and fix their salaries, to prescribe the course of studies, and make regulations and laws for the University; and to make an annual report of its financial concerns to the legislature. In the session of 1827-8, the university was placed by the legislature in a fine, healthy situation, about a mile and a half to the east of the state-house in Tuscaloosa, 268 miles NNE. of New Orleans. According to an official report, dated Jan. 14, 1830, 21,845 3-4 acres of the land had been sold for the sum of \$304,651 06, of which \$111,712 59 had been

invested in 6 per cent stock; and 24,234 1-4 acres remained unsold.—The buildings already erected consist of a Rotunda, a circular edifice of three stories, in the centre of the grounds, 70 feet in diameter, and 70 in height, the ground floor or lower story being used for a chapel, for commencements, examinations, &c., the 2d story forming a circular gallery for spectators, and the 3d story forming the library room;—of three edifices, or dormitories, all three stories high, for the accommodation of students, two of them 60 feet by 30, and the other 90 by 30, the two former affording accommodations for 48 students each, the latter for 72;—of a laboratory containing the chemical and philosophical apparatus, cabinet of minerals, and several lecture-rooms;—of a hotel in which the steward resides;—and of four houses for professors. The cost of these buildings has not exceeded \$100,000. In order to complete the plan, there are required three more dormitories, four more houses for professors, and another hotel. The university went into operation in April, 1831, a president and three professors having been previously appointed; and the first commencement

was held in Dec., 1832. The library consists of 2,000 volumes, and about a thousand additional volumes have been ordered.”

Five per cent of the net proceeds arising from the sale of the public lands is appropriated to making roads and canals, and improving the navigation of rivers. As the condition of these grants, the state agrees that no lands belonging to the United States shall be taxed for any purpose for the term of five years from the day of sale, and that all the navigable waters within the state shall for ever remain public highways, free to all the citizens of the United States, without any tax or toll. A water communication, to unite the Tennessee with the Alabama, is contemplated.

The Baptists in this state have 12 associations, 219 churches, 130 ministers, and 8,953 communicants; the Methodists, 44 preachers and 13,504 members; the Presbyterians, 38 churches, 27 ministers, 6 licentiates, and 1,669 communicants; the Roman Catholics, 9 ministers; the Episcopalians, 2 ministers.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population.	County Towns.	Distance. T. * | W. †	
Autauga, M.	11,872	Washington	129	869
Baldwin, S.	2,324	Blakely	228	1020
Bibb, M.	6,305	Centreville	39	837
Blount, N. M.	4,233	Blountsville	110	748
Butler, S. M.	5,634	Greenville	143	503
Clarke, S. M.	7,584	Clarksville	146	969
Conecuh, S.	7,444	Sparta	205	971
Covington, S.	1,522	Montezuma	187	947
Dale, S.	2,021	Dale, C. H.	242	1002
Dallas, M.	14,017	Cahawba	96	886
Fayette, N. M.	3,470	Fayette, C. H.	50	874
Franklin, N. W.	11,078	Russellville	127	801
Greene, W. M.	15,025	Erie	47	896
Henry, S. E.	3,955	Columbia	180	872
Jackson, N. E.	12,703	{ Bellefonte	172	686
Jefferson, M.	6,855	{ Woodville	185	708
Lauderdale, N. W.	11,782	Elyton	59	799
Lawrence, N.	24,984	Florence	146	796
Limestone, N.	14,848	Moulton	102	779
Lowndes	9,421	Athens	130	751
Madison, N.	28,011	Lowndes, C. H.	138	882
Marengo, S. M.	7,742	Huntsville	155	726
Marion, N. W.	4,058	Linden	78	914
Mobile, S. W.	3,071	Pikeville	118	880
Mobile, city	3,194	{ Mobile	236	1033
Monroe, S. M.	8,780	Claiborne	157	949
Montgomery, S. M.	12,694	Montgomery	119	859
Morgan, N.	9,053	Somerville	135	751
Perry, M.	11,509	Perry, C. H.	61	865
Pickens, W.	6,620	Pickens	48	906
Pike, S. E.	7,103	Pike, C. H.	179	909
St. Clair, N. E. M.	5,975	Ashville	129	747
Shelby, M.	5,521	Shelbyville	73	803
Tuscaloosa, M.	13,646	TUSCALOOSA		858
Walker, N. M.	2,202	Walker, C. H.	47	834
Washington, S. W.	3,478	Washington, C. H.	146	982
Wilcox, S. M.	9,469	Canton	113	912
Total	308,997, of whom 117,294 are slaves.			

* From Tuscaloosa.

† From Washington.

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Population.	Increase.	Slaves.
In 1810, less than 10,000		
1816, 29,683		
1818, 70,542		
1820, 127,901		In 1820, 41,879
1827, 244,041		1827, 93,008
1830, 308,997	From 1820 to 1830, 181,096	1830, 117,294

Mobile is on the western channel of the Mobile River, near its entrance into Mobile Bay. It is built on a high bank, in a dry and commanding situation; but the approach to the town for vessels drawing more than eight feet of water is difficult and circuitous. The country in the rear is unsettled pine woods. While this town was under the dominion of the French and Spaniards, it was a mere military post. When it came into possession of the United States, in 1813, it contained only 100 houses; but since the rapid progress of the settlements on the Tombigbee and the Alabama, an attempt has been made to make it the depot for the produce of the country on those rivers. There is, however, a vigorous rivalry between this place and Blakely. Blakely is on the Tensaw, or eastern outlet of the Mobile, ten miles east-north-east of Mobile. It is a new town, laid out in 1813, and has considerable advantages as an emporium for commerce. The same wind that enables a vessel to enter Mobile Bay will carry her to the wharves of Blakely. Another advantage is an open road to the rapidly improving country on the Alabama. Vessels drawing twelve feet of water can enter the port at full tide. The town is abundantly supplied with excellent water.—Huntsville is a flourishing town in Madison county, on Indian Creek, ten miles north of the Tennessee. The surrounding country is fertile, and rapidly increasing in population.

MISSISSIPPI.

This state has for its northern boundary the state of Tennessee; for its eastern that of Alabama; its southern is formed partly by the Gulf of Mexico, and partly by Louisiana; and its western by Louisiana and the Arkansas territory; from which it is divided by the Mississippi. The state extends from longitude 88° 30' to 91° 50', and from latitude 30° 08' to 35°. Length from north to south, 338 miles. Mr. Darby states that the area of this state has never been very accurately determined; but estimates it at above 51,000 square miles, with a mean width of 150 miles.

The state of Mississippi is washed on its western border by the Mississippi; the Tennessee touches the northeast angle, and the sources of the Tombig-

bee, Pascagoula, Pearl, Amite, Homochitto, and Yazoo, drain the interior. Apart from the islands of the Gulf of Mexico, the soil of Mississippi is divisible into three portions. First, the alluvial borders of the rivers; second, the bluffs adjacent to the Mississippi overflow; and third, pine forest land. The flat margin of the Mississippi on the left or east bank, is less valuable than similar soil on the opposite side. This difference is produced by the bluffs, confining the water, and subjecting the river border to more frequent and more durable inundation than takes place on the west side, where the waters are freely drained into remote swamps and outlets. Rising from the Mississippi alluvium, the bluffs are followed by a waving, productive country. This commences in Louisiana, as low down as Iberville, and with the mere interruptions of the streams, stretches into Tennessee, with a width of from ten to thirty or forty miles. It may be doubted whether, every thing considered, the bluff zone of Mississippi is exceeded in value by any tract in the United States. In its natural state, and so in great part it still continues, it was covered with a heavy forest, with a great variety of vines and underwood. In the primitive settlements near Natchez, tobacco, indigo, and cotton, have been successfully staples, and all have been produced luxuriantly. The latter has prevailed within the last thirty years. Much excellent land exists along the streams over the whole state, and when brought under cultivation, produces similar vegetables with the bluff lands. The pine forest, with other interval land of various but inferior quality, constitutes the greater part of the surface of the state, and will preclude a dense population, except in detached places, unless objects of culture can be introduced suitable to the now useless soils.

What has been stated respecting the climate of Alabama, may be repeated with regard to that of Mississippi, except that, being more exposed to the winds of the northwest, the temperature of the latter is lower than that of the former in winter. Neither sugar cane nor the orange can be cultivated above latitude 31°, nor even below that line, to any advantage, in the state of Mississippi. The winters are very unequal in point of temperature, and often severe in the vicinity of Natchez. Snow, more or less,

occurs annually, and the thermometer has shown a depression of the mercury to 12° above zero.

About one half of the territory of this state, embracing the northern and northeastern parts, is in the possession of the Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians. In 1820, the Choctaws ceded to the United States a large tract, including all their lands on the Mississippi below the mouth of the Arkansas.

In the act of congress admitting this state into the union, the government agreed, that, after paying a debt of 1,250,000 dollars to Georgia, and indemnifying certain claimants, five per cent of the net proceeds of the public lands lying within the state, shall be applied to roads and canals. As the condition of this grant, the state has provided, that the public lands shall be exempted from all taxes while belonging to the United States, and for five years from the day of sale; that lands belonging to citizens of the United States residing without the state, shall never be taxed higher than lands belonging to persons residing therein; and that the river Mississippi, and the navigable rivers or waters leading into the same or into the Gulf of Mexico, shall be common highways, and for ever free of toll or duty to all citizens of the United States. In 1829, a Board of Internal

Improvement was organized by the legislature, consisting of the governor and three commissioners. The Board was authorized to employ a civil engineer, and to negotiate a loan of 200,000 dollars upon the credit of the state, to be appropriated to the improvement of the navigable streams and public roads.

The state has a Literary Fund, derived from "escheats, confiscations, forfeitures, and all personal property accruing to the state as derelict; fines, and pecuniary penalties, and forfeitures, recovered of persons for the visitation of any penal statute, or for crimes and misdemeanors." No portion of this fund can be distributed till it shall amount to 50,000 dollars, except as much as shall be necessary for the education of the children of the poor. Increasing attention has of late been paid to the subject of education, and there are now several flourishing seminaries in this state.

The Methodists in this state have 23 preachers, and 5,918 members; the Baptists, 3 associations, 58 churches, 12 ministers, and 1,714 communicants; the Presbyterians, 25 churches, 21 ministers, 3 licentiates, and about 950 communicants; the Episcopalians, 4 ministers; and there are some Roman Catholics.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population.	County Towns.	Distance.	
			J.*	W.†
Adams, s. w.	12,129 }	Natchez	112	1146
Natchez, city	2,790 }	Liberty	122	1156
Amite, s. w.	7,943	Port Gibson	67	1101
Claiborne, w.	9,818	Gallatin	53	1087
Copiah, s. w. m.	7,024	Williamsburgh	53	1087
Covington, s. m.	2,549	Meadville	105	1139
Franklin, s. w.	4,622	Leaksville	171	1046
Greene, s. e.	1,849	Pearlington	200	1135
Hancock, s.	1,961	JACKSON		1035
Hinds, m.	8,619 }	Raymond	19	1053
Jackson, s. e.	1,789	Jackson, C. H.	213	1073
Jefferson, s. w.	9,755	Fayette	93	1127
Jones, s. m.	1,471	Ellisville	134	1054
Lawrence, s. m.	5,321	Monticello	88	1120
Lowndes	3,342	Columbus	134	900
Madison, e.	4,973	Livingston	31	1055
Marion, s.	3,701	Columbia	120	1097
Monroe, e.	3,855	Hamilton	150	916
Perry, s. e.	2,285	Augusta	137	1063
Pike, s.	5,402	Holmesville	151	1128
Rankin, w.	2,084	Brandon	16	1051
Simpson, s. m.	2,666	Westville	56	1090
Warren, w.	7,861	Vicksburgh	54	1089
Washington	1,976	Princeton	119	1154
Wayne, e.	2,778	Winchester	165	1008
Wilkinson, s. w.	11,693	Woodville	148	1182
Yazoo, w.	6,550	Benton	54	1075

* From Jackson.

† From Washington.

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

The country now forming the states of Mississippi and Alabama, was erected into a territorial government by the name of the Mississippi territory, in 1798, and so continued till 1817. Population in 1800, 8,850; in 1810, 40,352:—of Mississippi alone, in 1816, 45 929.

	Increase.	Slaves.	Increase.
In 1820, 75,448		32,814	
1830, 136,806	From 1820 to 1830, 61,358	65,659	32,845

Natchez, the largest town, contained 2,184 inhabitants in 1820; in 1830, 2,790. Some of the other most considerable towns are Port Gibson, Vicksburgh, Woodville, and Monticello.

Mr. Schoolcraft has recently published a work on the sources of the Mississippi, of great research and value. It deserves a close reading with his former work on the Missouri and Arkansas territory.

LOUISIANA

Is bounded on the north by the Arkansas territory, on the east by the state of Mississippi, on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, and on the west by the Salina River, which separates it from Texas, a province of Mexico. It extends from longitude 89° to $94^{\circ} 5'$; its extreme southern point is in latitude $28^{\circ} 56'$, and its northern latitude, 33° . The longest line that can be drawn in Louisiana is from the mouth of the Mississippi to the northwest angle on Sabine, 380 miles; the irregular form renders a correct estimate of its mean width difficult, but 120 miles is not far from accurate; area, 48,220 square miles.

There is not, perhaps, on earth, a continuous tract of equal extent, presenting a greater diversity than Louisiana. Within its limits are included all the varieties, from the most recent, and still periodically inundated alluvium, to hills approaching the magnitude of mountains; every quality of soil, from the most productive to the most steril, and from unwooded plains to dense forests. All the southern part of this state is an alluvial tract of low champaign country, extending from Lake Borgne to Sabine river, and from the Gulf of Mexico to Baton Rouge and Red River,—about 250 miles long, and from seventy to 140 wide. This extensive tract is intersected by numerous rivers, bays, creeks, and lakes, dividing the country into a great number of islands. The country about the Balize is one continued swamp, destitute of trees, and covered with a species of coarse reeds, from four to five feet high; and nothing can be more dreary than the prospect from a ship's mast, while passing this immense waste. A large extent of coun-

try in this state is annually overflowed by the Mississippi. According to Mr. Darby, the average width of overflowed lands above Red River, from latitude 31° to 33° north, may be assumed at twenty miles; equal to 2,770 square miles. Below latitude 31° to the efflux of the Lafourche, about eighty miles in extent, the inundation is about forty miles in width; equal to 3,200 square miles. All the country below the efflux of the Lafourche is liable to be inundated, equal to 2,370 square miles more. From this calculation it appears that 8,340 square miles are liable to be inundated by the overflowing of the Mississippi; and if to this be added 2,550 square miles for the inundated lands on Red River, the whole surface of the state liable to inundation will amount to 10,890 square miles. Of this extent, however, not one half is actually covered annually with water. The immediate banks of the streams are seldom, and many of them never inundated, and they afford strips of rich arable land, from a mile to a mile and a half wide.

Embankments are erected on the margin of the Mississippi, called levees, to prevent the water from overflowing the plantations during the periodical floods. On the east side of the Mississippi, the embankment commences above 125 miles above New Orleans, and extends down the river to Fort St. Philip. On the west shore, it commences at the Atchafalaya, 239 miles above New Orleans. The levee is commonly about five feet high, and twelve feet in diameter at the base, with sufficient width at the top for a foot path; but at points where the current acts with greater force, it is sometimes fifteen feet high, and thirty feet at the base. As there is no stone to be had, the only material used is a soft clay. A crevasse, is a breach formed in the levee by the waters of the river in time of inundation. "A crevasse," says Mr. Brackenridge, "rushes from the river with indescribable impetuosity, and a noise like the roaring of a cataract, boiling and foaming, and tearing every thing before it." When a crevasse occurs, the inhabitants for miles above and below instantly abandon every employment, and hasten to the spot, when every exertion is made by day and night to stop the breach; their efforts are sometimes successful, but more frequently the hostile element is suffered to take its course, and the consequences are the destruction of the crop and the buildings; sometimes the land itself is much injured, the current carrying away the soil, or leaving numerous logs and trees which must be destroyed before it can again be cultivated.

From its southern latitude, it might seem reasonable to expect in Louisiana a very warm climate; and this has been reckoned upon to a greater extent

than experience justifies. The winters are in fact more severe, and the mean temperature lower than in higher latitudes by 2° on the Atlantic. In reality, as far as vegetation can decide the question, the seasons may be considered milder at Charleston, South Carolina, latitude 32° 42', than at New Orleans in latitude 30°."

Sugar and rice are the staples of the state generally, below latitude 30°, and cotton above that line. The latter is cultivated in every section of the country, and sugar, partially, to near the northern boundary; but avidity of gain, in some instances, has instigated to an unprofitable struggle with the laws of nature. The whole produce of sugar in Louisiana, in the year 1828, was stated at 88,878 hogsheads of 1,000 pounds each; and the capital invested in sugar estates was estimated at 45,000,000 dollars; the number of sugar plantations, in 1827, being about 700. In fruits Louisiana is abundant; amongst those successfully cultivated may be mentioned, the apple in the northern parts; the peach, and the fig, of several species, over the whole state; the orange nearly commensurate with sugar cane; the pome-

granate over the state, wherever attempted. Garden vegetables generally seem to have no assignable limit on a soil so varied, and in a climate so near the tropics. It may seem incredible that horticulture should be neglected in Louisiana, but such is the fact; and a fact the more unaccountable, as some individual gardens would seem irresistibly alluring to imitation.

In April, 1831, the rail-road from New Orleans to Lake Ponchartrain was opened. It is four miles and a half long, perfectly straight, and its ascent and descent only sixteen inches. The company are constructing an artificial harbour and breakwater in the lake, at the end of the rail-road. These works have caused a great rise in the value of property in the vicinity.

The Roman Catholics are the most numerous religious denomination in this state, which is divided into upwards of 20 ecclesiastical parishes, most of which are provided with priests. The Baptists have 1 association, 28 churches, 14 ministers, and 1,021 communicants; the Methodists, 6 preachers, and 1,573 members; the Presbyterians, 3 churches, 4 ministers, 1 licentiate, and 200 communicants; the Episcopalians, 3 ministers.

TABLE OF THE PARISHES AND SEATS OF JUSTICE.

EASTERN DISTRICT.					
Parishes.	Population.	Seats of Justice.	Distance.		
			N. O.*	W.†	
Ascension, s. e. m.	5,400	Donaldson	75	1278	
Assumption, s. e. m.	5,670	Assumption, C. H.	90	1293	
Baton Rouge, East, m.	6,717	Concordia			
Baton Rouge, West, m.	3,092	Baton Rouge	117	1237	
Concordia, n. e.	4,662				
Feliciana, East, e. m.	8,247	Jackson	158	1193	
Feliciana, West, e. m.	8,629	St. Francisville	149	1205	
Iberville, s. e. m.	7,050	Iberville	98	1256	
Jefferson, s. e.	6,846	Coquille	202	1149	
Lafourche Interior, s.	5,500	Thibadeauxville	106	1311	
Orleans, s. e.	3,793	NEW ORLEANS		1203	
New Orleans, city and suburbs	46,310	Fort Jackson	75	1278	
Plaquemines, s. e.	4,489	Point Coupee	154	1210	
Point Coupee, m.	5,936				
St. Bernard, s. e. m.	3,356				
St. Charles, s. e. m.	5,107	St. Helena	98	1212	
St. Helena, e. m.	4,027	Bringier's	60	1262	
St. James, s. e. m.	7,672	Bonnet Carré	36	1241	
St. John Baptist, s. e. m.	5,700	Covington	44	1159	
St. Tammany, e.	2,864	Williamsburgh			
Terre Bonne, s.	2,121	Franklinton		1162	
Washington, e.	2,286				
Total	155,318, of whom 80,421 are slaves.				
WESTERN DISTRICT.					
Avoyelles, m.	3,488	Marksville	240	1247	
Catahoula, n. m.	2,576	Harrisonburgh	251	1186	
Claiborne	1,764	Russellville	441	1274	
Lafayette, s.	5,606	Vermillionville	192	1351	
Natchitoches, n. w.	7,926	Natchitoches	354	1328	
Rapides, m.	7,559	Alexandria	272	1246	
St. Landry, s. w.	12,552	Opelousas	192	1326	
St. Martin's, s.	7,204	St. Martinsville	176	1366	
St. Mary's, s.	6,442	Franklin	141	1344	
Washita, n.	5,140	Monroe	323	1258	
Total	60,257, of whom 29,210 are slaves.				

* From New Orleans.

† From Washington.

	Population.	Slaves.
Eastern District	155,318	80,421
Western District	60,257	29,210
Total of Louisiana	215,575	109,631

New Orleans, the capital, is regularly laid out on the left bank of the Mississippi, 104 miles from its mouth by the course of the river, and about ninety in a direct line. The streets are generally forty feet wide, and cross each other at right angles. On the streets near the river the houses are principally of brick, but in the back part of the town of wood. New Orleans is admirably situated for trade, being near the mouth of a river whose branches extend for thousands of miles in opposite directions, and open communications with the whole valley of the Mississippi. It is already one of the greatest emporiums of commerce in America, and the introduction of steam navigation on the Mississippi daily adds to its importance. The population has increased rapidly. In 1802, it was estimated at 10,000; in 1810, it was 17,242; in 1820, 27,146; and in 1830, 46,310.

Besides the navigation of the Mississippi, New Orleans has a convenient inland communication with Alabama, &c., by Lake Pontchartrain, to which there is a bayou and canal extending from a basin in the rear of the city, navigable for sloops and schooners.

Baton Rouge is situated on the left bank of the Mississippi, 138 miles above New Orleans, on the first considerable natural elevated bank which reaches that river above its mouth. This town contains about seventy houses, and 350 inhabitants. St. Francisville stands on an elevated bank near the mouth of Bayou Sara, and about one fourth of a mile from the Mississippi, 170 miles above New Orleans. It is a thriving little village, and the mart of the adjacent country. Natchitoches, the largest town west of the Mississippi, is on Red River, 200 miles above its junction with the Mississippi. The French established it as a military post in 1717, and about one third of its present inhabitants are of French origin. The population in 1818 was estimated at more than 600, exclusive of the garrison. Alexandria is a new and flourishing settlement on Red River, 120 miles from its mouth, and eighty miles below Natchitoches. Madisonville is on the north side of Lake Pontchartrain, twenty-seven miles north of New Orleans.

Of the several publications written of late on Louisiana, that of Judge Brackenridge is among the best and most ample. The late Historical Tract of the Abbe Marbois, on the purchase of Louisiana, deserves also close perusal. The American translator has added to the value of the original work.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TERRITORIES.—ARKANSAS—FLORIDA—MICHIGAN—CHIPPEWAYAN DESERT—OREGON.

ARKANSAS.

THIS extensive territory is bounded by the state of Missouri on the north; the Mississippi River on the east; Louisiana on the south; and Texas and the western territories of the United States on the west. It lies between longitude 90° and 100°, and latitude 32° 40' and 36° 30'. Greatest length from the Mississippi, 550 miles; mean breadth, 220; area, 121,340 square miles. It was erected into a territory in the year 1819.

Arkansas is naturally divided into three sections; the eastern or alluvial, towards the Mississippi; the central or mountainous, broken by the Ozark system; and the western or prairie. Proceeding westward from the Mississippi, an unbroken plain, covered with a dense forest, is succeeded by a very gradual ascent, partially forest and partially prairie, rising into hills of increasing elevation towards the west. A distinct chain of mountains rises in Missouri, and stretching south west over Arkansas, terminates in Texas, towards the Rio del Norte. The western, interior, and prairie section of Arkansas, as extensive as both the preceding, if not more so, is properly the commencement of that ocean of grass which spreads from the forests of the Mississippi to the summits of the Chippewayan mountains. From these grassy plains issue those numerous confluent which form the great volume of the Arkansas River. The Canadian, a considerable stream formed by three branches, unites with the Arkansas proper at the western foot of the Ozark mountains, and these together form the second largest constituent branch of the Mississippi. Breaking through the mountains, the Arkansas rolls towards the Mississippi, but in a course of 300 miles receives no farther accession beyond the size of a large creek. The general features of this extensive region are defectively explored. The Ozark tract is supposed to be prolific in mineral treasures; in fact the lower lead mines of Missouri, at and around Potosi, belong to this region. Muriate of soda (common salt) so much abounds in the western plains, as to render unfit for use the waters of Arkansas.

The Methodists in this territory have 7 preachers and 983 members; the Baptists, 1 association, 8 churches, 2 ministers, and 88 communicants; the Roman Catholics, several priests; the Presbyterians, 3 or 4 ministers; and the Episcopalians, 1 minister.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population.	County Towns.	Distance.	
			L. R.*	W.†
Arkansas, E.	1,423	Arkansas	114	1064
Chicot, S. E.	1,165	Villemont	184	1134
Clark, E. M.	1,369	Clark, C. H.	87	1155
Conway, E. M.	982	Harrisburgh	40	1108
Crawford, M.	2,440	Crawford, C. H.	136	1204
Crittenden, N. E.	1,272	Greenock	168	936
Hempstead, S.	2,507	Hempstead, C. H.	130	1198
Hot or Warm Spring, M.	458	Warm Spring	50	1128
Independence, N.	2,032	Batesville	102	1044
Izard, M.	1,266	Izard, C. H.	172	1114
Jackson	333	Litchfield		
Jefferson	772			
Lafayette, S.	748	Lafayette, C. H.	182	1250
Lawrence, N. E.	2,806	Jackson	152	994
Miller, S. W.	358	Miller, C. H.	228	1296
Monroe	461	Jacob's Staff	84	1034
Phillips, E.	1,152	Helena	124	1074
Pope	1,483	Scotia	81	1149
Pulaski, M.	2,395	LITTLE ROCK		1068
St. Francis	1,505	Franklin		
Sevier	626	Paraclista	163	1236
Union	640	Corea Fabre		
Washington	2,181	Fayetteville	217	1235
Total	30,383, of whom 4,578 are slaves.			

Little Rock, the seat of government of the territory, is situated on the south side of the Arkansas, in latitude $34^{\circ} 44'$ north, and longitude 15° west of Washington. Cadron is situated on the north bank of the Arkansas, thirty-five miles above Little Rock. The post or town of Arkansas, is on Arkansas River, about thirty-five miles from its mouth in a straight line, but about sixty-five miles by the course of the river, which is remarkable for its numerous windings; in consequence of which, boats generally proceed to the Mississippi by the White River, which communicates with the Arkansas by what is denominated the Cut-off, a deep though winding bayou. It is one of the most ancient settlements west of the Mississippi, having been established by the French before the beginning of the last century. Hopefield is a settlement on the Mississippi, nearly opposite Memphis in the state of Tennessee. Helena, the county town of Phillips, is a thriving village, also on the Mississippi. Batesville, the seat of justice of Independence County, is on White River, and carries on a considerable trade in cotton and furs. Here is situated the land office for the northern district of the territory.

FLORIDA.

This territory is peninsular, having the Atlantic on the east, the Gulf of Florida on the south, and the Gulf of Mexico on the west; the states of Alabama and Georgia form the northern boundary. This is the most southern section of the union, ex-

tending from latitude $24^{\circ} 40'$ to 31° ; its extremes of longitude are $80^{\circ} 25'$ and $87^{\circ} 20'$. Following a curved line along the peninsula, from Florida Point, and continuing to Perdido River, at north latitude 31° , the length of Florida is about 600 miles; mean breadth, 90; and area, 54,000 square miles.

Embracing six degrees of latitude, a considerable difference of seasons must be experienced in Florida; but from the general uniformity of surface, and from being enclosed on three sides by the sea, the transitions of temperature are seldom very rapid or violent. Florida is naturally divided into two very different zones by the twenty-eighth degree of latitude: above it, the surface of the country is more broken, better timbered, and the soil of a superior quality; below it, the land is in great part marshy, flat, and devoid of timber, the true palm-tree section of the United States. The thermometer in summer usually stands between eighty-four and eighty-eight degrees of Fahrenheit in the shade; and in July and August frequently rises to ninety-four degrees. The sun is scorching hot at noon. In winter it very rarely freezes, nor is the cold ever so severe as to injure the China orange. From the end of September to the end of June, "there is not," says Volney, "perhaps, a finer climate in the world."

Florida abounds in vegetable productions of great variety, and of luxuriant growth. It is remarkable for the majestic appearance of its towering forest trees, and the brilliant colours of its flowering shrubs. Many rich fruits, particularly limes, prunes, peaches,

* From Little Rock.

† From Washington.

grapes, and figs, grow wild in the forests. St. John's River, and some of the lakes, are bordered with orange groves; and olives are cultivated with success. Some of the most important productions to which the

country is well adapted, are sugar, coffee, cotton, rice, indigo, tobacco, vines, olives, oranges, and various other tropical fruits. Cultivation has been extended only to some very small tracts.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.		Population.	County Towns.	Distance.	
				T.*	W.+
West Florida.	Escambia, N. W.	3,386	Pensacola	242	1050
	Jackson	6,092	Marianna	77	927
	Walton, W.		Alaqua	161	1011
	Washington, M.		Holmes' Valley	121	971
Middle Florida.	Gadsden, N. M.	4,894	Quincy	23	873
	Hamilton, N. M.	553	Miccotown		
	Jefferson, N. M.	3,312	Monticello	29	925
	Leon, N. M.	6,493	TALLAHASSEE		896
East Florida.	Madison	525	Hickstown		
	Alachua, M.	2,204	Dell's	178	875
	Duval, N. E.	1,970	Jacksonville	252	801
	Mosquito	733	Timoka		
S. Florida.	Nassau, N. E.	1,511	Fernandina	313	776
	St. John's, E.	2,535	St. Augustine	292	841
	Monroe, S.	517	Key West		
Total		34,723, of whom 15,510 are slaves.			

Tallahassee, the capital, was founded in 1824, between the rivers Oeklockonnee and St. Mark's, and twenty-three miles north of the Gulf of Mexico, in latitude 30° 20', longitude 84° 8'. It was endowed with the proceeds of the lots of which the town is composed, to be invested in public buildings, and it is rising into importance with the settlement of the country. St. Augustine is a sea-port on the eastern coast, in latitude 29° 51'. It is regularly laid out, the streets intersecting each other at right angles. The houses are generally two stories high, and built of a peculiar kind of stone, a concretion of shells found near the sea shore. The situation is pleasant, fresh water abundant, the atmosphere dry and healthful. Invalids frequently resort thither for benefit. The soil in the vicinity is generally sandy, yet it produces oranges, corn, and esculent plants, in great perfection. The harbour is good, but the bar at its mouth has only ten feet water; the anchorage outside the bar is also good. At St. Augustine is a strong fort, built by the Spaniards, capable of carrying sixty cannon, and extensive barracks, a court-house, and two stone churches, catholic and presbyterian. St. Augustine is estimated to contain a population of 1,400 souls. Pensacola is a sea port of the Gulf of Mexico, on the bay of the same name, nine miles from the sea. It stands on a dry sandy plain, elevated eighteen or

twenty feet above the level of the water. The population amounts to about 2,000. It has a catholic church, and a navy-yard is about to be established by the United States in the vicinity.

MICHIGAN.

At the opposite extremity of the republic is another peninsular territory,—Michigan; not indeed rendered peninsular by the ocean, but by the fresh-water seas which divide the United States from the British provinces. This territory is bounded on the north by the Straits of Michilimackinac, on the northeast by Lake Huron, on the east by the St. Clair River, Lake St. Clair, Detroit River, and Lake Erie, on the south by the states of Ohio and Indiana, and on the west by Lake Michigan. It extends from longitude 82° to 86°, and latitude 35° to 45° 20', having an area of 34,000 square miles.‡

The peninsula of Michigan is composed chiefly of tableland, resting upon a bed of limestone and argillaceous sandstone. The interior, towards the sources of the rivers, is generally level and interspersed with lakes and morasses. An inclined plain, about twenty miles in width, skirts the peninsula on the east, north, and west sides. The rivers towards their sources have a sluggish current; when they

* From Tallahassee.

† From Washington.

‡ The preceding is that tongue of land which stretches northward from Indiana and Ohio, and is particularly designated the Territory of Michigan; but for temporary purposes, the United States government has connected with the peninsula an immense region, improperly called the Northwest Territory, towards the

sources of the Mississippi, and embraced within the following boundaries:—area, 140,000 square miles, equal to 89,600,000 acres, to which if we add the peninsular part, we have 174,000 square miles, or 111,360,000 acres. From the northeast angle of the state of Illinois to the northwest angle of Trans-Michigan, the territory is 650 miles long. The breadth is very irregular, but averages about 200 miles.

approach the declivity they become more rapid, but generally become sluggish again a few miles above their mouths. In the interior, particularly towards the northwest, there are extensive prairies; and marshes in many places border the mouths of the rivers; but more than seven-eighths of the whole peninsula is covered with a dense forest. The surface of the country along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan consists of sand-hills, sometimes covered with stunted trees and a scanty vegetation, but generally bare, and thrown by the wind into innumerable fantastic forms. This tract has been gained from the lake; and the land is still encroaching upon the water, every storm throwing up new quantities of sand. A large part of the soil is fertile and well adapted to the purposes of agriculture. The principal settlements are in the southeast; smaller settlements are at Michilimackinac in the north, and at Green Bay, west of the lake. But a small portion of the land has yet been purchased.

The climate is healthy, and usually, though probably fallaciously, accounted more mild than in similar parallels on the Atlantic.

The forest trees are of great variety. The wild rice, or wild oats, is a valuable natural production, covering the marshes near the margins of the lakes and rivers. The soil is well adapted to wheat, rye, oats, barley, flax, hemp, garden vegetables, and grasses. No part of the United States is more abundantly supplied with fish, aquatic fowls, and wild game. The fish are of various kinds, but chiefly white fish and salmon-trout, both of exquisite flavour. The trout weigh from ten to seventy pounds.

This territory is favourably situated for commerce, being almost surrounded by navigable waters, which are expected before long to be connected with the Mississippi on one hand, and the Hudson on the other. The vessels that navigate the lake usually carry from ten to sixty tons. Detroit and Michilimackinac are ports of entry.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS.

Counties.	Population.	County Towns.	Distance.	
			D.*	W.†
Berrien	323	Niles	179	651
Cass	928	Edwardsburgh	169	643
Jackson		Jacksonopolis	88	563
Lenawee, s. e.	1,491	Tecumseh	63	512
Macomb, s. e.	2,414	Mount Clemens	25	552
Michilimackinac, n.	877	Mackinac	321	847
Monroe, s. e.	3,187	Monroe	36	490
Oakland, s. e. m.	4,910	Pontiac	26	552
St. Clair, e.	1,115	St. Clair	59	585
St. Joseph	1,313	White Pigeon Prairie		
Van Buren	5			
Washtenaw, s. m.	4,042	Ann Arbor	42	535
Wayne, s. e.	4,565	Detroit		526
Detroit, city	2,222			
COUNTIES WEST OF LAKE MICHIGAN.				
Brown	964	Menomonie		
Chippewa	625	Sault de St. Marie	356	882
Crawford	692	Prairie du Chien	598	1000
Iowa	1,589	Helena		
Total	31,260, of whom 27 are slaves.			

Detroit, the capital of the territory, is on Detroit river, nine miles from lake St. Clair. It was settled as early as 1683, by the French from Canada, for the purposes of the fur trade. At present its trade is chiefly with Ohio and New York, and with the military posts on the upper lakes. In 1818, the amount of shipping was 849 tons. The fort is a regular work, with parapets and bastions, and surrounded by palisadoes, a deep ditch, and a glacis. In 1820, the population was 1422. Michilimackinac, commonly called Mackinaw, is on an island of the same name, in the straits of Michilimackinac. The

island is about nine miles in circumference, and the village is on the southeast side of it, on a small cove, which is surrounded with a steep cliff 150 feet high: on the top of the cliff stands the fort. Behind the fort, at the distance of half a mile, is another summit, 150 feet higher, and 300 feet above the level of the lake, on which Fort Holmes is erected; from this spot there is an extensive prospect over Lakes Huron and Michigan. During the summer, Mackinaw is the resort of many Indians and fur traders. Fort Gratiot is a military post on St. Clair River, and defends the entrance into Lake Huron. The Sault de St. Marie

* From Detroit.

† From Washington.

is of importance as a military and trading post, being at the head of ship navigation on the great lakes, and the grand thoroughfare of Indian communication for the upper countries, as far as the arctic circle, all the fur trade of the northwest being compelled to pass through it. The government of the United States resolved to occupy this post, and in June, 1820, obtained from the Chippewayan Indians the cession of a tract of land four miles square, commencing at the Sault, and extending two miles up, and the same distance down, with a depth of four miles.

CHIPPEWAYAN DESERT—OREGON.

The entire extent of the North American republic is far from being comprehended in the states and territories which have now been described. In addition to these is the wide expanse of the Chippewayan Desert, to the westward of Missouri, Illinois, and Michigan; and the district of Oregon, lying between the Chippewayan Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. Although subject to the dominion of the United States, and constituting a portion of its territory, its government in these regions has rather a nominal than a real existence. It does not appear to have any magisterial representation, or any judicial officer; nor have the scattered inhabitants of this waste a voice in national affairs or a civil existence of any degree. In full possession of personal liberty, they roam or rest in these almost boundless regions, while here and there a military station is the only signal of authority, and preventive of wrong. As may be supposed, the tenants of the wild are comparatively few, and of a daring and lawless character. Some are allured by the profits to be derived from the pursuit of the chase; and others by the congeniality of such a life with a reckless and adventurous spirit.

The whole region possessed by the United States, westward of the Chippewayan range, is comprehended under the name of Oregon. The waters that rise on the western declivities of these mountains, flow into the Columbia, the Multnomah, and the Lake Buena Ventura. Most of the elevated summits of the mountains are above the limits of perpetual congelation. Beyond the mountains the country descends by regular belts in the form of immense terraces, or descending plains, disposed regularly, the one below the other. Beyond the first plain, and between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, is another extensive and high chain of mountains, in which are the great falls of the Columbia. Still west of these, and running parallel with the coast, and at the distance of 150 miles, is the third and last chain. The peaks of all these chains are covered with perpetual snow. The highest peaks have been named Mount

Baker, Mount Regnier, Mount St. Helens, Mount Hood, and Mount Jefferson. The only rivers explored in this region are the Columbia and its branches.

Being sheltered on the north by protecting ridges of mountains, and the breezes from the west being softened by coming over an immense extent of sea, the climate is as mild as it is in the country east of these mountains, four or five degrees to the southward. Langsdorf describes the country on the southern limit as the country of oranges and figs, of verdure, health, and fertility. We scarcely remember to have seen more sober pictures of a desirable country than those drawn by him of that region; they correspond with the accounts of Lewis and Clark, as well as those of other travellers, who have explored it. When the intelligent and intrepid adventurers we have just named left the country, in March, and in the latitude of Montreal, the prairies were in blossom, and the forwardness of the season seems to have corresponded with that of North Carolina at the same time. The winters are rainy, and some parts of them severe.

This country was discovered by the Spaniards. In 1791, Captain Gray, of the ship *Columbia*, of Boston, entered the river, and from his ship it received its name. It was occasionally entered by navigators afterwards. In 1805, Lewis and Clark descended this river from the mountains to the Pacific, and spent the winter on its shore. They returned by the same river to the mountains; and most of the exact information that we have respecting the country, is derived from them. For some years a settlement of fur traders, called Astoria, (after John Jacob Astor, a merchant of New York,) has existed here; and the chief intercourse of this place is with China. In the neighbourhood of Astoria is a military post, called Fort Clatsop, or Fort George. The question of permanently settling this delightful country has been more than once debated in congress. Were such settlements authorized, and rendered secure by the requisite military establishments, there can be no doubt but it would receive large accessions of emigrants. The number of Indians of the different tribes is estimated at 140,000.

In the description of the different states, we have, for the sake of compression, omitted the particulars of the rivers and lakes, and some other portions of natural geography, of which a general account has already appeared in the first part of this volume. We trust that satisfactory information has been conveyed, alike interesting to those who delight to make the field of nature their study, and important to those who contemplate a removal to this prosperous republic of the western hemisphere.

BOOK VI.

METEOROLOGY.

[THIS article was announced in the American Editor's preface to this work, but not being at hand when the general meteorological matter was struck off, it necessarily comes in towards the close of this volume.]

It may be proper to state, that the leading doctrines of the following essay were first published in a work on natural philosophy, entitled, "A New Theory of Terrestrial Magnetism," in 1833.* In that work, the author endeavoured to prove that caloric is the most subtle and refined exhibition of matter with which we are acquainted, but that its properties and effects are as open to investigation as those of other matter; that it possesses the following properties,—extension, or the occupation of space; attraction for ponderable matter, by which it combines intimately with it, and becomes latent; repulsion of its own particles, to which is owing the power of steam, and the elasticity of all other matter; mobility, and divisibility; these are the fundamental properties of caloric, which demonstrate its materiality. He endeavoured to demonstrate the fundamental identity of *caloric* with all the forms of electricity; and that "this *universally pervading element* is the cause of all the powers and attractions of ponderable matter." In his paper on molecular attractions, he has shown, that the affinity of caloric for ponderable matter is so strong and universal, that they cannot be entirely separated,—that heat surrounds, and is chemically combined, in greater or less proportion, with the atoms of all bodies in a latent state,—that in solids it binds the atoms together,—and that it draws the atoms of fluids together less strongly, giving to their drops a globular form; in short, that caloric is the combining force, by which the atoms of matter are held together. He has shown that there is "more heat between the atoms of fluids than of solids, and more between the atoms of gases than of fluids. He also maintains, that the small cohesion of fluids and gases, is owing to the large amount of caloric between their molecules; when thus accumulated, its repulsion of its own particles exceeds its attraction for ponderable

matter; but that in solids, its attraction for ponderable matter exceeds its repulsion of its own particles,—which explains how it is, that the same agent is the cause of both attraction and repulsion throughout nature. The author next proves, that caloric is the cause of capillary attraction, a phenomenon hitherto unexplained. He maintains that the caloric of fluids has an affinity for porous solids and capillary tubes, because the fluids are plus, and the solids minus,—and that *hot* water penetrates porous solids or capillary tubes more rapidly than cold water; which demonstrates that heat is the moving force in capillary attraction. He attributes the greatly increased circulation of sap in trees and plants, to the power of heat on the approach of spring. He also explains the production of cold on dissolving common salt, snow, muriate of ammonia, muriate of lime, and many other salts, from their attraction for caloric, a large quantity of which is necessary to convert them into fluids, when it becomes latent, which causes "the coldness."

Dr. Metcalfe further maintains, that caloric is the cause of chemical affinities; and that its agency is discoverable in all the decompositions and recombinations which take place throughout nature—that this position is clearly demonstrated by the greater amount of chemical action which is constantly going on in the tropical than in the polar regions, and during summer than winter; and by the fact, that in the regions of perpetual frost, there is little or no chemical action: hence, that meat may be preserved for any length of time fresh, and metallic utensils from rusting. He considers it a universal law,—that every process of oxidation, or combustion, is promoted by moderate heat, and arrested by cold—and that without heat, or electricity, there would be no combination of oxygen with other elements. He objects to the general doctrine of the schools, that cohesive and chemical attractions are owing to the agency of specifically distinct powers, and adduces the opinion of Sir Isaac Newton, that "the atoms of all matter are endowed with one and the same power of attraction and repulsion, varying according to a certain law of the distances."

Dr. Metcalfe conceives that elective or chemical

affinity is owing to the stronger attraction of one element for caloric than another, by which the atoms of different elements are more powerfully drawn together, than the atoms of the same element—from which it follows, that cohesive and chemical attractions are owing merely to different degrees of the same power. He repudiates the idea of innate powers of attraction in the atoms of ponderable matter, maintaining, that there must be some imponderable intermedium, by which they attract and repel each other—and as caloric is known to surround the atoms of all matter, and to have an attraction for them, it must be the combining force.

Embracing the doctrine of Sir Isaac Newton; that the action of large masses of matter is resolvable into the action of their minutest particles or atoms, and that the atoms of all matter are endowed with one and the same power of motion, the author maintains that caloric is the bond of union among the heavenly bodies; that the sum of all the atomic attractions of matter constitutes the attraction of gravitation; that the attraction between atoms is in proportion to their size, and inversely as the distance; and that the same law is predicable of the largest bodies; that the force of cohesive attraction exceeds, many millions of times, that of gravitation, because the atoms of matter are many million times nearer together. He maintains that those bodies have the strongest attraction for caloric, which contain the least of it, such as gold, mercury, and other dense metals; that mountains contain less caloric than aqueous vapour, in proportion to their amount of matter, therefore attract its caloric, by which means the vapour is collected around them, and condensed into clouds, rain, &c.; that all matter is collected together by the attraction of caloric for ponderable matter. He quotes the opinion of Newton, "that there must be some connecting medium between the heavenly bodies, by which they are retained in their orbits, which he termed ether;" and he adduces the astronomical computation, that the sun is more than 500 times larger than all the planets and comets that revolve around him; that this immense body is continually emitting streams of light and heat, which vivify the whole planetary system with an ever active flame; in fine, that all the discoveries of science lead to the conclusion, that every part of the universe is governed by the same laws, from the minutest atoms to the largest bodies.

The second part of Dr. Metcalfe's work is devoted to the theory of Terrestrial Magnetism, which he has connected with the subject of Climatology. He commences by laying down the following positions as the basis of his theory

1. That there is an unequal distribution of temperature in the tropical and polar latitudes.

2. That the unequal distribution of land and water over the globe, causes unequal temperatures in given latitudes.

3. That a line passing round the globe from east to west, which divides its temperature into two equal portions, is the magnetic equator.

4. That the centres of greatest cold are the centres of magnetic attraction; and that the force of attraction is proportional to the intensity of cold.

5. That the prevalence of land in the tropical latitudes produces a general elevation of temperature; while its predominance in the *higher* latitudes, causes a corresponding *reduction* of temperature.

6. That the magnetic needle is apparently operated on by two forces—one vertical, and the other horizontal; and that the horizontal is exclusively the *directive force*.

7. That the vertical force, which causes the needle to dip, is probably equal on every part of the globe, when the horizontal force is quiescent.

8. That at the magnetic equator the dipping needle is horizontal—and that it dips gradually more and more, until we approach the magnetic poles, where it becomes vertical.

9. That the horizontal intensity decreases, as the dip increases, until we approach the regions of lowest mean temperature, where it vanishes, and the compass needle will not traverse, but remains in whatever position it is placed.

10. That there is more than three times as much land in Arctic America, as in Arctic Asia and Europe, attended by a corresponding reduction of temperature, and increase of magnetic intensity.

11. That there are *at least* two magnetic poles in each hemisphere, of unequal intensities, and at unequal distances from the geographical poles.

12. That these poles are not stationary, but shift from east to west, and from west to east—also, from north to south, and from south to north.

13. That the unequal distribution of caloric in the tropical and polar latitudes, is the cause of magnetic polarity.

14. That the unequal distribution of land and water causes an unequal distribution of temperature in given latitudes, is most clearly exemplified in the different zones of the American continent. Between the equator and the fortieth degree of south latitude, there is more than double the quantity of land that there is between the equator and the fortieth degree of north latitude, which causes an increase of tem

perature of several degrees in the southern hemisphere. Besides, there is more than six times as much land in North America between latitude 40° and 80° , as there is between latitude 40° and the equator, which is a powerful additional cause of diminished temperature in the northern portion of the western continent.

From the successive observations of Capt. Scoresby, Sir Edward Parry, Sir John Franklin, Capt. Ross, and other navigators, the author has shown, that the coldest part of the northern hemisphere, is about 70° north latitude, and 98° west longitude from Greenwich; and that the compass needle is directed to that point over about 240 degrees of longitude; that there is another centre of magnetic influence in the northern part of Asia, in latitude $85^{\circ} 12'$ north, and $140^{\circ} 6'$ east longitude, according to the observations of M. Hansteen. There are likewise different magnetic poles, or centres of cold, in the southern hemisphere, situated at unequal distances from the geographical pole; one of them in S. Lat. $68^{\circ} 52'$, and $132^{\circ} 35'$ east longitude; the other, southwest of Terra del Fuego, in Lat. $78^{\circ} 16'$ and Long. $135^{\circ} 59'$ west from the meridian of Greenwich. The influence of these poles produce all the phenomena of magnetic variation. The author maintains, that if the whole earth were of uniform surface and elevation, its temperature would be the same in given latitudes; that the poles of the earth's axis would be the coldest points, and, consequently, that the needle would always point true north and south, and that there would be no variation of the compass. He maintains, that the unequal distribution of land and water, mountains and plains, produce all the variations of terrestrial temperature, in the same latitudes. He supposes there will be few philosophers hardy enough to contend, that the compass needle would traverse north and south, were the tropical and polar regions of the same temperature. The Doctor maintains, that whatever the cause of polar attraction may be, it must be a material agent, every where present on the globe; and that if caloric be the cause of all the other powers and movements of ponderable matter, it must be also the cause of polarity. But the facts which demonstrate the agency of caloric in terrestrial magnetism are, that all the variations of intensity, dip, and direction of the needle, obey the annual, monthly, and diurnal variations of temperature. It is impossible to present any thing like a fair view of the work in a brief summary, as it is greatly condensed, and cannot be fully understood without following the chain of facts and arguments throughout. The whole theory of magnetism is intimately connected with the identity of caloric and electricity.

It will be obvious to the philosophical reader, that if the author's facts and reasonings are in accordance with the established laws and phenomena of nature, the cause of attractions, so long involved in obscurity, has been discovered,—and the hidden spring of that indwelling energy, which actuates and animates the whole system of nature, revealed. He has unfolded a new principle, which embraces and connects the whole circle of physics, and which must lead to the most important results, both in a practical and theoretical point of view. Disregarding the sneers of ignorance and prejudice, and deeply imbued with the love of truth, he has modestly, but freely, canvassed the opinions of his predecessors—and the whole of his speculations are remarkable for boldness and originality.

The object of the following essay, is to point out the agency of caloric in the phenomena of rain, thunder and lightning, dew, fog, Indian summer, winds, hurricanes, tornadoes, and hail-storms, together with the aurora borealis. The author endeavours, throughout, to prove the identity of caloric and electricity. On nearly all these branches of science, which have recently so much occupied the attention of philosophers in Europe, he has taken almost entirely new ground. It remains for future investigations to decide how far he has succeeded in his efforts to extend the boundaries of truth. His theories afford much to reflect upon, something to doubt upon, but nothing to condemn.

After tracing the operations of caloric in causing attractions generally, the author takes up the subject of atmospherical phenomena, as follows.

The attraction of caloric for water causes it to enter into and combine with its particles, by which it is carried into the atmosphere in the form of invisible vapour, which is charged plus with caloric, while the affinity of the same caloric for bodies that contain less of it draws the vapour towards them. Thus, mountains which contain a vast quantity of ponderable matter are minus, and attract neighbouring masses of vapour which are plus, abstract their heat, when they descend in showers of rain, snow, or hail, according to the temperature of the atmosphere. It has been proved by a long series of observations, that double the quantity of rain falls on Mount St. Bernard that falls at Geneva; and double the quantity falls at Geneva that falls at Paris. We are also informed by Mr. Jefferson, that it rains five days in the week on the warm spring mountain in Virginia, which is about 3000 feet above the level of the ocean.

It was observed by Dr. Franklin, that masses of

vapour in different states of electricity attracted each other far beyond what he called the striking distance. When cumuli of clouds are formed in the atmosphere, by parting with a portion of their heat to colder bodies, they are minus or negative in relation to all uncondensed or transparent vapour, which is plus, so that they become centres of attraction, drawing to them successive masses of invisible or transparent vapour, and abstracting their caloric, by which a perpetual condensation or nimbification is kept up, until they become aggregated into extensive masses, which sometimes resemble huge castles or vast rocky mountains suspended in the air. We witnessed in New York, on the evening of June 2, 1833, the most beautiful display of aerial condensation, that we remember ever to have seen. The wind was brisk from the south, and brought from the ocean successive masses of transparent vapour of a red brassy hue, which allowed the rays of the setting sun to pass partially through them, when on meeting with a colder upper current as they passed over the city, vivid streaks of lightning darted from them, and they were suddenly *condensed into black clouds*, which interrupted the solar rays, and were attended by rapid precipitations of rain. The showers intermitted and augmented several times, between the successive flashes of lightning; and during the intermissions, the atmospheric vapour assumed the same brassy colour as at first. It will be proved hereafter, that these remarkable condensations resulted simply from the giving out to a colder body of air in the form of lightning, that portion of caloric which is necessary to hold water in a state of vapour.

So decided is the attraction of caloric for ponderable matter, and its repulsion of its own particles, that it passes with great facility through the densest bodies, which are therefore called conductors, but with difficulty through those which are light, such as gasses, furs, silks, woollens, rezins, &c. whose pores are filled with caloric.

In tracing the relations of caloric and atmospheric electricity, it becomes necessary to examine whether they are both derived from the same source, as well as the effects which they produce on common matter.

What then is the agent by which water is converted into atmospheric vapour? Is it caloric or electricity? It is time that all philosophers should agree in the answer to this question.

Dr. Dalton demonstrated by experiment, that caloric is the *only* cause of evaporation. He put a little water in a dry glass flask, with a thermometer in it, when he found that a *small* quantity of vapour was formed at 32° F. At 40°, the quantity of vapour was

increased; at 50°, it contained still more; while at 60°, the quantity was still further augmented. He also found, that when the temperature of the flask was suddenly reduced from 60 to 40 degrees, a portion of the vapour was converted into water, and that the quantity retaining the elastic form was precisely the same as when the temperature was originally at 40°. (*Meteorological Essays*.) Evaporation then goes on at all temperatures, increasing from 32°, or even from 0, up to 212°. When the flask becomes *full* of vapour, its pressure or elasticity prevents the further process of evaporation. When the atmosphere is in this condition, it is said to be saturated with vapour; and the smallest reduction of temperature causes precipitation. When the atmosphere is already full of aqueous vapour, it presents a mechanical impediment to the passage of more vapour through it, which enables us to comprehend why it is that a *cold* wind when *dry* promotes evaporation, better than a warm wind which is already saturated with aqueous vapour. In this last condition of the atmosphere, the slightest reduction of temperature causes a condensation of the transparent aqueous vapour into mist, clouds, rain, &c.; but when the atmosphere contains very little vapour, as when it comes from an extensive region of *dry land*, or during the cold winter months, in the interior of North America, a much greater reduction of temperature is requisite to produce precipitation, because such air is not saturated. If two masses of atmospheric air of equal volumes, one at 60° and the other at 80°, each saturated with transparent vapour, be mixed, condensation takes place, causing moisture or precipitation; and the air at 60°, has its temperature elevated by the evolution of the latent caloric of the vapour at 80°.

When the wind has prevailed for some time from the ocean over the land, loaded with transparent aqueous vapour, the latter is condensed on meeting with a colder current from the northern regions; and precipitation continues until the current from the ocean has deposited its vapour, or until it is driven back by the predominant force of the northern wind.

According to Dr. Dalton's experiments and calculations, the atmosphere which surrounds the earth is composed of several distinct aerial fluids or gases, which vary in density, height, &c., and exist in a state of mechanical mixture. They are oxygen, which he supposes to extend 38 miles in height; nitrogen, 54 miles; aqueous vapour, 50 miles; and carbonic acid gas, 10 miles. (*Meteorological Essays*.)

The above estimates can be considered only as approximations to the truth, as we have good reason

to believe, that there is very little aqueous vapour in the atmosphere, above the elevation of ten miles. At 32 degrees of Fahrenheit, the largest amount of aqueous vapour which can exist in the atmosphere, is about $\frac{1}{11}$ of its volume; at 60°, it is $\frac{1}{21}$ th, and at 93°, it is $\frac{1}{31}$ th. The transparency of the atmosphere is in proportion to its temperature. This explains why there are more clear days in the tropical than in the middle and higher latitudes; and why the atmosphere is transparent below the region of the clouds, even when the sky is overcast. While the average quantity of aqueous vapour in the atmosphere decreases from below upwards, and from the equator to the poles.

It is still the general opinion of philosophers, that the decrease of temperature as we ascend in the atmosphere, amounting to a degree for every 352 feet, is owing to its increased rarefaction from diminished pressure, and consequent increase of capacity for heat.

Is it not more probable, that the obstruction and accumulation of the sun's rays by the earth's surface, is the cause of the warmth of the lower atmosphere? The stratum of air in contact with the earth becomes heated, and rises, when the next stratum becomes heated and rises; and so on, until the whole atmosphere becomes warmed to a considerable height.

The passage of the solar rays through transparent media without heating them, has led unreflecting persons to doubt whether the sun's rays possessed any heating power, before combining with other matter. M. Pouillet concludes from some plausible experiments he made, that the solar rays which reach the surface of the earth in the course of a year, have sufficient power to melt a complete stratum of ice, about 46 feet in thickness. (*Elemens de Physique, &c.*)

At the depth of from about 50 to 100 feet below the surface of the earth, the temperature is invariable—therefore, independent of the solar rays, and due to the constituent caloric of the globe.

It has been estimated by Sir I. Newton and others, that the pores of water occupy about 40 times the space of the ultimate atoms; which space is filled with caloric; while the atmosphere is 825 times lighter than water, which is also owing to the amount of caloric between its molecules. If a small portion of atmospheric air be suddenly condensed by means of a syringe, a sufficient quantity of heat is disengaged to set tinder on fire. If two dry sticks be rubbed together, they take fire. If granite, marble, or the densest metals, be compressed with great force, they become hot. The smith often kindles his furnace by hammering a piece of iron, until it is red hot, and applying it to his coals.

It is susceptible of demonstration, that all bodies

contain caloric in some inverse measure to their specific gravities. The most dense contain it minus, while the lightest contain it plus. It is in reality impossible to imagine any other cause of specific gravity than caloric. The most intense heat ever produced by artificial means, has been developed by the combustion of oxygen and hydrogen gases. The atmosphere is an immense balloon expanded by heat—yea, the solid earth owes its *volume* chiefly to this subtile fluid in a latent state.

An important fact, illustrating the identity of caloric and electricity, is, that during all combustions *electricity* is evolved. M. Pouillet ascertained by repeated experiments, that during the combustion of hydrogen, ether, alcohol, wax, fat, charcoal, and many other vegetable substances, a zone of air surrounding the flame was electrified plus, while the interior of the flame was electrified minus. His inference was, that during the combustion, the atmospheric oxygen gives out positive electricity, while the carbon and hydrogen of the combustible bodies give out negative electricity. M. Pouillet has also proved by direct experiment, "that the combination of oxygen with the materials of living plants is a constant source of electricity." We do not, however, agree with M. Pouillet, that electricity is thus generated *de novo*.—(*Ann. de Chim. et de Phys.* XXXV. 401.)

Moreover, if two pieces of the same body, of equal size, be submitted to different pressures, the one which experiences the greatest pressure is electrified plus, while the other is minus. According to the experiment of Becquerel, the *quantity* and intensity of electricity thus developed is proportional to the pressure. —(*Ann. de Chim. et de Phys.* XXII. 5.)

M. Avogadro has also discovered, that if two pieces of the same metal are plunged at different instants into an acid which oxydizes them, the piece first introduced will be positive and the second negative. (See *Ed. Phil. Journal*, vol. 9.) The above experiments show conclusively, that *electricity* pervades all bodies,—that it is disengaged from them by *pressure* and by chemical agency, like caloric,—in short, that they are one and inseparable. They also demonstrate that what has been called two electricities, is nothing more than the plus and minus state of the *same* fluid. Every thing is full of latent caloric, which is convertible into sensible heat or electricity, according to the mode of their development. If a piece of white sugar, or any other dry substance, be forcibly struck, or suddenly compressed, in the dark, electricity and light are disengaged.

It would seem obvious to the most superficial observer, that caloric is the cause of evaporation, inas-

much as the greatest amount of evaporation takes place in regions which receive most of the sun's heat. We may form some idea of the vast amount of caloric contained in atmospheric vapour, when we reflect, that a pound of vapour will raise the temperature of a pound of water nearly 1000 degrees;* that its bulk is increased about 1800 times in passing from a state of water to that of vapour; and that all the rivers of the earth are supplied by its precipitation.

What then becomes of all the caloric which must be given out during the condensation of this vapour? We know that thunder and lightning are most abundant in the tropical regions, and during hot, sultry weather, in the middle latitudes. Hence we infer, *that the caloric of vapour, when greatly accumulated, is given out rapidly, in the form of electricity, on approaching a colder mass of vapour which is negatively charged with caloric.*

Does it not involve a striking contradiction to say, that vapour is raised into the atmosphere by caloric, and that it is condensed by the evolution of another distinct fluid, called electricity? If so, whence originated the electricity? Are we to suppose with Dr. Thomson, "that when two currents of dry air are moving different ways the friction of the two surfaces may evolve electricity? or with M. Pouillet, that it is developed by chemical action, and by the growth of vegetation? Absurd as these hypotheses may appear, they forcibly illustrate the difficulty of accounting for its origin and existence, when considered as a distinct elementary fluid from caloric.

We are not authorized to predicate a primary distinction, until fully acquainted with all the different states and affections of caloric, under different circumstances; for example, in its combinations with different substances, in a solid, fluid, gaseous, or imponderable state—as with the matter of light—its diffusion, concentration, compression, &c.

Moreover, we are not philosophically warranted in assigning more causes than are sufficient to explain the phenomena. Now the expansion of fluids by caloric explains satisfactorily the process of evaporation;—and the passage of the same caloric *out* of the vapour is sufficient to account for its condensation: whether it pass out slowly and insensibly, or with rapid and explosive violence.

We know that condensation and precipitation of vapour often take place, when two currents of vapour of different temperatures unite, without any visible display of electricity. We also know that caloric is

given out during all aerial condensations. It is a matter of common observation, that the weather is more hot and sultry in summer during the formation of clouds, than when the air is clear; and that in winter, it becomes warmer during a fall of rain or snow, unless accompanied by a northern wind.

There is not a greater apparent difference between any of the forms of caloric and electricity, than between the electricity in the atmosphere and in an exhausted receiver. The explosion of gun-powder resembles an electric explosion much more nearly than it does the combustion of ordinary fuel. We often see the heavens filled with sheets of flame, produced by the evolution of caloric from atmospheric vapour.

The spark from steel resembles the electric spark, except that it will not pass through conductors: perhaps, because the ignited matter with which it is combined is less subtle.

In subtlety, the electric and galvanic sparks are equalled only by the solar rays. What can be more different than caloric in its free, and in its latent state? When we shall understand more thoroughly *how* caloric assumes so many different states and appearances, we may discover how it exhibits electrical phenomena.

Before caloric combines with, and expands water into atmospheric vapour, it is universally acknowledged to be sensible heat; after it enters into the water, and converts it into transparent invisible vapour, its state is changed; and, when greatly accumulated in this state, it exhibits *electrical phenomena*. To say, however, that its elementary nature is changed, would be as unphilosophical, as to contend, that the latent caloric of water is specifically different in its nature from the same caloric, when set at liberty by pouring water on calcined lime; or that it is distinct from the caloric which moves a steam engine by its expansion; or that the galvanic fluid is distinct from the electricity of a Leyden jar, because it moves with less velocity. But it is universally acknowledged, that galvanism and electricity are essentially the same fluid; and we shall show hereafter, that galvanism is developed by the combustion of metals in acids, alkalis, or atmospheric air.

Had philosophers attended more carefully to the great changes which take place in the states of caloric, produced by its various *modes* of combination with other matter in different forms, they would probably have been led to discover more clearly, if not the identity of caloric and electricity, *at least that they are inseparable, and that without caloric there could be no electricity.*

* Dr. Hare says, that there is twice the quantity of caloric "given out during a snow storm, that would be given out by an equal quantity of red hot powdered glass."

Sensible heat and electricity do not differ more than latent heat and free caloric; nor more than ice differs from water, or water from transparent aqueous vapour.

We know that a Leyden battery may be filled with the electric fluid drawn from a living man; and that a living man may be charged with the electric fluid until it runs over, producing palpable currents.

Yet there is no possible mode of conceiving how the system becomes charged with electricity, except from a decomposition of the atmosphere by the lungs in respiration; in other words, the animal heat derived from the atmosphere becomes animal electricity, when abstracted from the system by means of an electrical machine, and deflects the magnetic needle 90 degrees, according to the late experiments of Dr. Locke,—which proves, at least, that the heat and electricity of animals have one common origin, or that animal heat is convertible into electricity.

One of the most decisive proofs that caloric and electricity are convertible into each other is, that during all condensations of aerial vapour, whether into rain or snow, during winter or summer, caloric is given out in very large quantities. It is notorious among the vulgar, that the air is rendered hot and sultry, during summer, before showers, which is owing to the heat given out by the transparent vapour as it condenses into clouds, as before stated; also, that the temperature is greatly moderated by a fall of rain or snow during winter. In the above examples we perceive, that the same fluid, which, when greatly accumulated in the atmosphere, and suddenly given out, causes lightning and thunder; under ordinary circumstances of condensation, is given out silently, producing no other sensible effect, than to raise the temperature.

We have observed a cold northeast wind to continue several days during the month of April, until an upper current from the ocean, loaded with aqueous vapour, gave out its caloric, when a general rain came on, and the temperature rose several degrees, before the wind prevailed from the southern points of the compass, on the surface of the earth—and that when the rain ceased, the temperature was again reduced.

Dr. Franklin was greatly puzzled to account for the origin of atmospheric electricity. At one time he supposed that it was produced in the ocean, by the friction of salt and water; but afterwards finding this hypothesis unsatisfactory, because he ascertained that clouds were negatively electrified, and that all bodies were more or less filled with electricity, he imagined that the electric stroke passed from the earth to the clouds, and not from the clouds to the earth:—an hypothesis still less tenable than his former one.

Mr. Daniell, in his late excellent work on Meteorology, observes, “that the interesting subject of atmospheric electricity has been almost totally neglected;” and “that at present, he had nothing to offer on this most important branch of physical science.”

Dr. Thomson says, “that the formation of vapour seems to be connected with electricity, though in what way the vesicular form is induced by electricity we have no conception.” It is indeed very difficult, if not impossible, to conceive *how and whence* the electricity originated, if it be not caloric. He adds further, “the formation of rain is still involved in impenetrable obscurity.”

In the transactions of the British Association for 1832, it is observed, by Mr. Forbes, “that on the noble science of atmospheric electricity, almost every thing has yet to be done.”

With due deference to the opinion of Dr. Thomson, the rationale of rain is very simple, if we admit that caloric and electricity are convertible into each other. Water is expanded by heat into transparent vapour—raised into the atmosphere, where it remains suspended, until it approaches the vicinity of a mountain, or a mass of vapour, at a lower temperature, when the attraction of caloric for those bodies which contain less of it, causes it to leave the transparent vapour, and it coalesces into mist, clouds, rain, snow, or hail. If the difference of temperature be great between the masses of meeting vapour, the equilibrium is restored suddenly by a violent explosion, in the form of the electric spark or lightning. During winter, the difference of temperature between different masses of vapour is usually small in the middle latitudes, so that the equilibrium is restored gradually and without explosion. During spring, and especially in April, when masses of warm and cold vapour frequently meet, light showers are precipitated, by the sudden passage of caloric from one to the other—still without much thunder and lightning.

But in summer, when the atmosphere is saturated with transparent aqueous vapour, *which is full of caloric*, its approach to a mountain or a mass of vapour charged minus, is attended with rapid and sudden transitions of caloric from the plus to the minus body, causing terrific explosions of thunder and lightning.

An erroneous opinion has hitherto prevailed, that lightning is accumulated *in* the clouds, and that it darts from one cloud to another. Nothing could be more in opposition to all our knowledge of electricity than such a belief. How is it possible that electricity can accumulate in a conductor? The very question is idle. It is accumulated in transparent aqueous vapour, and thence often passes *through* the neighbouring

clouds, so as to present the appearance of originating in them, or of coming from them. It is doubtless, in many cases, attracted by the earth, by trees, buildings, ships, mountains, &c., and thus made to pass *through* such clouds as intervene, thus leading to the idea, that it proceeds *from* the clouds as starting points; while it is only an appearance, which a philosophical examination proves to be an illusion.

A large body of vapour from the tropics resembles an immense Leyden jar, charged with caloric or lighting. The globe itself is but the grand laboratory of nature, which the art of man has imitated on a Lilliputian scale.

"Neque aliud est natura quam ars quædam magna."

LEIBNITZ.

Dr. Arnott has given substantially the following explanation of rain, in the *first volume* of his work on *Nat. Phil.* p. 348. The production of rain and snow, he attributes to the elevation of watery vapour into the higher regions of the atmosphere, where, from the greater dilatation of the atmosphere, it becomes colder, and thus condenses the atmospheric vapour. He takes no account of the *diminished quantity of caloric in clouds already formed*, and in mountains, high plains, &c., which abstract caloric from invisible vapour, and cause it to descend in rain.

It is notorious that when the wind blows steadily in one direction, for some time, over a level country, very little rain falls. In the great desert of Sahara, there is scarcely any rain, because the vapour transported over it from the ocean, is still further rarefied by the heat of the scorching sand, where there are no mountains to condense it. For a similar reason, we often have long droughts in the level parts of the United States during summer. Owing to the great heat of the atmosphere, the vapour brought from the Atlantic ocean by southern and eastern breezes, is not condensed, but still further expanded, until it meets with a current from the northern points of the compass—a descent of cold air from the higher regions*—or with mountains and highlands of a lower temperature, when thunder-gusts follow.

After a long drought, the first precipitations take place over moist ground, river courses, &c.—which are colder, or negative, and therefore attract the electric fluid from the positive atmospheric vapour. Hence it frequently occurs, that such situations receive two or three showers, before the rain becomes general.

When the aerial vapour is condensed into a cloud, by giving out a portion of its caloric, it becomes negative, in relation to the surrounding vapour, and attracts caloric from it; which also becomes negative, and acts on the neighbouring vapour in the same way, until it is successively condensed for several hundred miles, and the rain becomes general. When the equilibrium is restored, the storm ceases, and the sky becomes serene.

Our equinoctial storms are produced by the meeting of extensive masses of vapour from opposite quarters, of different temperatures. The vast amount of condensation, caused by the meeting of opposite currents, during the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, occasions extensive vacuums—a violent rush of elastic vapour from different quarters is the consequence, constituting whirlwinds, hurricanes, and tornadoes.

In the United States, the difference of temperature between northern and southern winds, is much greater than in Europe, which has a maritime climate, and on the ocean generally, where the temperature is more uniform; for this reason, we have more intense lightning than in Europe and on the ocean, and not as M. Volney supposes, "because of the greater dryness of our atmosphere." The most violent thunder storms on the American continent occur in June, July, and August, when the air in the middle latitudes is greatly rarefied, so as to favour a descent of the cold upper current from the equator.

Dr. Franklin believed, that vapour was held in a state of solution by electricity; but it is evident that caloric is the vaporizing agent all over the world. From which it follows, that the latent caloric of aqueous vapour is the basis of atmospheric electricity or lightning. There is little or no thunder and lightning in the polar regions.

Before leaving this interesting branch of meteorology, it may be proper to take a cursory view of the agency of caloric in producing atmospheric currents generally.

The unequal distribution of solar heat over the earth's surface, together with its annual and diurnal revolutions, enable us in some measure to comprehend the laws which determine the periodical movements of the atmosphere which surrounds it.

There are three great currents of the aerial ocean, by which it is kept in perpetual circulation:—one from the polar regions towards the equator, which is an under current; another from the equator to the poles, which is an upper current; and a third, called the equatorial current, or trade wind, which blows from east to west around the globe, for about

would be attended by a reduction of temperature, in proportion to the mass which descends from above. The sea and the air over it are less heated, because the water on its surface rises in the form of vapour, carrying off a great portion of its caloric.

* Dr. Thomson thinks that air can not descend without giving out its caloric as it falls, which he thinks would prevent it from cooling the temperature of the lower atmosphere. He seems not to have been aware, that the upper air may be more condensed by cold than the lower air by pressure, in which case its descent

30° on each side of the equator. Near the equator, the trade winds blow directly from the east, but at a distance from it they become northeast and southeast near their northern and southern limits.

There is another general wind, which blows from west to east, in the middle and higher latitudes in the northern hemisphere, about two thirds of the year—while in those portions of the southern hemisphere, where there is no land, it is nearly as uniform as the tradewind.

Dr. Hadley, and after him, Dr. Franklin, attributed these currents to the following causes. "The air under the equator and between the tropics, being constantly heated and rarefied by the sun, rises; its place is supplied by air from the higher and polar latitudes, which, coming from parts of the earth that had less motion, and not suddenly acquiring the quicker motion of the equatorial earth, becomes an east wind blowing westward; the earth moving from west to east and slipping under the air." Mr. Daniell has shown conclusively, that, from the greater density of the polar atmosphere than the equatorial, its height is proportionally less; so that the air rarefied between the tropics, and rising, must flow toward the poles. Before it rose, it had acquired the greatest motion the earth's rotation could give it: it retains some degree of this motion, and descending in higher latitudes, where the earth's motion is less, becomes a westerly wind. See *Franklin's Works*, vol. 3. p. 236, and *Mr. Daniell on the Atmosphere*.

The force and direction of the trade winds are influenced by the proximity of islands and continents. Along the western side of Africa, their direction is reversed. To the distance seaward of about 300 miles, they blow towards the heated land. They are reversed in a similar manner in the Pacific, west of South America. When the sun is in the northern tropic, they extend several degrees farther north than during our winter; but when the sun is south of the equator, they prevail farther south.

There is a tract corresponding with the isothermal division of the globe, which, as we shall find hereafter, is the magnetic equator, where the great polar currents from the north and south, constituting the northeast and southeast trade winds, meet, and neutralize each other. They are characterized by a constant succession of irregular winds and calms, or storms of thunder, lightning, and rain. They are called by seamen the swamps, or rainy latitudes—and are extremely sultry, owing to the immense quantities of heat given out, during the condensation of so much aqueous vapour.

The most violent and extensive hurricanes occur

in the tropical latitudes, where evaporation and condensation are three times greater than in the middle latitudes—and, perhaps, six times greater than in the polar latitudes.

In South America, and the West India Islands, north of the equator, the rainy season is from April or May, until October; because the northern hemisphere is then exposed to the sun's heat, the air presses from the colder southern hemisphere, and from the icy tops of the Andes, causing a southern wind, which condenses the aqueous vapour of the northern tropic, producing floods of rain, at some places to the amount of 280 inches during the year. In the southern tropic, the rainy season commences in October and ends in April; because South America is then greatly heated, and becomes a focus of fluxion from the northern hemisphere, which is cooled down during the absence of the sun: thus, during the winter of North America, the colder air presses into South America and condenses its aqueous vapour. The same thing is true of the tropical portions of the old world, where wet and dry seasons prevail during half the year alternately. In middle latitudes, where the winds frequently shift, there is no protracted dry season.

The great heat of the tropics causes the vapour to ascend from three to four times higher than in the colder latitudes, which explains why it descends in such large drops.

During winter in the northern hemisphere, the polar latitudes being deprived of the sun's rays, while the tropical parallels continue to be heated, we have a predominance of northerly winds, the dense polar air pressing towards the tropics, to restore the equilibrium—while the greater velocity of the middle and tropical than of the northern latitudes, causes a deflection of the polar currents to the southwest and west, making northeast and east winds, which almost uniformly succeed to north winds, and continue blowing until an equilibrium is established between the higher and middle latitudes. In the mean time, under the influence of the solar rays, the land air becomes more heated than the atmosphere of the ocean, even south of it, which causes a south wind, until the equilibrium is restored between the sea and land atmosphere. During summer in the United States, southwesterly winds predominate; and northeasterly winds during winter. The same thing is true of India, China, and Arabia. They are heated during summer, and the atmosphere over them rarefied, which causes the air to flow in upon them from the tropical seas, when it is deflected to the east, by passing from latitudes that move rapidly to those which move more slowly. This is what writers call

the southwest monsoon. When the sun is south of the equator, the air moves from the *northern* land, which is cooled down, towards the equator, which has a swifter motion; thus causing the northeast monsoon, and which corresponds with the northeast wind of *our* cold season. Volney supposed that the prevailing southwest wind of the Mississippi Valley was a recoil of the tropical trade wind, deflected by the Andes of Mexico. But the fact which he states, of its crossing the Alleghanies, and advancing northeastward as far as Montreal and Quebec, is sufficient to demonstrate that it must be owing to a cause far more general and extensive in its operation than any mountain range. It is the meeting of this wind, charged with aqueous vapour from the ocean, with the colder north and northeast currents during spring and autumn, which causes vast precipitations of rain in the United States. During the latter part of August and September, when the atmosphere is filled with aqueous vapour, and meets with a colder current from the northern points of the compass, extensive hurricanes sweep the gulf of Mexico, and the southern portions of the United States. There can be no doubt that opposite currents frequently meet in the *higher* atmosphere, which are not observed at the earth's surface, and which cause precipitation. The existence of currents and counter currents in the upper atmosphere, enables us to comprehend how it is that rain frequently occurs, without any visible meeting of air from opposite quarters, and of different temperatures. When M. Robertson ascended from Castle Garden on the 4th of July, 1834, the wind was from the east; and as the aeronaut arose above the city, he was carried westward, across the Hudson River, when he disappeared in a mist or cloud, at an elevation of about 3000 feet above the surface. At this time he met with a counter current from the west, which brought him back over the city, and landed him ten miles to the eastward, on Long Island. It is quite evident, that the canopy of clouds which overspread the city in the afternoon, was condensed by the colder upper current from the west.

From the 7th until the 10th of July, 1834, the heat was excessive at New York, ranging from 86 to 96 degrees of Fahrenheit in the shade, while the wind was from the southeast. On the 10th, about 12 o'clock, the wind shifted, blowing from the west, and condensing the vapour which had been brought from the ocean, into floods of rain, which continued about three hours. It is thus that a *land* wind which *usually* brings fair weather, causes precipitation, by meeting with and absorbing caloric from the oceanic vapour. It is highly probable, that at all times,

when rain attends a southern wind, and when the land temperature exceeds that of the sea, precipitation is owing to the prevalence of a colder upper current, from an opposite direction.

What can be more sublime, than this grand lustration of the earth, by which the waters of the ocean are wafted over continents and islands, in fertilizing showers—pestilential vapours dispersed—the face of nature refreshed, and adorned with living robes of surpassing beauty? By sinking into the earth, they acquire the properties of the various mineral beds through which they pass, and again bubble up in fountains of delicious water, for the sustenance of man, as they return to the sea.

We have seen that during the coldness of winter in North America, the great movement of the atmosphere is from the cold northern regions towards the tropics, but that it is *deflected* by passing from latitudes which move slowly, to those which move more rapidly, by which means, north winds become northeast and east winds. We have also perceived, that during summer, while the land is greatly heated, the prevalent wind is from the ocean, and that when it presses directly from the south, it is changed into a southwest wind, by passing from latitudes which revolve at the rate of nine or ten hundred miles per hour, to those which move only six or eight hundred miles per hour. The same observations apply to Great Britain. These leading facts enable us to understand why it is that our *regular* winds follow the sun, producing a constant succession of circuits, from left to right, and blowing from all points of the compass. For example, the ordinary succession of our winds is from the north, next from the northeast, east, southeast, south, southwest, west, northwest, and so on, in tolerably regular succession, and rarely, if ever, performing an entire circuit in the opposite direction. As the greater portion of the United States is more heated than the ocean, even south of them, and for a longer period, the wind blows from the southwest a greater number of days than from any other quarter, throughout the year.

If the whole earth were of uniform surface and elevation, its temperature would be the same in given latitudes and seasons, and the currents of the atmosphere would present a succession of regular movements, which could be foretold with as much precision as the changes of the moon, or the increase and decrease of the tides. There would be no sudden precipitations of rain, no lightning, and no violent winds or hurricanes, because there would be a regular gradation of temperature and density of the atmosphere from the equator to the poles; but as the surface of

the earth is diversified by land and water, mountains and valleys, hills and plains, unequal temperatures in the same latitudes, and during the same seasons, result, causing all those violent and *irregular* movements of the atmosphere, termed hurricanes, tornadoes, water-spouts, &c.

We stated before, that the most extensive and violent hurricanes occur in those regions where evaporation and condensation are most abundant. Such winds depend on local rarefactions, *produced by the caloric given out in the atmosphere, by the condensation of aqueous vapour*, and are always accompanied by a depression of the barometer.* Whenever the barometer sinks *low*, we may be sure of a gale. Hurricanes, which follow a great depression of the barometer, generally blow from different quarters. If they commence from the northeast, they shift round, until they blow from the northwest, when they subside, and the clouds gradually disappear. After blowing with great violence in one direction, for some time, there is frequently a short calm or intermission, for a few minutes, when the gale blows with equal severity from an opposite quarter. It is probable that the calm is produced by the *meeting* of these violent currents from opposite quarters, which *neutralize* each other for a short time: The hurricane of August, 1831, at Barbadoes, commenced from the north, but afterwards blew from the south, which was shown by the direction of the fallen trees.

The unequal amount of condensation of aqueous vapour which takes place at different points, causes a difference in the force of hurricanes at different places. They are more violent on the shores of the West India Islands, and on the southern coast of the United States, than in the interior. The hurricanes of the East Indian seas, occur during the shifting of the monsoons, and are accompanied by torrents of rain, thunder and lightning, and are obviously owing to the coming together of extensive masses of air, from different quarters. We are informed by seamen who navigate the Atlantic between England and the United States, that while one vessel encounters a storm, others enjoy mild breezes within 40 or 50 miles of the same place, which must be owing to unequal rarefactions, caused by local condensations of vapour, on meeting with a mass of colder air. For example, the Gulf Stream, and the air over it,

are from 10 to 20 degrees warmer than other parts of the ocean in the same latitudes, the consequence of which is extensive evaporation, and when the vapour is condensed, by giving out its caloric to a colder body of air, rarefaction is produced, and a consequent rush of cold air to restore the equilibrium; which process causes a succession of local storms, water-spouts, &c. As many as sixteen water-spouts were seen at the same time by Captain Lawrence, on the borders of the Gulf Stream, Lat. 32° 48', when off Charleston, on his voyage from New Orleans to New York. The same general agency, modified by the relative position of land and water, oceanic currents, mountains and valleys, operates to a greater or less extent over all the earth. Off Cape Hatteras, which is washed by the Gulf Stream, there is a constant succession of gales, which is readily understood when we learn from our seamen, who trade from New York to New Orleans, that they always find a sensible change of temperature on passing the Cape. Hence the frequent boisterous winds which render it so notorious among navigators. The same cause renders the Cape of Good Hope a theatre of perpetual war of conflicting tempests, produced by the proximity of the *great equatorial current*, as it doubles the cape.

We shall never fully comprehend the cause of these phenomena, until we recognise the influence of the vast amount of *heat* which exists in aqueous vapour—the elastic force which it gives to the vapour, and its agency in rarefying the atmosphere, where it is given out. An eye-witness of the tremendous hurricane which desolated the Island of Barbadoes, on the 10th of August, 1831, informs me, that for an hour previous to its commencement, the heat of the atmosphere was almost insupportable—that it began about 10 o'clock at night with torrents of rain; and broad flashes or sheets of fire, in rapid succession, which threatened to overwhelm the inhabitants with a flood—or sweep them away in a tempest of flame. There can be no doubt that the amount of caloric or lightning given out during extensive hurricanes, is in proportion to the amount of condensation; but that its *intensity* or *concentration*, is less than during ordinary thunder storms; because the electric fluid is attracted by a more extensive mass of cloud, and is thus diffused. This also explains why it is, that

* The horary oscillations of the barometer, or atmospheric tides, increase as we advance from the higher latitudes towards the equator, while the *irregular* depressions and elevations of the barometer, augment from the tropical to the higher latitudes, because in the higher latitudes, the density or specific gravity of the atmosphere increases in proportion to the diminution of temperature; and because equal volumes of air, and all other gases, are equally expanded

by equal increments of heat; consequently the weight or local pressure of the atmosphere is farther altered by every local change of temperature, produced by the evolution of heat from aqueous vapour in the middle and higher latitudes, than within the tropics. Are not the atmospheric tides caused by the successive heating and rarefaction of different meridians?

the violence of lightning and thunder usually subsides after precipitation becomes general. The electric fluid being constantly drawn from the transparent or positive aqueous vapour, by the extended conducting surface of falling cloud, prevents it from accumulating into a large ball of fire, or *thunderbolt*, in the same way that a damp atmosphere prevents us from charging the Leyden battery of a common electrical machine. The streaked and forked appearance of ordinary lightning, are optical illusions, and result from the rapid passage of the electric spark through the air, which makes an impression upon the optic nerve that remains during its passage, in the same way that a burning stick, when revolved, presents the appearance of a continuous circle of fire. The fork is owing to a division of the original spark or ball into two or more sparks, which pursue a divergent course. When an electrical explosion takes place *very near* to a spectator, it always presents the appearance of a ball of fire, attended by a *simultaneous* report, like that of artillery. The reason that the report is commonly *heard* many seconds *after* the flash is seen, is owing to its *distance* from the point of observation, and to the slowness with which vibrations are propagated through the atmosphere—Hence, its rumbling, or prolonged existence. The report itself, is caused by a collapse of the air, as it fills the vacuum suddenly produced by the passage of the electric bolt through it. It is probable that lightning owes its luminosity or incandescence, to the decomposition of aqueous vapour, and to the combustion of its hydrogen by so intense a heat. The depressing influence of a cold damp atmosphere, is caused by the abstraction of this subtle vital fluid from the system, more rapidly than it is supplied by respiration.

It was first observed by Dr. Franklin, that our cold summer gusts almost always came from the west, from which he concluded, that they were caused by a descent of cold air from the upper current of the atmosphere, on its passage from the equatorial to the polar latitudes. That this is in part the cause of our prevalent west winds, during three fourths of the year, in the middle latitudes, is obvious from what we have already stated in relation to the deflection of aerial currents, as they pass over different latitudes. That this is also the true mode of accounting for our cold summer gusts, is evident from the following considerations. The land being greatly heated by the scorching rays of the sun, rarefies the atmosphere over it, until the superincumbent air sinks down and mixes with it. At the same time, it communicates its tropical motion from west to east ;

condenses the vapour of the lower atmosphere by absorbing its caloric, and thus produces our western thunder-gusts, which are often attended with hail, and almost always with a great reduction of temperature. In this way, clouds are formed suddenly, the whole sky becoming obscured by dense black vapour. It is a remarkable fact, that thunderstorms, whether attended with hail or not, almost always occur between midday and sunset, when the lower air is most heated and rarefied, so as to favour a descent of the upper current from the equator.

On the subject of hail storms, much learning and ingenuity have been expended, since the days of Franklin, without any satisfactory explanation of their cause. The celebrated Volta supposed that they were produced by a “highly electrical condition of the atmosphere”—“that the frozen masses were kept in a state of reciprocating motion between two clouds, oppositely charged with electricity, until the mass rendered the force of gravity predominant—or, until the electric tension of the cloud was exhausted by mutual reaction.” In their Report on the present state of Meteorological Science for 1832, the British Association say, that no better solution has yet been offered to the world.

We shall endeavour to demonstrate, that all hail-storms are caused by a descent of cold air from the upper regions, by the following facts—

1. They occur during *warm* weather, when the lower atmosphere is greatly rarefied.
2. They run in veins of limited extent.
3. They are often accompanied by whirlwinds, thunder, and lightning.
4. They are usually limited to the middle latitudes.
5. They come on too *suddenly* to be caused by a meeting of northern and southern air—and are attended by too intense a cold.
6. They are common in level districts, which are hemmed in by high mountains, as the south of France ; because, in such situations, the atmosphere is prevented from circulating freely, and becomes greatly rarefied, so as to favour a descent of air from the frozen regions above—which suddenly abstracts caloric from the vapour of the atmosphere in the form of lightning—when it falls in icy globules, which augment as they descend, by passing through numerous strata of aqueous vapour. This is all we shall now offer on the general doctrine of hail-storms. It is highly probable that those tornadoes or whirlwinds which run in narrow veins, and move with a velocity of from 100 to 140 miles per hour, prostrating every thing before them with resistless force,

are owing to the same general agency—viz., a sudden descent of cold air from the upper regions, which *condenses the lower transparent vapour, and produces a vacuum, as it passes from the aerial to the aqueous state*, so that the surrounding vapour rushes in from different quarters, to restore the equilibrium, with a force proportioned to its elasticity, and thus producing a violent gyratory motion. We shall be less surprised at the force and velocity of these tornadoes when we reflect, that the *volume of aqueous vapour is diminished 1800 fold by giving out its caloric, as it passes to the cloudy or aqueous state*. A striking example of a tornado of the above description, occurred about the 20th of March, 1832, lat. 35° north, in the southern part of Tennessee.

After several remarkably warm days for the season, accompanied by a south wind, a tornado came on suddenly, without the slightest warning, about seven o'clock in the evening. It excited great astonishment, as the whole day had been warm, calm, and clear, with the exception of a slight haziness, up to the moment when the crashing noise of falling timber announced the approaching storm from the west. The temperature was immediately reduced from about 75°, to several degrees below the freezing point. The tornado continued to blow with violence about ten minutes, and pursued a tract of from a quarter to half a mile in width. The next morning the wind was cold and northwesterly, and continued northerly for two days.

During the present summer, (1834,) which has been unusually hot and sultry, we have heard of tornadoes and hail-storms of limited extent, having visited almost every state in the union, from Maine to Louisiana—several of them attended with great loss of lives and property. In almost every case they pursued a course from west to east.

A remarkable example of sudden cold, caused by a descent of air from the upper regions, occurred in Cuba in 1809, 24th of May. Cornelius Roberts, a sugar planter, who resided forty years on the island, informed me, "that after a hurricane had been blowing from the southeast and south, from the 22d until 11 o'clock A. M., of the 24th, a calm followed for an hour, when the wind prevailed from the northwest. At the same time, the atmosphere became extremely dark like night, accompanied by a roaring in the air, trembling of the earth, and intense cold. Every thing green became black, as if a fire had passed over the country." Query, was not the calm, in the above case, produced by a descent of cold air, which had acquired the tropical velocity of the earth from west to east, on its passage from the

equator to latitude 23° north, and which *neutralized the currents from the southeast and from the south, thus producing the calm?*

The difference between the temperature of the ocean and atmosphere over it being small, there is little or no dew at sea, and very little thunder and lightning. The unceasing motion of its particles preserves a uniform temperature, being only two or three degrees colder during night, than during day:—while on land the difference is often ten times as great.

Air considerably rarefied by heat, receives into it a much greater quantity of vapour before it is saturated than cold air, because it affords much more room between its particles for the expanded vapour to pass through it, and because it does not condense the vapour, but allows it to accumulate in larger quantities before precipitation. Hence, though there be more invisible water in the atmosphere during summer than winter, there is less vapour: more rain in summer, and more fog in winter. In this latter state, the atmosphere is a better conductor of caloric than during summer, which thus passes freely from place to place without being accumulated, and therefore without explosion. This, together with the diminished quantity of caloric in the atmosphere, is the reason there is no thunder and lightning in the polar regions, nor in our own climate during winter. In the production of dew and frost, the earth is first cooled down by radiation, when it attracts caloric from the stratum of transparent atmospheric vapour immediately over it, by which it coalesces into dew or frost, according to the temperature of the surface.

It is highly probable, that Dr. Wells' ingenious explanation of the increased production of dew on clear nights is incorrect, and that he mistook a mere *concomitant*, for the real cause of this phenomenon. He attributes the small amount of dew which is formed under a cloudy canopy, "to the obstruction of heat radiated from the earth's surface by the clouds." Admitting that a portion of the heat radiated from the surface of the earth, is reflected back instead of being absorbed by clouds, it is insufficient to produce so decided a change of temperature. Is it not more probable, that the caloric of aqueous vapour, which is given out to the atmosphere during its condensation into clouds, is the reason that the surface of the earth is not cooled to the dew point? and that, consequently, no transparent aqueous vapour is condensed into dew? On a clear night, when no caloric is given out to the atmosphere by the condensation of vapour, the earth is cooled down by radiation, because it receives nothing to compensate for the loss of what is given off; so that the transparent aqueous vapour, contained in the

lower strata of the air, is condensed into dew. With this single exception, we know not a more beautiful example of philosophical induction, than Dr. Wells' treatise on dew. There is no dew on windy nights, for the same reason that a removal of water, and agitation, promote the solution of salts.

The formation of all fogs, is owing to a partial condensation of aqueous vapour, caused by the abstraction of heat from colder bodies—sometimes, by the mixture of air of different temperatures. For example, during autumn, the temperature of the Mississippi, Ohio, and other large rivers, is nearly the same during night and day; while that of the land is greatly *reduced* at night by radiation, especially towards morning, when it is at the extreme limit of reduction. Under such circumstances, the intermixture of the land atmosphere at the temperature of 40° F. with that over the water, which is at 45 or 50°, produces a fog or mist. The same effect is produced on the eastern coast of the United States, during autumn. The land is cooled down by radiation at night, while the temperature of the ocean remains nearly the same. During this state of things, whether the wind blows from the sea or land, a mixture of warm and cool air produces fogs. Over the banks of Newfoundland, where the warm atmosphere from the Gulf Stream, is intermixed with that of the cold water and icebergs of the north, they prevail throughout the year. Nova Scotia is, proverbially, the region of fogs. The frost rime of the polar seas, is produced in the same way, but by the agency of a lower temperature.

During summer, the Alleghany mountains are always covered with fog in the morning, during fair weather. Being cooled down at night by radiation, they abstract caloric from the transparent aqueous vapour, which is always suspended in the atmosphere in greater or less quantity, by which it is condensed into huge volumes of mist or fog, that envelope the mountains with giant folds of majestic drapery—and which are not redissolved by the solar rays, before 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning. The greater quantity of rain and snow which fall on mountains than on plains, is owing to the same cause, as we have already stated.

In all parts of the United States, there is an autumnal period called Indian summer, which usually commences some time in Novem. and continues, with occasional intermissions, through a portion of December—some seasons, in the Mississippi Valley, until Christmas. It is generally ushered in by a southerly wind, which, being warm, is filled with transparent aqueous vapour; but as the earth becomes gradually

cooler on the approach of winter, by losing more heat than it receives from the sun, the air over it is also cooled down, the transparent vapour is slightly condensed into a fine hazy mist, which reflects the blue rays of light, and gives the whole atmosphere a smoky appearance, which continues until the wind changes. As the Indian summer is always a dry season, and as the mountains and prairies are frequently on fire during such weather, the smoky appearance of the atmosphere has been attributed by many persons, to the vapour of burning substances diffused through the air. This cause, we think altogether too limited in its operation to account for the prevalence of Indian summer throughout a continent—often many hundred miles distant from burning prairies. The conflagrations which occur during this period, are the effect of a dry season—while the gradual cooling down of the earth, during the prevalence of warm southerly winds, is all sufficient to account for the phenomenon. The commencement and predominance of northerly winds, by mixing with them, abstract their caloric, and condense their aqueous vapour, causing dark cloudy weather, and general rains or snows, according to the latitude and elevation—after which, the reign of winter becomes established.

When we examine the mode in which galvanic electricity is produced, we discover a still more intimate relation to caloric than in any of its other forms. We shall find that in every case, it is produced by the combustion of metallic plates differently oxidizable, and that the energy of the pile is proportional to the rapidity with which the intervening acid is decomposed. The oxygen of the acid combines with the metals, and electricity is evolved, in the same way that caloric is given out during common combustion.

The principal difference is, that in common combustion, a great portion of the caloric evolved, is carried off in the vapour of the combustible materials in the state of flame, &c., while in the combustion or oxidation of metals by the pile, the caloric is not carried off, owing to the less evaporable nature of the metals; so that it is concentrated and conveyed by the conducting wires to the extremities of the battery. We shall also find, that the energy of the battery is proportional to the extent of the metallic surfaces, as well as to the decomposibility of the fluid which supplies the oxygen. When the decomposition of the fluid ceases, the pile loses its energy, and the galvanic current is at an end.

When only *two large plates* of zinc and copper are immersed into an acid solution, we obtain an imponderable fluid, differing in a slight degree from the caloric evolved by ordinary combustion. But

if we *lessen* the size of the metallic plates, while we increase their *number*, an imponderable fluid is produced, of an *intermediate* character between caloric and common electricity. When only two plates or coils are used, the apparatus is called a CALORIMOTOR, but when a great number of small plates are used, it is called an electrical or galvanic pile. If we gradually lessen the size of the plates, while we increase their number, so that the area of square feet shall be the same, we obtain an igneous fluid, possessing less and less the characteristics of caloric, and more of electricity, which *demonstrates* the identity of *caloric and electricity beyond the possibility of a doubt*: for it would be totally unphilosophical to suppose that by merely changing the size and number of the plates, a radically different fluid is evolved; while the metals are of the same material and thickness, and the acid in which they are immersed the same. The calorimotor evolves *caloric*, until the metallic plates are consumed, or until the acid is decomposed; while the galvanic pile produces electricity until the plates or acid are consumed by oxydation.

M. De la Rive of Geneva, and M. Parrot of St. Petersburg, have recently demonstrated, that in all cases where electricity was supposed to have been developed by the *mere contact* of different bodies, it was produced by *slight oxydation*, or by *friction*. When M. Parrot brought metallic plates into contact, and separated them after an interval cautiously, so as to avoid friction, he could not discern any trace of electricity with the most delicate instruments.—(*See Transactions of the British Association for 1832.*)

We are informed by writers on galvanism, that a few large plates disengage more of the galvanic fluid than a great number of small plates; but that the *intensity* of its action is in proportion to the *number* of plates. They have not given any reason for this difference, which is probably owing to the fact, that the oxydation of large plates, resembles more nearly the process of ordinary combustion, and the caloric or electric currents are less concentrated than when the plates are small—and hence cannot be conducted off by the connecting wires with the same velocity that it is when in a concentrated state. Caloric, electricity, and galvanism, have hitherto constituted a separate and distinct triad of imponderables, perfectly incomprehensible; all the phenomena of which are quite intelligible, if we refer them to the agency of one grand, primary, universal element. Will any philosopher contend, that during the oxydation of metals by a galvanic pile, there are two distinct fluids disengaged, caloric and electricity? or

that during the evaporation of water, two distinct imponderable fluids become latent in its vapour? The idea is absurd.

The earth may be considered as a huge galvanic pile, and the various combinations and decompositions which mark all its chemical changes, are effected by the agency of caloric in some of its forms.

Thus we perceive that the galvanic fluid is produced in the same way that caloric is produced, viz., by combustion, or by the union of oxygen with combustibles. M. Pouillet found, by experiment, that whenever two bodies united by combustion, the supporter gave out positive, and the combustible, negative electricity.

We know, that during every combination of oxygen with combustible matter, caloric or electricity is given out. There can be no doubt, that all earthquakes, volcanoes, and thermal waters, owe their existence to the *caloric given out* in the lower parts of the earth, in a mode similar to its evolution from a galvanic pile. *It is certainly given out during all oxidations of the earths and metals*—and we know that oxidation is perpetually going on throughout all matter, as far as we are acquainted with it. In treating of atmospheric electricity, we endeavoured to show, that it resulted from the accumulation of solar heat in aqueous vapour, and from its rapid passage *out* of this vapour into bodies charged negatively with caloric—from which it follows, that the *sun* is the great fountain of atmospheric electricity. We have seen, that caloric is universally diffused throughout terrestrial matter in a latent state, that it can be disengaged from all bodies by pressure, friction, and by chemical decomposition:—electricity is produced in the same way.

Caloric in its latent state, does not differ more from its active state, than does sulphuric acid in its separate state, from that of its combination with soda or magnesia. Nor does it differ more from electricity, than does electricity from itself, in an exhausted receiver, and under the pressure of the atmosphere.

Dr. Franklin denominated the fusion of metals by electricity, a cold fusion. He adds, “I do not mean fusion by the force of cold, but a fusion without heat, because it expands and separates their particles instantaneously, without producing combustion.” (*See his Works, vol. 3. p. 51.*) But we know, that if an electric or galvanic current is *continued* through the metals, combustion occurs with *sensible heat*—and if retarded or obstructed in its passage, it produces an explosion. If it be asked why the electric spark does not produce the sensation of heat, we answer, because of its velocity, and the subtilty of the combustible matter with which it is combined. The hand may

be held in a shower of sparks produced by the friction of steel with emery, without a sensation of heat, for the same reason, unless the sparks be very large. Yet on examination with a microscope, they are found to consist of small particles of steel in a state of fusion.

Dr. Hare, of Philadelphia, concluded from experiments with his calorimotor, that the galvanic fluid is composed of both caloric and electricity—that they are combined by what he terms the “reciprocal attraction of imponderables.” With great respect for the talents of Dr. Hare, we have not been able to discover the slightest evidence that any such affinity exists between caloric and electricity, admitting them to be distinct elementary fluids; nor has Dr. Hare offered any facts in support of this singular hypothesis.

Caloric, which is imponderable, has an undoubted attraction for ponderable matter, which is the reason it cannot be kept in a separate state, unless insulated by non-conductors, and then only for a limited time; whether in the form of domestic heat, galvanic, or common electric heat, but universally seeks a latent state, by entering into other matter, and thus becoming a constituent portion of it.

The attraction of oxygen for combustibles, which is owing to their being in different states of caloric, causes a perpetual combustion throughout nature. Perhaps there is no such thing as total quiescence in matter. Hence bituminous coal is continually changing by oxydation, and passing into a state of anthracite or hard coal. Hence also the accumulation of caloric, given out by combustion in the bosom of the earth, which is restrained for centuries by superincumbent pressure, until its elastic force overcomes all resistance, and raises mountains, or bursts forth into volcanoes.

Nearly all the changes which take place on the earth's surface, result from the combination of oxygen with other elements—which combination, as we before stated, is promoted by heat, and by electricity.

It is this tendency of oxygen to combine with other elements which causes the various decompositions of organic matter. Oxygen forms a portion of all the varieties of rocks, which are composed of a few simple elements, differently arranged and combined, by the force of molecular attraction. In the animal and vegetable kingdoms, all the varieties are produced by the different combinations of carbon, hydrogen, and nitrogen, with oxygen, together with a small proportion of salts, earths, and iron. All the dissolutions and reproductions of matter are ultimately resolvable into the subtle silent agency of heat, which reduces them to the elementary state, and thus prepares them for entering into new combinations. Solids are converted

into fluids, and fluids into gases, which are again converted into animals, plants, and minerals. In the decomposition of vegetables, the oxygen of the air, unites with their carbon, making carbonic acid gas, the appropriate food of living vegetation. And so on through all the endless ramifications of nature, we perceive that death is only a transmutation of matter, by which it is prepared for entering into new forms of life and beauty.

The atmosphere is perpetually wasted by oxydation, combustion, the respiration of animals, and growth of plants; but it is also as constantly reproduced from solids and fluids, by the expansive power of heat. From the ceaseless agency of caloric in changing solids and fluids into gases, we are authorized to conclude, that if the whole atmosphere were annihilated, it would be again reproduced—or, that if all the waters of the earth were converted into solids, they would be gradually regenerated by chemical agency, under the influence of solar and terrestrial heat. How beautiful and sublime are the *ordinances of nature!* We shall endeavour to point out in another place, the difference between the attraction of vitality, and that of chemical composition. The greater amount of caloric constantly appropriated by living than dead bodies, endows them with more active powers, by which they attract the molecules of dead matter—overcome their chemical affinities—and assimilate their particles to their own structure.

We have seen that caloric is not only the cause of chemical and cohesive attraction, but that, when accumulated, it is the agent by which the molecular attractions of matter are dissolved. In short, that it is the cause of all the changes which take place throughout the globe. If rocks and salts are dissolved in water, it is caloric which effects it. If rocks and hills are carried down by running water into the plains and seas, caloric is the cause of fluidity. The purification of all metals is effected by caloric, which vaporizes and carries off their drossy combinations.

We cannot pass over in silence, what we consider a fundamental error on electricity, which has been embraced by many modern writers in France and England:—we allude to the doctrine of two distinct electricities—a doctrine which has no foundation in truth—which is contrary to the simplicity that characterizes all the operations of nature—and which will not bear the test of philosophical analysis. It has arisen from the fact, that vitreous, resinous, and many other substances, are in different states of electricity, that is, plus and minus in relation to each other.

It is stated by different authors, that whenever a body is charged with positive electricity, it tends to

produce negative electricity in all the bodies in its vicinity. (*Lib. of U. Knowledge, Article Electricity.*) This fact alone is sufficient to refute the doctrine of two distinct fluids. How is it possible to conceive that a body charged with vitreous or positive electricity, can communicate electricity of another species to a body in its vicinity? The difference is only in degree. The communicating body being charged plus, imparts a portion of its electricity to bodies near it, which become minus or negative. Every attempt to improve this simple and beautiful theory of our countryman, Dr. Franklin, has only rendered the subject of electricity more complicated and obscure. A distinction has been inferred from the difference of form and colour of electric sparks produced by positive and negative electricity. As well might we say that there are different species of caloric, modifying the numerous colours of flame in ordinary combustion. The colour and form of the electric spark depends on its size, and on the nature of the conductor through which it passes.

It is stated, that if a plate of glass with a polished surface be rubbed against one that is roughened, the former always acquires the vitreous, and the latter the resinous electricity. (*See Lib. U. K.*) What better proof could be required, that in the above cases there are not two distinct electricities developed; but that in one case it is plus, while in the other it is minus.

It is difficult to conceive how Sir Humphrey Davy mistook the attraction between electricity and ponderable matter, for an attraction between two electricities. When the ponderable elements attract each other, he supposed that it was owing to the attraction of positive for negative electricity.

Now it is demonstrable, that when two bodies are charged with the same electricity, one plus and the other minus, whether positive or negative, they attract each other—so that it is the attraction of electricity for ponderable matter, that causes bodies which contain different quantities of electricity to combine. Will it be said that the attraction of my hand for frozen mercury is owing to its being filled with positive electricity, and the mercury with a different species of electricity, which is called resinous?—and that it is the attraction of the two electricities for each other which causes the effect? The idea is preposterous. The hand is plus and the mercury is minus—and caloric is attracted from the plus to the minus body. The above mistake has been a perpetual barrier to a clear understanding of electrical attraction.

To enumerate all the effects of caloric would be to write a history of universal nature.

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It has been found that different quantities of caloric are required to raise different bodies to the same temperature. For example, it requires double the quantity of heat to raise a pound of water from 32 to 100 degrees of F., that it does to raise a pound of spermaceti oil to the same temperature. The quantity of heat necessary to raise different bodies to the same temperature, has been termed by some chemical writers, their “specific caloric”—and by others “their heat of capacity”—which are, both, vague and inappropriate expressions of what is meant. Whenever we use the phrase “specific caloric,” we mean the quantity of heat which is combined with the atoms of different bodies in a latent state, which determines their volumes and specific gravities. In reality, it is difficult to conceive any other cause of specific gravity, except the constituent caloric which is combined with the ultimate atoms of different bodies. The reason why spermaceti oil, the ethers, alcohol, and all gaseous bodies, require less caloric to raise their temperatures a given number of degrees, than that of water, is, that they *already contain a greater quantity of heat between their molecules*, in proportion to the amount of matter, than water does. For example, the constituent heat of alcohol greatly exceeds that of water, which is proved by the following experiment.

If an ounce by weight of ice, be put into two ounces of alcohol, and the same quantity into two ounces of water at the same thermometric temperature, the ice in the *alcohol dissolves much more rapidly* than in the water—showing, that the ice receives caloric from the alcohol faster than from the water. The same thing is true of brandy, gin, and with the different species of wine, according to the relative quantity of alcohol which they contain.

It has been rendered extremely probable by the experiments of Dulong and Petit, “that the atoms of all the simple elements are equally heated or cooled by equal accessions or abstractions of heat. Should this beautiful and comprehensive law be verified by more extensive research, it will afford a key to the *atomic constitution of matter*, by which we shall be enabled to trace the relations of caloric to ponderable matter, through all the diversified phenomena of nature. It has been already found, that the specific gravity of all the gases, is the inverse measure of their specific caloric—that of hydrogen being least, it contains the largest amount of latent heat. The specific gravity of aqueous vapour, is less than that of atmospheric air, but its latent heat is greater, and so of *all the gases.*”

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From the above facts and observations, it follows, that one of the principal functions of caloric is to give

volume to bodies by keeping their particles asunder ;—that in reality all light bodies are composed chiefly of caloric in a latent state. Hence, the reason why gases and all light spongy substances are bad conductors of caloric, which repels its own particles ; while the densest bodies, such as gold, platinum, and silver, are good conductors.* It would be interesting to trace the few exceptions to this general law : for example, why melted resins are better conductors than in the solid state, together with a few others.

The small specific gravity of wool, furs, silk, sponge, cork, &c., has been attributed by Dr. Thomson to the diffusion of air through their interstices ; but we have shown that the bulk of atmospheric air, and of all other bodies, is owing to caloric, which is easily demonstrated by *condensing* them by pressure, when light and heat are copiously given out, and in many cases accompanied by electrical phenomena.

The identity of caloric and electricity is strikingly exhibited by their analogous effects on ponderable matter. Electricity, as well as caloric, expands atmospheric air, water, &c. Dr. Franklin filled a small glass tube with water, and sent a charge of electricity through it, by which it was shattered to pieces, thrown all over the room, and the water evaporated. The same effect is still more obvious with oil. Electricity inflames ether, alcohol, and gunpowder, renders wine red-hot, singes the hair of animals, sets houses, trees, &c., on fire.

The calorific effect of lightning is so intense, that, when it passes down a metallic chain, instead of a rod, it often fuses the chain so as to part it, doubtless owing to the retardation of the electric fluid, by the air between the links, which is a bad conductor. The damage which is usually produced on houses, ships, trees, &c., by lightning, is owing to their being imperfect conductors ; and consequently arresting or retarding the fluid, until it tears, burns, and fuses them. Caloric repels its own particles, and is attracted by ponderable matter ; the same is true of electricity. They are also both conducted by the same materials. Caloric and electricity are both attracted by points. Caloric enters slowly into a smooth metallic body, but rapidly into one which presents a great many points. They are both produced by friction, by pressure, and by chemical action.

That caloric, or electricity, is greatly concentrated on quitting a mass of vapour in the form of lightning, is proved by the fact, that a single spark or streak

causes a general precipitation of rain ; from which we are authorized to infer, that its force and velocity are owing to its condensation. When greatly compressed in the form of steam, the velocity of its explosion is instantaneous.

Flannel, worn next the skin, acquires electrical properties, because a bad conductor, and gives out sparks freely on rubbing it. Signor Matracchi, of Forli, found by experiment, that when glass plates were exposed to the solar rays, they became electric if no clouds intervened.

The rapid motion of electricity has been considered as an argument against its identity with caloric ; but we have proved that the rapidity of its motion, is owing to its accumulation. When caloric is greatly accumulated in iron, as when it is brought to a white heat, it is radiated with great velocity, carrying off with it portions of the metal in a state of incandescence, or sparks, with a rapidity resembling the electric spark. The spark from flint and steel is produced by the percussion of hard bodies, and moves with great rapidity.

Electricity can be drawn from a prime conductor gradually, by means of a sharp metallic point, without producing a spark, when it becomes a constant current while the cylinder is turning :—and if directed on the forehead, it produces the sensation of a pleasant breeze. If the human body be insulated while the current is passing into it from the prime conductor, it is very soon saturated, when the fluid runs over—the hair stands erect, until the body is brought near to a conductor, when it passes off, and the equilibrium is restored.

It cannot be contended, that the velocity of the electric fluid is greater than that of the solar rays. Caloric, like electricity, moves with a velocity proportioned to its intensity at its source. Caloric and electricity, in all their forms, produce the same light. The combustion of charcoal by a current of galvanic electricity, causes the most vivid light in nature, except that of the solar beams. When decomposed with a prism, they present the same elements.

We have been thus particular in elucidating the subject of electricity, in connexion with caloric, from a *deep conviction of its importance*—and because we believe that it is not rightly understood. It is contrary to that simplicity which characterizes all the operations of nature, to make a primary distinction between them ; consequently it is unphilosophical to consider them as separate branches of pneumatology.

* That it is the expansive power of caloric which raises water into the atmosphere, and not its affinity for air, is evident from the experiments of Mr. Dalton, who proved that evaporation goes on

much more rapidly in an exhausted receiver than under common atmospheric pressure.

Though we do not pretend to understand *how* it is, that caloric in all cases exhibits electrical phenomena, we have proved, that, independent of caloric, electricity has no existence.

We have no evidence that either caloric or electricity is ever visible, unless when combined with other matter in a state of expansion. There is no matter which does not become luminous when greatly expanded by this subtle element. The light of a candle is produced by the expansion of its combustible materials by caloric;—*from which it follows, that light is composed of ponderable matter in a state of extreme diffusion.*

Dr. Fusinieri found by experiment, that the electric spark drawn from metallic conductors, carries off with it a portion of the metal, in a state of fusion, or of incandescent molecules, whatever be the nature of the metal. Are we not authorized to infer from the above facts, that solar light is composed of the matter of the sun, so exceedingly expanded by caloric, as to become phosphorescent and imponderable? The expansion of solid matter into light by caloric, is, perhaps, the nearest approach to the ultimate division of matter, that we can conceive.

Sir Isaac Newton supposed, that an ounce of ponderable matter might be so diffused, as to fill the whole space of the solar system—that not a quarter of an inch should be unoccupied by a portion of its particles.

In so large a body of matter as the sun, is there not caloric enough constantly evolved, by chemical agency, to bear off a portion of its matter through all the illimitable field of space? It is not a little surprising, that the production of light by common combustion, did not long ago lead philosophers to this conclusion. They generally agree, that in light, caloric is combined with some other material. In the case of a burning candle, what is it, but the diffusion of its combustible matter!*

That portion of the matter of light which is not caloric, probably combines with the ponderable matter of the earth, and other planets, and thus loses its phosphorescent properties, becoming a portion of common matter. Sir Isaac Newton asks the question, “are not light and common matter convertible into each other?” If the above facts and analogies establish the affirmative of this important query, as we think they do most clearly, the conclusion follows, that *all the planets and comets, including satellites, and meteoric stones, are emanations from the sun*—that they have been formed by the aggregation of so-

lar light—that they are slowly but constantly augmenting in size—and that after inconceivably long periods of revolving cycles, they will successively return to the great source from which they came, by which their existence as planets, &c. will be brought to an end, supplying the waste occasioned by solar radiation. We have no doubt, that the numerous meteoric stones which have fallen upon the earth since the historical era, were formed by the aggregation of light, far beyond our atmosphere—that they revolved around our planet in obedience to its attraction, for unknown periods of time, until that attraction brought them to its surface.

It is estimated by astronomers, that the eccentricity of the earth's orbit is slowly diminishing; and that the moon has been moving quicker and quicker, since the first recorded eclipses. Sir William Herschel, and M. Laplace, supposed that the sun and all the planets were formed by the consolidation of what they termed nebulous matter. Without going back so far, we consider it extremely probable, that all cometary bodies are formed by the gradual consolidation of solar light, at great distances from the sun—that after they are thus formed, they obey his attractive influence, and return towards him with a velocity increasing as the squares of the distance diminish—but that they are prevented from falling into the sun, by the deflecting attraction of some other body, by which they are carried around the sun with extreme rapidity, and so back to the point from which they started, with a velocity diminishing as the squares of the distance increase. During such a revolution, it is evident, that the comet must describe an elliptical orbit, which gradually becomes more and more circular, as it increases in size, solidity, and rotundity, until it becomes a planetary orb. When such bodies are formed in the vicinity of a planet, they become moons, or satellites, and revolve about it, as the moons of Jupiter and Herschel.

Thus we may form some idea of the first origin of the beautiful worlds that revolve around the sun, and learn that their motions were *commenced* by the same power which has kept them revolving ever since; and that the original “*projectile force*” exerted on them, was that of gravitation.

Should any one deem it incredible, that a fluid so ethereal and refined as solar light, may be condensed into solid and opaque bodies, like the earth and other planets, we would refer him to the daily occurrence of this wonderful metamorphosis, in the conversion of common matter into flame or light, in our domestic

* It has been ascertained by the experiments of M. M. Nobili and Melloni, that phosphorescent matter is always accompanied by

caloric, though in small proportion. (See *Annales de Chim. et de Phys.* for October, 1831.)

fires ; and its reconversion into gases, liquids, and solids. All that we behold in nature leads to the conclusion, that every part of the universe is governed by the same laws, from the minutest atoms, to the largest bodies.

From the preceding premises, it follows, that there was a time when the earth did not exist ; and that a period must arrive, when it will be resolved into the great ocean of fire from which it sprung—that according to the language of sacred writ, “the earth shall be burnt up”—when all that it contains, shall be redissolved into its primitive elements. When contemplating this vast circulation of the solar system, and the incomputable periods of time required for the formation of such large bodies as Jupiter and Saturn, the human mind becomes sensible of its limits, while it is elevated and expanded by such views of infinite power, wisdom, and harmony. Compared with the immensity and duration of the solar system, our globe, with all its geological revolutions, dwindles into a petty *province*, marked by a few insignificant epochs. We know from actual observation, that the matter of our planet is in a state of unceasing circulation ; that the internal portions of the earth, are forced up by subterranean heat, as if by the power of a mighty heart, to the surface, forming mountains and hills ; while rains, rivers, and springs, are perpetually reducing them to plains, and transporting them into the ocean, again to be elevated above its waters, and to form new mountains. Thus we behold with the spiritual eye of philosophy, the whole universe in a state of perpetual motion—and that through all its untold revolutions, it is under the guidance of that unchangeable Being, who “clothes himself with light as with a garment—who maketh the clouds his chariots ; who rideth upon the wings of the wind, and who maketh his ministers a flaming fire.” Sir John Herschel expresses himself at a loss to conceive how so enormous a conflagration as that of the sun can be kept up. He says, (*Treatise on Astronomy*, p. 202,) “if conjecture might be hazarded, we should look rather to the known possibility of an *indefinite generation of heat by friction*, or to its *excitement by the electric discharge*, than to any actual combustion of ponderable matter, whether solid or gaseous, for the origin of the solar radiation.”

According to our theory, it results from chemical agency. It is estimated by geologists, that there are about 200 volcanoes in operation, on the surface of our continents, and double the number beneath the ocean, making 600, which are owing to subterranean chemical action, and which evolve an enormous quantity of heat. Now if the sun be several hundred

thousand times as large as the earth ; and if he be subject to the same chemical laws, he must evolve as many hundred thousand times as much light and heat by chemical, or volcanic agency, as the earth, and all sufficient to supply the solar radiation. Moreover, if we admit the existence of several hundred thousand enormous volcanoes to be distributed over the sun, there must be large opaque spaces between them, termed spots, some of which are supposed to be 45,000 miles in diameter. Whatever may be thought of such speculations, we are warranted to conclude from analogy, that the amount of heat evolved from all bodies by chemical action, is in proportion to the *amount* of matter, and that it is equal in all given periods of time. If the earth were as large as the sun, it would evolve as much heat as the sun by chemical agency, which would carry off continually a portion of its matter in the form of light, giving birth and animation to new worlds, and supplying them with light and life as the sun now does to the planets of the solar system.

Some philosophers have supposed, that those large planets, termed Saturn and Herschel, are uninhabitable, owing to their immense distance from the sun. But if there be an evolution of latent or combined heat, from all bodies, by chemical agency, in proportion to the amount of matter which they contain, these immense planets may enjoy a *temperature of their own*, which, in connexion with the heat derived from the sun, may produce a climate more equable and delightful than that of the earth, adapted to the most refined and exalted conditions of organic life. Moreover, if the atmospheres of Herschel and Saturn correspond in weight and density with their size, they must retain the solar rays, as in the polar regions of our own planet, where the temperature is from 80 to 90 degrees higher in the sun than in the shade ; while in the tropics, the difference is not more than 47° F. These immense and remote bodies, may have been peopled by far higher and nobler orders of intelligence than man, for *millions of ages* ; while the existence of man on the earth, according to the testimony of geology, does not extend beyond a few thousand years. What progress may they not have made in the boundless march of improvement !—exceeding, perhaps, our loftiest conceptions of flaming cherubim and seraphim.

What shall we say of those theorists, who deny the materiality of both light and heat ?—who reject the evidence of their senses ?—and who will not believe in the existence of any thing which cannot be weighed with our imperfect balances, like a loaf of bread ? They know that caloric increases the volume

of matter ;—they also know that light is decomposable, and that it produces chemical changes on other matter ;—yet they maintain, that they are merely the result of motion among the particles of bodies. If asked what causes this motion among the atoms of ponderable matter, they are silent. If they are referred to the elastic power of caloric in a steam engine, they are equally at a loss. Admitting that caloric is the effect of motion among the particles of water in the boiler, *what causes the motion?* It is something which produces palpable and visible expansion ;—therefore, must be matter.

Dr. Young, and Sir John Herschel, tell us, that light consists of the periodic movements of an elastic medium which pervades all space—regularly recurring at equal intervals, no less than five hundred millions of millions of times in a single second. That it is by such movements communicated to the nerves of our eyes, that we see ;—nay, more, that it is the frequency of their recurrence which affects us with the sense of the diversity of colours ; that, for instance, in acquiring the sensation of redness, our eyes are affected four hundred and eighty-two millions of millions of times ; of yellowness, five hundred and forty millions of millions of times ; and of violet, seven hundred and seven millions of millions of times per second.*

The question naturally arises, what is the elastic medium to which these distinguished philosophers refer, if it be not caloric ?—and what is the cause of the rapid periodic movements, to which they attribute the sensation of different colours, admitting that such periodic movements do exist ? We doubt very much whether the above theory will stand the test of rigid analysis. It reminds us of Sir John Herschel's definition of abstract science, contained in the second chapter of his really beautiful Discourse on Natural Philosophy. He says, "that abstract science is independent of a state of nature—of creation—of every thing, in short, except memory, thought, and reason." We confess ourselves unable to comprehend the meaning of such definitions.

Those who maintain that solar light is the result of undulations of an elastic medium, must suppose that the laws of nature are not uniform ; or that the light of a candle is also produced by the undulations of an elastic medium. The undulatory theory of light is encompassed with difficulties which to us appear insurmountable. 1. It *assumes* the existence of an *imaginary* elastic medium. 2. It assumes

the existence of different numbers of vibrations or undulations, to produce the various colours—while we know from the best defined experiments of Newton and other philosophers, that all the primary colours may be separated by the prism, and seen at the same moment. Now if all these vibrations occur simultaneously, it is evident that they would produce a total confusion of all colours. The whole theory involves an unnecessary complication of the subject, while the Newtonian theory of emanations of a subtile and material compound fluid, is perfectly simple and intelligible.

Nothing is more surprising than that such men as Count Rumford and Sir Humphrey Davy, should have doubted the material and independent existence of caloric. Sir Humphrey Davy supposed, that caloric was often produced by the combination of vitreous and resinous electricity—in which opinion he has been followed by Winterl and Oerstedt.

That the reader may more fully understand the views of Sir Humphrey Davy in regard to the nature of caloric, we shall present the following quotation from his Chemical Philosophy, page 52 ; observing at the same time, that we think it the most inconclusive reasoning contained in his valuable work, and altogether unworthy of so great a man.

"When the temperature of bodies is raised by friction, there seems to be no diminution of their capacities, using the word in its common sense ; and in many chemical changes connected with an increase of temperature, there appears to be likewise an increase of capacity. A piece of iron made red hot by hammering, cannot be strongly heated a second time by the same means, unless it has been previously introduced into a fire. This fact has been explained by supposing that the fluid of heat has been pressed out of it by the percussion, which is recovered in the fire ; but this is a very rude mechanical idea. The arrangement of its parts are altered by hammering in this way, and it is rendered brittle. By a moderate degree of friction, as it would appear from Rumford's experiments, the same piece of metal may be kept hot for any length of time ; so that if heat be pressed out, the quantity must be inexhaustible.† When any body is cooled, it occupies a smaller volume than before : it is evident, therefore, that its parts must have approached towards each other. When the body is expanded by heat, it is equally evident, that its parts must have separated from each other. The immediate cause, then, of heat, is motion, and the laws of

* See a Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy, by J. F. W. Herschel, Esq., F. R. S., and Young's Lectures on Natural Philosophy, vol. ii. p. 627.

† It is certainly inexhaustible while any of the metal remains to be condensed by the pressure and friction.

its communication are precisely the same as the laws of the communication of motion."

"Since all matter may be made to fill a smaller volume by cooling, it is evident that the particles of matter must have space between them; and since every body can communicate the power of expansion to a body of a lower temperature, that is, can give an expansive motion to its particles, it is a probable inference, that its own particles are possessed of motion; but as there is no change in the position of its parts as long as its temperature is uniform, the motion, if it exist, must be a vibratory or undulatory motion, or a motion of particles round each other."

We have called the attention of the reader to this passage, because it has influenced the opinions of many other writers, both in England and in this country; and because we think it fundamentally erroneous.

A remarkable proof of the *mechanical force* of caloric was exhibited the other evening in this city. On the 7th of May, about eight o'clock in the evening, the porter and victualling house of Mr. Woodward, 553 Grand Street, was struck by lightning, and considerable injury done to the wall and property. Thence it passed off across the street in an oblique direction, and struck the house of Mr. Sweesey, corner of Mangin and Grand Streets, entering near the eaves under a dormant window, which was shivered to atoms; while a lady who sat near it happily escaped unhurt. In its passage through the house, it overturned a bedstead and bed completely upside down, injured the furniture, and upset a barrel of pickles in the lower part of the house. The hole which it made in entering the house, was nearly as large as a barrel. (*Vide New York Courier and Enquirer.*)

Mr. Lyell relates, on the authority of Dr. Hibbert, that at Funtzie, in Fetlar, one of the Shetlands, about the middle of the last century, "a rock of mica schist, one hundred and five feet broad, and in some places four feet thick, was in an instant torn by a flash of lightning from its bed, and broken into three large, and several lesser fragments. One of these, twenty-six feet long, ten feet broad, and four feet thick, was simply turned over. The second, which was twenty-eight feet long, seventeen broad, and five feet in thickness, was hurled across a high point to the distance of fifty yards. Another broken mass, about 40 feet long, was thrown still farther, in the same direction, quite into the sea. There were also many lesser fragments scattered up and down."

We have taken this general view of caloric, for the purpose of showing the various appearances

which it exhibits, under different circumstances. There are strong reasons for believing, that the aurora borealis and australis, is one of the forms of caloric, which is given out by the upper current of the atmosphere, as it passes to the poles.

It is a well known law, that all matter gives out caloric, in passing from a rarer to a denser state; and we know that the density of the atmosphere greatly increases as we advance from the lower to the higher latitudes. We also know that the atmosphere, like all other bodies, owes its bulk to caloric. Hence it follows, that caloric must be given out by the atmosphere, as it passes from a rarer to a denser state. M. Hansteen says, "that it is a matter of common observation, in the arctic regions, confirmed by long experience, that the aurora borealis is accompanied by intense cold, especially after a mild day. He adds further, that while the auroræ are streaming, the sky becomes opaque or misty. He thinks that the aurora takes from the transparent aqueous vapour a portion of its caloric, and that it first becomes luminous on passing out of the atmosphere." M. Hansteen also states, that the auroræ are accompanied by an increase of magnetic intensity—that, when they are vivid, the horizontal needle is restless, quivers, and varies from three to five degrees from its ordinary place. (*See Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, vol. 12, p. 89.)

It is not a little surprising, that M. Hansteen was not led by these facts to the theory above suggested. He considers the aurora as "probably the result of a struggle of powers put in activity by the variously constituted substances composing the mass of earth, which we may one day, perhaps, learn to know;"—"that it decomposes the aqueous vapour of the polar atmosphere, thus producing the polar fogs;"—from which it is evident that M. Hansteen's views of this singular phenomenon were vague and indefinite.

Notwithstanding the amount of caloric given out by the upper equatorial currents as they pass to the poles, very little effect is produced by it in moderating the climate, as it escapes into the regions above—where not being compressed by the atmosphere, it expands like the electric spark in an exhausted tube, into broad bands or zones and columns—filling the sky with halos, or crowns of lambent light or undulating coruscations.

It is highly probable that the auroræ are formed in the upper and rarefied regions of the atmosphere—and that the different apparent heights of the columns are owing to their different distances from the point of observation.

When the atmosphere between the observer and the

lights is hazy, they appear crimson or irised, for the same reason that the sun rises and sets red, when the lower atmosphere is filled with vapours. The aurora is seldom, if ever seen between the tropics, because the atmosphere is not convinced within the tropics; and it generally ceases shortly after 12 o'clock at night because the atmosphere acquires nearly its maximum density by that hour. The arched appearance of the aurora is an optical illusion, produced by the limits of vision, according to the laws of perspective, for the same reason that the sky presents a vaulted appearance—or a canopy of clouds which appears to be arched, while in reality they are suspended in horizontal strata.

It is worthy of notice, that the northern lights are most numerous and vivid during the long polar night, while the cold is most intense, when the upper current from the equator in its passage to the pole is greatly condensed; and that they are then exhibited in much lower latitudes than during summer.

It is stated by Sir W. E. Parry and by Captain Scoresby, that during winter in the high latitudes, the aurora were discovered more frequently south than north of Spitzbergen and Melville Island—from which we may conclude, that they are rarely formed over the latitudes of greatest cold; because the atmosphere arrives at its maximum density at the limits of greatest cold.

It is also an important fact corroborating this view of the subject, that they are seen in lower latitudes in the middle and eastern portions of America and Europe, than on the western; which are known to be considerably colder than the western, in the same latitudes, which is owing to the prevalence of west winds, which blow from the *Pacific and Atlantic oceans*, and thus temper the middle latitudes of western coasts. The effect is increased by the condensation of aqueous vapour which is brought from the Pacific and Atlantic oceans by the prevalent west winds of the middle latitudes, and which gives out caloric during its condensation and precipitation on the western coasts. Hence, the greater amount of rain which falls on the western coasts of America and Europe, than on the middle and interior portions—hence, also, the dryness of our west winds in the United States, east of the Rocky Mountains; having deposited their vapour on the western side before reaching the interior. These facts enable us to understand why *our* west winds are dry—while in England and France they are wet, and east winds dry.

The aurora is seen much oftener in Vermont, (be-

tween latitude forty-two and forty-four degrees N.) which is a cold mountainous state, than in France or England, though they are much farther north. General Martin Field has recorded in the *American Journal of Science*, that during the year 1830–31, the aurora was perceived on fifty-six nights; and that during ten years previously it was observed eighteen nights on an average, annually, at Fayettville, Vt.

We have been asked why the auroræ are not continually formed, as the atmosphere is perpetually flowing from the tropical to the higher latitudes? We might as well be asked why there is not perpetual thunder and lightning while the atmosphere is charged with vapours moving from the sea over the land? The condensations which occur in both cases are temporary and unequal, and depend on the relative temperatures of different aerial masses. When the upper current of warm atmosphere, charged with vapour, comes in contact with the cold air of the polar regions, it gives out a large portion of caloric, and the auroræ are vivid; but when the condensation is less considerable, the caloric is given out imperceptibly.

The aurora is probably given off during the condensation of the upper equatorial current, with the vapour which it contains, in a mode similar to the evolution of silent lightning of a summer evening, which produces a lambent light, much more like the aurora than the common lightning. It is highly probable, that the electric fluid is nearly all given out before the upper current reaches the centre of maximum cold, which explains why the aurora is less brilliant at Melville Island, than at Bear Lake, the Shetlands, Orkneys, &c. It also explains why in the coldest regions, as at Port Bowen, Winter Island, &c., the magnetic needle was not sensibly affected by it, as in the United States, and in the north of Europe; and why in the former places it was almost always seen by the British navigators southward of them.

Siberia, Lapland, and the Norwegian Alps, are distinguished by the frequent display of this beautiful meteor. It is said by Bergman, "that persons travelling over the high mountains of Norway have been enveloped in it." It is also stated by Captain Cook and other voyagers, that it is frequently seen in the southern hemisphere, south of Van Diemen's land, and off Cape Horn, where the cold is excessive.

Thus we perceive, that the whole earth is surrounded by an ocean of unseen but living fire. It is that which gives beauty and lustre to the blue empyrean dome—which dissolves and suspends the waters of the ocean on high—and which lets them fall in "fruitful showers to cheer the plains below." It

is the active spirit of the storm and tempest—while it clothes the fields with living green, and causes all nature to rejoice.

Whoever unfolds aright the grandeur and harmony of these manifestations of Infinite Wisdom, may be said, in the language of the eloquent Galen, “to chant a solemn hymn of lofty adoration to the great Author of the universe.”

If the facts and principles which we have thus endeavoured to unfold be founded in truth, we can perceive no limits to their application. They are intimately connected with all the phenomena of living and dead matter, and therefore with every department of human knowledge. The philosophy of

chemical affinity is still in its infancy, and presents a far more extensive field for discovery, than has ever yet been explored. He who enters upon it with enlarged views, and cultivates it with unwearied application, will greatly extend the boundaries of science, and will derive from his labours more imperishable renown, than that of the conqueror, who wades to a diadem, through the blood and tears of suffering humanity. To control the operations of nature, and render her elements subservient to the happiness of millions, is the most noble prerogative of enlightened and philanthropic man; and raises him to communion with the ever blessed SPIRIT OF ETERNAL TRUTH.

END OF VOL. II.





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